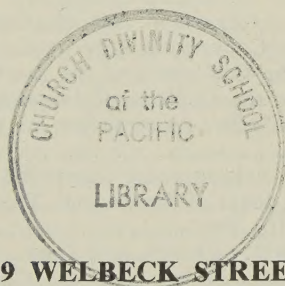


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ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

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As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

THE opening of a new series in the long history of this Review is occasion for some general reflections. There is nowhere stagnation. The times are pregnant. On every horizon we see change and turmoil, while the latent crisis is immeasurable. It is not just proximity which gives the impending prospect an overwhelming gravity. There is no parallel in history to the present scene of a whole world tied in unity of time and space, yet riven apart by the deepest spiritual conflict. The greatest social cataclysm recorded in past times pales into insignificance beside what seems about to befall. When mankind began long ago its first attempts to cultivate the soil, that was a revolution; but the effects were local and gradual. The radical movements which on the natural level now affect the wealth and circumstances of mankind through the progress of applied physics will be neither local nor gradual.

Such is the setting for a renaissance of faith. That a renaissance—a deep reorientation of values—is at hand could have been foretold even if the evidence were not apparent. There are remarkable signs of spiritual awakening, and, if there are many conventionally-minded observers who cannot perceive the nature of that which is still in a germinal stage, a rude shock will come. Statistical research misses it, and the kind of evidence carefully obtained by such inquirers as Mr. Seeböhm Rowntree would not be affected by the early beginnings of something which may often hold aloof from conventional religious observance. A latent philosophical development takes a long time to affect the ways of the common man.

Such intimations of a new outlook place a special responsibility on those who publish religious journals. For they have a part to play not only in the promotion of research but in the wider publication of the results of research. Of able and devout study and inquiry there is an abundance. But between the academic sphere and the life and thought of the common man there is an alarming gap.

On another page we print an essay on some of the influences which moulded the intellectual life of the University of Oxford in the later half of the nineteenth century. Jowett and T. H. Green were accused of undermining religion by their reforms. Men like Gaisford and Liddon "harboured fierce thoughts against the Liberals". And yet while clerical heads of colleges remained in their "dogmatic slumber" it was Green who dethroned Mill and his school, teaching a philosophy of spirit to which may be traced the germination and blossoming of far-reaching developments through his pupils—men who reshaped the life of the nation in extra-mural education, social service, imperial administration and political development in many spheres.

A great dialectical movement has—after seventy years—carried Christian philosophy into fresh fields and pastures new. Green and his eminent pupils Bosanquet and Bradley are almost forgotten by the generation whose debt to them is great. That debt is great because they, by their influence, brought it about that a majority of the teachers, scholars, and administrators of their day remained immune to current atheistical trends. For whatever their limitations—errors born of an intellectual climate not ours—they brought religious thinking out of the cloister and the specialist's study.

A task not entirely dissimilar lies before those who pursue theological inquiry to-day. The work of the specialist in this field cannot be allowed to remain the exclusive interest of a limited section of the community. Yet in many branches of research the conditions seem to favour an extremity of specialism, and this is a ground for anxiety. Such anxiety is enhanced by the peculiar claims of the science of theology. For theology stands

alone in its universal implications. Some intellectual pursuits presuppose an abstraction from life. They can be carried a long distance without any direct impact on the common life. But theology is relevant to all experience, and it is necessary to all men that this should be made known. The alternative is the spread of idolatrous beliefs brought about by the magnification of some limited concept until it becomes a religion.

To anyone who moves freely in circles without the Christian pale society looks like an untilled field which is ripe for cultivation. But such cultivation implies an informed approach. The failure of evangelism is due to the triviality of much that is written, or said. Those who do not understand their own professed faith can hardly impress others. Those who do know it cannot fail to impress. They are few in number, but they are the kind that turn the world upside down.

There have been invaluable developments in recent theological studies. Work is being done which could not fail to engage the attention of active minds if circumstances were such that the ordinary intelligent public could be told. But the publication is meagre, and the great resources of Christian propaganda are not always used to propagate the gospel in an effective manner. When we consider—perhaps at Convocation or the Church Assembly—how many active and gifted persons, both clerical and lay, appear to be interested in Church affairs it is surprising how seldom one sees in Church papers, or in the popular press, an example of Christian apologetic which would carry weight with a sceptic of average intelligence. The pulpits are seldom much better.

A prior aim of this journal is to cope with such a situation. To the masses of men without and within the Church who live *untheological lives* will be brought home the danger which threatens them. We are profoundly concerned to see that the gospel is presented now,—as the prophets and saints did it of old,—as a living and dynamic force. Theology is not a departmental interest. She is the Queen of the Sciences who has too long allowed herself to remain in retirement.

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY

The January Sessions, 1952

By the time this article is published, the first Group of Sessions of the newly elected Convocation (the fourth of the reign of King George VI) will have been held; but it is felt that a few preliminary comments on the Agenda may be of interest.

The opening of a new Convocation is always an occasion of interest and some pleasure to those who value old traditional forms. No longer, unfortunately, do the members of the Convocation proceed to Paul's Wharf to welcome his Grace the President arriving in his barge from Lambeth; but none the less the opening Service of the new Convocation is still held in St. Paul's Cathedral as it has been since the 14th century. The form of opening is also traditional, based upon Archbishop Parker's "*Forma Convocationis Celebrandae*". The Archbishop is met at the Great West Door of the Cathedral by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral and by the Upper and Lower Houses of the Convocation. He is accompanied by the Vicar-General, the Principal Registrar, and the Apparitor General of the Province, and conducted to a Throne in the Choir. The Latin Litany of the Convocation is then sung, together with the hymn, *Veni Creator*, and a Sermon is preached in Latin. On this occasion the preacher is the Dean of Gloucester. At the end of the Sermon the *Gloria in Excelsis* is sung and the Archbishop pronounces a Latin Benediction. After the Service is ended, the Archbishop being seated with the bishops, the Vicar-General of the Province presents the King's Writ for summoning Convocation, which is read by the Provincial Registrar. The Bishop of London, as Dean of the Province, returns the Archbishop's mandate with his certificate that it has been duly executed. This is read aloud. The Registrar praecognizes, i.e. reads out the roll of, the bishops of the Province, and then reads the Schedule of

Contumacy, which pronounces contumacious all those who, having been summoned, are not present and have not alleged sufficient cause of absence. The Archbishop then admonishes in Latin the clergy to elect a new Prolocutor, and the Lower House then withdraws and, under the Presidency of the Dean of St. Paul's, proceeds to elect a new Prolocutor. The final stage in the opening of the new Convocation is the coming of the Lower House to the Upper House to present the new Prolocutor for the approval of the Archbishop. According to ancient form, the Lower House goes in a body to the Upper House, and although this procedure has in fact not been carried out for some years past, it has on this occasion fortunately been possible to arrange for the meeting on the first afternoon to be held in the Church Assembly Hall, which makes possible the exact traditional procedure. The President and the other members of the Upper House will be seated at the end of the Hall and the Lower House will actually come in a body from the Hoare Memorial Hall, where they have assembled, to the Hall where the Upper House is awaiting them. This is an interesting revival of the ancient practice.

The Prolocutor is then presented by his proposers to His Grace the President in Latin speeches and the President expresses his approval, also in a Latin speech. The Prolocutor, still in Latin, thanks the President and requests the ancient privileges for the Lower House.

After these formal proceedings a large amount of business will on this occasion be transacted in Full Synod. The Bishop of Winchester and the Dean of Windsor will present Report No. 673 on the Amended Lectionary, which is the final report of this Committee and summarizes the opinions expressed by clergy in the dioceses on the Amended Lectionary after six years' use of it. In the light of these, the Committee suggests that the Amended Lectionary should continue to be allowed as an alternative to those of 1871 and 1922. A second report to be presented in Full Synod is that of the Joint Committee appointed to consider the document entitled "The Church, The Churches and The World Council of Churches", issued by the World Council as a result

of its Toronto meeting. This important document sets out various considerations which should govern the relations of member churches to the World Council and to one another, and the report takes the form of comments from the Anglican point of view upon this document. It is interesting to note that the large and learned Committee, representative of all points of view in the Church of England, which drew up this report reached unanimous agreement on the matter. Some of the questions raised in the report are obviously of importance for the whole field of the relations between the Church of England and other Christian bodies. It therefore seems very appropriate that at the same Group of Sessions four resolutions should be submitted by the Bishop of Derby, and the Dean of Westminster (himself a Scotsman), on relations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. These resolutions concern the report on this subject drawn up by a commission of theologians and published last year. They commend this report to the attention of the Church and ask that a small committee be appointed to draft resolutions in accordance with the report for submission to Convocation, and that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York be asked to consult with the Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland on the matter contained in the report. These resolutions have already been passed by the Convocation of York at its Sessions in September last. The question of the relations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland is particularly important, because it concerns two Christian bodies which are both churches "established by law", of which one is Episcopalian and the other Presbyterian. Moreover, since Scottish Presbyterians not infrequently visit England, while Anglicans not infrequently take their holidays in Scotland, the matters with which the report deals are of very practical importance.

Finally, the Bishop of Winchester will move a resolution asking that a joint committee be set up to consider Canon 83, which concerns the limitations placed upon the activities of clergy outside their ministerial office. It has long been apparent that the rigid limitations set up, both by the old Canons and by the statute law, on these activities are no longer practicable. If they

were rigidly interpreted they would prevent the clergy engaging in many professional and financial activities in which in fact many of them have for long taken part; but in addition to this, they would not only restrict possible innocent sources from which clergymen might augment their meagre stipends, but also seriously prohibit any development, either in the form of industrial chaplaincies (the holder of which is to work with other workmen in a factory), or in the form of the Ordination of professional men and others for part-time work in the Ministry. It therefore seems desirable that the implications of this Canon should be carefully examined and that, if necessary, steps should be taken to amend the statute law.

Much of this business from Full Synod will be considered by the Upper House, and some of it also by the Lower House, during the Group of Sessions. In addition the Report of the Joint Committee on the Spiritual Discipline of the Laity will not be presented in Full Synod but in the Upper House, by the Bishop of Ely. This report marks the last stage in what has been an intricate and somewhat confused consideration of the report under the same title which was prepared by a committee of the Church Assembly and referred by the Assembly to the Convocations. The Assembly Report, which is based upon the general principles of Christian conduct, and also upon the rules of the Church of England contained in the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, was referred to the Convocations several years ago. Subsequently, the consideration of this report was combined, in the Upper House, with that of resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1948 on the same matter. As a result of this discussion certain simple rules for Church people were prepared by the Archbishops and published; but the more detailed consideration of the original report, and particularly the discussion of what rules of Fasting and Abstinence should apply in the Church of England in present-day circumstances, was delayed. Now, however, this thorough consideration has been completed and the report which has been issued, which contains, among other things, a lengthy discussion of Fasting and Abstinence, is very valuable. It is notable that here again the

Committee, representing various types of churchmanship, has been able to publish a unanimous report.

In accordance with usual custom at the opening of a new Convocation, the Upper House will consider a Loyal Address to the King, and this will then be sent down for agreement by the Lower House. It is usual for the Lower House to make at least one small verbal amendment, in order to preserve its right of revision and liberty of action. The passing of the Loyal Address is no mere formality, for the Convocations, according to the constitution of this Realm of England, share with the temporal Houses of Parliament the right of direct access to His Majesty the King, and when conditions permit the Archbishop and representatives of the Upper and Lower Houses go to Buckingham Palace and there present the Address to His Majesty in person. Another matter on the Upper House Agenda is the consideration of a "Form of Reception into the Church of England". This is a Service intended to be used in the case of members of other Communion, already validly confirmed in their own Communion, joining the Church of England. It therefore applies mainly to the case of Roman Catholics and, rarely, members of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Discussion of this form of Service has occupied a long time. The Upper House rejected the version originally prepared by the Joint Committee and substituted a version of its own. The Lower House, on the other hand, preferred the original Joint Committee version, but finally passed a third version embodying much of the first. It is this Lower House version which will now be considered by the Upper House. Apart from these matters, and an inquiry from the Lower House as to how far the bishops have carried out the recommendations of the Lower House on the subject of Rural Deans, the rest of the Upper House business will be concerned with the Revision of the Canon Law. There are certain points outstanding in Canons 35 to 82, where the wording of the versions of Canterbury and York, or of the two Houses of Canterbury, are not yet identical. These will first be dealt with; and after that the House will proceed to the consideration of Canons 84 onwards, which deal first with Deaconesses and then

with Lay Officers of the Church of England, Churchwardens, Sidesmen, Parish Clerks, Lay Readers and Women Workers.

The Lower House will begin its activities with the usual formal business which has to be done at the beginning of a new Convocation. On this occasion only the Praeconization of members of the Lower House takes place, each answering to his name as it is read by the Actuary. In former days this was done at each Group of Sessions, but in view of the time it occupies, it is now done only at the beginning of a new Convocation. After this Pro-Prolocutors are nominated and members of various committees are also nominated. The ordinary business of the Lower House consists of matters sent down from the Upper House, among which will be some of those mentioned above. In addition to this, the Lower House will be occupied with Canon Law Revision, first with the consideration of a new Canon "Of Confession of Sins" to follow Canon 35, and thereafter with various points outstanding in Canons 36 to 62. The Lower House will then proceed to discuss Canons not as yet considered by this House, namely Canons 67 to 82. These concern the Oaths and Declarations to be made by Ministers before Ordination or Institution, and the duties and functions of the various Orders and officers of the Church. Finally, if time and opportunity allow, there are six motions before the House for debate. The first commends to the sympathetic attention of the Church the modern revival of spiritual healing; the second invites the President to bring before the Upper House the matter of issuing regulations to guard against the lack of sufficient preparation and reverent approach to the Holy Communion when it is celebrated at midnight on Christmas Eve; the third asks that a committee of the Lower House be appointed to inquire into the status and rights of "Deans Emeriti" and "Canons Emeriti" in Cathedrals, so that there may be uniformity in this matter in the dioceses; the fourth, proposed by the Rev. C. E. Douglas, reminds the House of the resolution passed by the House of Commons in 1710 that it will "pay all regard to the Lower House of Convocation in matters ecclesiastical" and suggests that when questions of doctrine or discipline are discussed in the House of Commons,

consultation should take place with the Lower House of Convocation. This resolution was framed in the light of one or two incidents which occurred in the last Parliament. The fifth motion requests that a joint committee be appointed to draft a form for private confessions and absolution, with a view to its authorization by Convocation; while the last motion suggests a revival of "Hospital Sunday" as a day of prayer for doctors and nurses and also as a means of bringing before Church people the great opportunities for service in that work.

It will thus be seen that the Agenda before Convocation in January is unusually heavy, and includes many questions of great practical importance. It seems unlikely that the whole Agenda will be completed, but there are certain to be good and interesting discussions.

A. F. SMETHURST.

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE CONTINENTAL REFORMATION

An Interpretation

By ERICH ROTH

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I HAVE gratefully accepted the invitation of the Dean of the Durham Theological Faculty to render an interpretation, rather than to relate the facts and details, of Martin Luther and the Continental Reformation. It is quite clear that because of its size and because of the short time at my disposal the problem before me is not what should I put in, but what can I leave out.¹

I cannot start on this subject without expressing my deep concern that to the already existing split between the East and Rome in the Church there was added in the sixteenth century yet another division. I am a keen Lutheran, keen enough to realize that our Lord himself is more important than our particular religious trends. And I suggest that the aim of anyone who studies other denominations besides his own must be to arrive at a clearer understanding of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I.

1. The fertility of history lies in a comprehensive understanding of it. When we attempt this, questions regarding the creative power and the intent of history are bound to arise. What are the spiritual powers and fundamental principles of

¹ I wish particularly to thank the Rev. W. A. Whitehouse, who has been mainly responsible for this translation, and other friends who have given valuable assistance. The scope of this publication precludes the citing of authorities for all the statements contained in it. Only in the more important cases have references been given in footnotes.

history? The answer to this question lies within the fact that those men who have most changed history have been the great religious spirits. This is a truth which even the secular historian may not deny. Yet our responsibility grows when we consider what Carlyle says: "... priest, teacher, whosoever we can fancy to reside in man, embodies itself here, to furnish us with constant practical teaching, to tell us for the day and hour what we are to do".

To-day Toynbee, in his theory of history, asserts that the great religious waves in history have caused the great waves of cultural manifestation. Therefore these movements are the pillars of history, though, according to Toynbee, they are only equal with those of culture.

I will not quote from the numerous continental statements which proclaim Luther to be a unique power in Church history. It was an English scholar who remarked: "His career marks the beginning of the present epoch, for it is safe to say that every man in Western Europe and in America is leading a different life to-day from what he would have led, and is another person altogether from what he would have been, had Martin Luther not lived".² These words provide a stimulus to lead us on to consider both the Reformers and the Reformation.

From the historical point of view the Reformation is understood to mean the ecclesiastical events caused by Luther and connected with many other famous names of the sixteenth century. At that time, however, it meant nothing specifically ecclesiastical, but rather every kind of reform, as well that of a religious community as that of a municipal law or a political constitution.

The ecclesiastical reformation must not, whatever its origin, be isolated or put into an ecclesiastical cell. We must see it in close connexion with all other reforms of that time. We have to join to it all the manifold movements and efforts and longing expectations of the late Middle Ages. Because of this we can imagine something of the immense response which even Luther himself had not expected. We can realize also its lasting import-

² P. Smith, *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther*, London 1911, Preface.

ance and value in relation to the similar needs of to-day.

2. Let us now consider the separate reforms of that time to see what they may show us about the real origin and significance of the Reformation. First there were the efforts made towards political reform in the German Reich. The famous Ranke says about the political play of power at the beginning of the Reformation that each nation discovered itself at that time. This occurred first in England, and France, Spain, Poland and Hungary followed. The rising consciousness of nationality in Germany, roughly speaking, had two consequences. The people demanded certain rights, on the one hand from the Emperor, and on the other from the Pope.

Until that time there had been a Supreme Court of Judicature which was the Emperor's Court rather than a national legal body. Now, the Monarch was bound to agree to change "its whole character; and from a simply monarchical institution, it became dependent on the whole body of the States".³ Moreover, he had to concede a council with the title of Government (*Reichs-regiment*) which functioned as a regency of the German Reich. It consisted of twenty members, out of which the Emperor was represented by only two. This form of civil government, however, did not last very long, but in view of later development it is significant.

The grievances of the States against the Pope, usually expressed at the Imperial Diet which became the body of executive power at that time, were concerned with the burden of Papal taxation. The attention which Luther paid to these matters and his attempts to rectify them in the spirit of the Gospel, provided to some extent the kindling fire for the Reformation.

Secondly there was the cultural revival, known as the movement of Humanism, which, of course, took place not only in Germany; England had such a genius as Thomas More. The intrinsic value of any cultural movement will find its expression in the ideals of education showing forth its attitude towards life. Humanism was mainly a scientific movement, necessitating the

³ Ranke, *History of the Reformation in Germany*. Translated by S. Austin, London 1905. p. 56.

cry of *ad fontes*; and its fostering of the ideal of *eruditio* kindled by the ancient world became very important for the educational system and methods of studies. There were some reformers closely connected with the movement of Humanism whose thoughts were rooted in Antiquity rather than in Christianity. Luther was not, but he appreciated the scientific methods and the fostering of the classical languages. As is well known, it was on the Greek edition of Erasmus that Luther based his translation of the New Testament.

Thirdly, let us pass on to consider the social reform of that time. This resulted from even more fundamental needs than was the case in the first two I have mentioned. According to both Postan's and Trevelyan's excellent analysis, the age of Chaucer had been the great brooding period before the appearance of the system of English Capitalism. The same development took place on the Continent at the end of the Middle Ages, namely, the great change from the use of goods to that of currency for purposes of trade; the appearance of a banking system, trade companies and monopolies; in short the whole machinery of the system of Capitalism. Only now, in our own period of history, do we realize the problems involved therein. This new emphasis upon money produced at once an enormous change in the social structure. The leading class no longer necessarily consisted of members of the nobility, for, unless these chanced to be wealthy, they were ousted by the rich merchants and manufacturers.

Such a change in the social structure is similar to a revolution, even though it takes place without the shedding of blood. This, however, was not the case in the sixteenth century. Without regard to whether this change leads to the formation of a capitalistic system, as at that time on the Continent, or away from it, as in England to-day, one class of people must certainly suffer. As to-day in England it is the middle class which suffers most, so in those days it was the lot of the knights and the farmers, who could not compete in commerce with the newly manufactured goods. The new conditions brought about by the reforms aggravated the grievances of the suffering classes more and more. There exist numerous documents which reveal the growing

tendencies towards revolution, which came to a head in the direct revolt of the farmers in the year 1525.

It is very interesting and worthwhile to consider how far Luther did or did not take the part of the suppressed farmer.

Finally, besides all these movements of reform there were many endeavours to bring about a revival within the Church. In turning the pages of Church history, we constantly find evidence of struggle between some failure on the part of the Church and the attempt to put it right. Even before the Reformation there were great figures in the Church who are sometimes, perhaps incorrectly, spoken of as the "Reformers before the Reformation".⁴

3. At Worms there is a statue of Luther, erected in the nineteenth century, and round him are four important figures in Church history. They are those of men who in some of their features and strivings have been considered to be forerunners of the Reformation. The first is a French merchant from Lyon, Petrus Waldus, who lived in the twelfth century. The most outstanding feature of Waldus and of the communities he led, which held the ideal of poverty, was their knowledge of and familiarity with the Holy Bible in the Provençale vernacular. The result was that they rejected masses for the dead, purgatory, indulgences and so on. The second figure is that of the well known John Wiclif, professor of theology at Oxford in the fourteenth century. It is true, as English scholars say, that he is more connected with medieval thought than with that of the Reformation, and that his connexion with the Reformation is obscure. Even so, it is striking to notice how many features of the Reformation were anticipated by him. Greater than the stimulus of patriotism, which caused his opposition to the papacy, was his adherence to the Holy Bible which he had caused to be translated into English. Basing his authority on the Bible, he refused to acknowledge the power of the pope or to obey the absolute authority of the ecclesiastical councils. He also rejected the

⁴ C. Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation*. Translated by Menzies, Edinburgh, I 1855, II 1860.

doctrine of transubstantiation, the worship of relics, the adoration of pictures, the medieval doctrine of the treasury of good works, the indulgence, etc.

For the understanding of Wiclif it is important to know something of his countryman and spiritual teacher, William of Ockham. It is only nowadays that his works are being edited and that his teaching is increasingly debated. He was a clear-sighted versatile scholar, who undermined the absolute power of the papacy and stressed the necessity for the independence of the secular authorities in power. William of Ockham belonged to the extreme section of the Franciscan Order, which insisted upon complete poverty, and therefore was in opposition to the pomp of the papacy. Ockham's new line of thought in scholasticism is known as the *via moderna*, in contrast to the *via antiqua* of Thomas Aquinas.

In fact, the teaching of Ockham forms a link between Wiclif and Luther in so far as Luther's teachers were themselves adherents of the *via moderna*.

The third figure of the Luther monument at Worms is that of the Bohemian reformer Johannes Hus, who was condemned and burnt at the Council of Constance in 1415. It is not necessary to spend more time here in considering the work of Johannes Hus because he is so greatly indebted to Wiclif in all important parts of his theology.

So we will mention the fourth figure, which is that of Dominican Friar Savonarola of Florence, who was a powerful preacher of the need of repentance, of the necessity for reform in the secularized Church and in the papacy itself, which was so corrupt in the fifteenth century. Savonarola was killed by the Inquisition, so his work was less effective than it might have been.

Besides these there were minor forerunners of the Reformation such as Goch, Wesel and Wessel of the fifteenth century, but the discussion of these is beyond the scope of this lecture.

It is not easy to express briefly the difference between the "Reformers before the Reformation", and those of the Reformation itself. The difference might perhaps be indicated by saying that the former started from outside, the latter from inside. The

result was that with the first their programme was clearer than the reason for it, but, with the latter, the reason was clearer than the programme of carrying it out. In this we can find an explanation both for the failure of the forerunners of the Reformation and the differences between the detailed items of their programmes in spite of their essential unity. It conveys a somewhat clearer understanding of the expressions "from outside" and "from inside" if one regards the special sense in which the terms "justice" and "order" were used on the one hand in the pre-Reformation movement, on the other hand with the reformers. A publication called *Reformatio Sigismundi*, which was written presumably by a priest about 1438, expresses the vehement desire of many for a revival of the Church. It says: "O Lord . . . justice is suffering, nothing is in its right order".⁵ That, of course, means the institutional outer disorder. Yet the reformers, and most of all Luther, saw in this outer disorder and confusion only the necessary expression of a more serious disorder, namely, that of the individual in his relationship towards God. With Luther the question of justice (*iustitia*) is primarily the question of the justice of God (*iustitia Dei*) towards man. This is the reason why the doctrine of the Justification lies at the very heart of the Reformation.

Luther himself published Wessel's writings with a commendatory preface. Despite that fact he points out a distinction between his own work and that of earlier reformers, on the ground that they attacked only the wicked "life", whereas he is attacking its roots, namely the wicked "doctrine".⁶

There have always been people who have bravely condemned the wrongness, the "religious and practical" degradation of their time. What Dante says in his *Divine Comedy* of the greediness and thirst for power of the papacy, he said for many, both before and after him. But such a position was by no means the reason which caused Luther's Reformation. In the same way neither the

⁵ Ed. of H. Werner, 1908; cf. the *Reformatio Sigismundi*. A. Dören in the *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1922 p. 1ff.

⁶ Tischr. 624; cf. Philip S. Watson, *Let God be God*, London 1947 p. 10.

work of the Reform Councils of the fifteenth century, which endeavoured to cure the corruption of the papacy, nor the work of the Humanists who also wanted to rectify the Church's contemporary evils can be regarded as essentially connected with the Reformation. They were only strivings on the circumference of the Reformation. Therefore the leaders of Humanism withdrew from Luther when they recognized the magnitude of the Reformation.

4. Let us now concentrate our thoughts on the person of Luther. His latest interpreter, the Roman Catholic Lortz, says: "For the Reformation Martin Luther must be considered as the dynamic force".⁷

His life, and especially his manhood, is one of the best known in history. There are biographies and books on Luther which fully describe to a great extent even the daily details of his life and work. If a scholar should seek for knowledge regarding one little subject in his work, he would have to wade through many volumes. An English scholar says: "A glance at the catalogue of almost any great library—e.g. that of the British Museum—will show that more has been written about Luther than about any man, save one, who ever lived".⁸ That was said in 1911, yet since then the Luther renaissance has made immense progress. Of greater importance than the literature about him are Luther's own works. The great Weimar edition of his works, started in 1883 and now nearly finished, consists of about eighty quarto volumes. One can imagine the amazement of a young German scholar who wanted to write a biography of Luther, when he took two attaché cases to carry home all Luther's works, and stood helpless before the crowded shelves.

It is worth while to remark in connexion with Luther's work that his famous Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans has been discovered only of late years. With this the commentary of Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, and all his theology stands in close connexion.

⁷ J. Lortz, *Die Reformation in Deutschland*, Freiburg 1941, vol. 1, p. 157.

⁸ Smith *op. cit.* VIII.

Of Luther's life it is only possible to say a little here.⁹ There is not much information regarding his youth, and many stories of his childhood have been proved through the latest investigations to be mere legends.¹⁰ "I am a peasant's son", Luther relates, "my father, my grandfather and ancestors were proper peasants". Afterwards his father became a copper-miner. His mother used to fetch the wood from the forest and carry it home on her back. Through hard work his father prospered, and later became a successful renter of a smelting-house. He was then able to send his son to the university. The discipline in the home of Martin Luther's childhood was over strict and severe. Luther relates that his father used to punish him severely, and that his mother once scourged him till the blood came, and all because of one miserable nut. "But at heart", he said, "they meant it well". At the age of eighteen Luther studied Arts for four years at the university of Erfurt. After taking the Bachelor's degree and his M.A. he followed the wish of his father and started to study law. Because of his genius his friends called him the "philosopher", and above all he was considered to be a gay and alert student, who enjoyed singing to the lute. One must be rather careful with the assumption of any psychological morbidity in Luther.

Suddenly there came a great turning point in his life which amazed both his parents and friends. The best substantiated version of what happened is this.¹¹ On a return journey to the university from his home, which he had to make on foot, he was caught in a fierce thunderstorm. A flash of lightning struck some object near him. At that moment he called: "Help, dear St. Anne, and I will become a monk".

The remarkable thing about this occurrence is not that he uttered the promise, which he later on called a constrained one, but that he fulfilled it straightway, much against the will of his

⁹ Cf. Gordon Rupp's able summary, *Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms*, 1521, S.C.M. Press, London 1951.

¹⁰ Cf. O. Scheel, *M. Luther*, Tübingen 1929.

¹¹ Cf. K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, *Luther*. Tübingen 1927 p. 14 ff.

father who had high hopes of a splendid career for his son. His friends, too, were much astonished and could not understand him. They accompanied their unyielding friend to the gates of the monastery.

Even if in his earlier years he had considered the thought of going into a monastery, which is not improbable, this fulfilment of his promise reveals something of the austere nature of the twenty-two-year-old Luther. He had decided suddenly, but most earnestly. Of the eight monasteries at Erfurt he decided to enter one of the most strict Order, the barefooted Augustinian Eremites. After two months he became a novice, and at the end of one year he was professed. At that time Luther was a loyal and obedient son of the Roman Catholic Church. He was devout by nature and tells of how he was stirred with devotion when he was still a boy and saw a Duke of Anhalt wandering through the streets, clad in the garb of a monk and carrying his bag for begging.

5. His years in the monastery were for Luther a time of great inner struggle and development. We know only a little of his actual experiences within the monastery, but we know how important these must have been because of their influence later in his life. Nietzsche has said that nobody has built a heaven who has not before gained the strength for it in a hell. This is indeed an illuminating utterance to come from so vehement an anti-Christian. Luther's years in the monastery were indeed a hell. Yet the monastery itself did not make the hell. Monasteries sometimes can be quite comfortable dwelling places, and especially was it so at that time. To call the rules of the monastery Luther lived in a hell would perhaps be to underrate hell and even to make it attractive. No; it was within Luther himself that the sufferings and torments of hell existed as he struggled for holiness. He tried honestly to live the full life of the Order. Among his brethren he acquired the reputation of being a virtuoso of the religious life. Of his own endeavours to be true to the monastic ideal he says: "It is certain I was a pious monk and observed the rules of my Order so strictly that I venture to say that if ever a monk could have gained heaven through monastic

life and practice I should certainly have got there. This, all my fellow-monks who have known me, will testify".¹²

The previously mentioned work of the Roman Catholic Lortz contains these remarks regarding Luther's years in a monastery: "thrown back upon his inner self—wrestling for salvation without any ambitious intentions—he laid himself open in the sight of God... he was even driven into the danger of spiritual self-destruction".¹³

There was no inner laziness, but rigorous self-discipline through which he gained his understanding of the doctrine of Justification, which proclaims that salvation can come through the sole grace of God and not through any human efforts.

6. Before entering more deeply into his teaching, I will continue with the other main facts in Luther's life. He was chosen to become a priest and was ordained in 1507. Then followed his study of theology, which seemed to mark him out for an academic career. He became a *Baccalareus Biblicus*, afterwards a *Sententior*, and in 1512 he became a Doctor of Divinity. He gained a professorship of Divinity at the newly-founded University of Wittenberg. For thirty-three years he lectured there on the books of the Old and New Testament. He took an active part in the life of the University, its reform, its disputations and its promotions. He was Dean of the Theological Faculty for many years. Almost every week he preached two sermons, and they were well prepared. He translated the Bible, composed hymns and wrote many books. The great weight of directing the Reformation fell upon him. He had to face a large body of opponents and found time for a comprehensive correspondence with both high and low, which fills twelve volumes.

Luther, after being granted a dispensation from his monastic vows by the Vicar-General of his Order, Johannes Staupitz, married and became the father of a large family. In spite of his preoccupation in spiritual matters, he took his parental duties seriously and found time almost each day to lead his house in spiritual devotion and in the understanding of the Scripture. He

¹² WA 38, 143.

¹³ *Op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 157.

was also available for his students, who soon flocked to the University at Wittenberg in thousands. As well as being a great thinker and scholar, Luther was an excellent teacher at the desk. But we must not imagine him with a rich and resounding voice. His was rather highly pitched, and the Saxon dialect in which he spoke is not considered one of the most beautiful in Germany. In debates Luther would listen patiently to the sometimes rather vague statements made by the students. He would then turn those statements into clearly defined theological concepts, amazing the students at the depths of their own thoughts.¹⁴

I must not let you feel that it is my intention to give you a picture of Luther painted, as it were, on a golden background. It is true that he was a great man, although he thought of himself what he uttered on his death bed: "We are beggars—that is certain". But it is also true that there are some less attractive features in his personality. Surely where the light is brightest there must also be shadow. Luther's strong self-will did not always make life easy for those who lived near to him. His sudden outbreaks of anger, however, the so-called Luther wrath, he thought of in another way than that of his opponents. By angry outbreaks, as he put it, "all my blood is refreshed, my mind becomes light and vigorous".¹⁵ This remark of his shows, perhaps, that he was not unconscious of the peculiarity of that rather debatable way of getting relief, energy and joy.

It is not possible for us to appreciate Luther's sometimes rough language unless we are students of the literature of the sixteenth century: e.g., when Luther said of his esteemed sovereign the Elector Frederik at the Aulic table during a banquet, "He works like an ass", he meant it as high praise. And, above all, his books were written on the spur of the moment and went to the printers without being re-read or polished. In spite of that fact it is because of the richness and ingenuity of his language that one might say: without Luther no Goethe, no Schiller. Be that as it may, within the sometimes rough shell of his language there will be found in all his theological works the sweet kernel

¹⁴ Joh. Ficker, *Luther als Professor*, Halle 1928.

¹⁵ H. Boehmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung* p. 156.

too, the quality of which might be indicated by John Bunyan's remarks about Luther's commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians: "I found my condition", he says, "in his experience so largely and profoundly handled as if the book had been written out of my heart".¹⁶

The strength and bitterness of Luther's attack on the institution of the papacy inevitably called forth the hatred and desire for revenge of those who supported the Pope. From that time until almost to-day the great Roman Catholic scholars have not ceased to condemn him roundly, and the methods of doing so, as A. Herte proved, owed much to the lasting efficacy of J. Cochlaeus, who gave much energy to this in the sixteenth century in his notorious *Commentaria de actis et scriptis Lutheri*.¹⁷

Yet the time of bitter controversies of that sort seems to have passed, since the Roman Catholic scholar, the highly esteemed Joseph Lortz, has tried to take a different view.¹⁸

I shall give further attention to his book next time, when I will deal mainly with Luther's theology as being the dynamic power of the Reformation, and I will not try to round off the picture until the end. I prefer to do this rather than to tell you the facts either of Luther's or Calvin's or Zwingli's Reformation, because to understand Church History is to understand the doctrine and teaching. It is not without reason that I am choosing Luther's teaching, since on the one hand it initiated the Reformation and inspired the other Reformers; on the other hand the main issues of his teaching are almost the same as with the other Reformers.

II.

Professor Lortz has tried for the first time for 400 years to take a more objective view and to reduce the controversy to its essential points: his efforts to this end have been widely recognized. He is opposed to the traditional Roman Catholic assumption, that so-called heretics are necessarily men of inferior spiritual

¹⁶ G. Rupp, *op. cit.* p. 105f.

¹⁷ Cf. on the modern or rather late Catholic caricature Boehmer *op. cit.*; E. G. Rupp in *Theology*, 1942, p. 197-204.

¹⁸ J. Lortz, *op. cit.* 2 vols.

power. "It is a poor interpretation of history", he says, "to suppose that the tremendous blow which divided the Church could have been delivered by a man whose intellectual accomplishments were merely superficial and who lacked religious depth".¹⁹ So he recognizes the outstanding gifts of Luther, his religious depth and sincerity, his power of imagination and sagacity, his astonishing knowledge of the whole Scripture, his overwhelming richness and ingenuity of language, his thoroughness and gigantic energy, his fertility of mind and genius.

As far as the biography of Luther is concerned, Lortz has succeeded to a remarkable degree in appreciating his subject fairly and objectively—to some extent indeed with real sympathy; but, as far as the theology of Luther is concerned, which is of course incomparably more important, unfortunately one must say that he has not understood it quite so well. When he is dealing with biographical matters, he is miles away from Denifle and Grisar, the well-known and also notorious Roman Catholic scholars; but when he is handling theological matters, even he does not have much more insight than they had, and is greatly indebted to them, although he appreciates Luther's profundity as a religious man.

For all that, Lortz's standpoint is of great importance because it implies on the part of Roman Catholics a new method of regarding not only Lutheranism but also Protestantism as a whole, since for Lortz the ideas of Luther constitute the essence of Reformation theology, that is to say of Protestantism.

A criticism of Lortz has not yet appeared. Yet such a criticism would be rather important, so that even within the compass of a course of two lectures I feel bound to touch upon it.

The picture of Luther's thoughts resulting from Lortz's understanding is as follows: Luther's approach was *via* Ockhamist nominalism, which represents a neo-Pelagian doctrine of justification. As Luther rebelled against this, he "overthrew in himself a Catholicism that was not really Catholic". For "Ockham's was", Lortz says, "a fundamentally uncatholic mentality".²⁰

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* i, p. 192.

²⁰ *Op. cit.* i, p. 176.

Luther's doctrine of justification is according to Lortz only for himself a new discovery. For Lortz maintains that Thomas Aquinas, and with him the real Catholicism, has the same doctrine of grace as Luther. The Reformation seems to be only a one-sided exaggeration of a principle which is itself Catholic.

Here we have a new way of thinking about heresy on the part of several Roman Catholic controversialists of the present time. Particularly Johannes Hessen, a religious philosopher, derives the word heresy from *αἰρεῖσθαι*—"to choose"—in the sense of over-stressing one side. In contrast with this presumptive one-sidedness the Catholic Church emphasizes the whole fullness, or *pleroma*, which the famous Moehler, a Roman Catholic scholar of the nineteenth century, defines as a *complexio oppositorum*, in which all sorts of tensions and oppositions are reconciled into a unity—for example, the poverty of the Franciscan friar and the pomp and splendour of the pope.

Regarding this position it would be easy to get the impression that the Reformation has been superseded—especially when one thinks of the great Council of Trent, which by reforming many abuses did, so to speak, re-establish Roman Catholicism. But this would be a misunderstanding of the Reformation. One could only have this idea if one completely misunderstood both St. Paul and Luther.

Anyone who wishes to understand Luther's theology will be well advised to have done with the notion of Luther as a subjectivist virtuoso. Luther did not think of himself either as a Germanic Hercules, as he was called, or a *homo religiosus*, such as Lortz would like to regard him—and thereby have done with him. Luther said of himself during his life: "That I am not worthy of praise, I myself know full well". He did not regard himself as the founder of a new denomination, but as a forefinger pointed to Jesus Christ, as a witness to a truth, which was not something that he had laid hold on but rather something that had seized him and to which he subjected himself and by which he daily allowed himself to be judged and raised up. To handle Luther's theology is even for a Lutheran something quite different from mere denominationalism.

Luther's theology grew to maturity in secret, unnoticed. When he was giving his early lectures, someone visited Wittenberg in order to draw up a "Who's Who?" of the noteworthy men in the university there—and took no notice at all of Luther. Yet already his first lectures on the Book of Psalms indicate that—unnoticed—he was putting new wine into the old bottles and restoring the evangelical message. Let us now have a look at some of the main features of this message.

(To be concluded.)

SOCIAL SERVICE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY COUNTRY PARSON

The Individual Philanthropist

By G. E. FUSSELL

OPPORTUNITIES for the exercise of social service diminish in the Welfare State. The individual philanthropist, lay or clerical, is superseded by the bureaucrat and petty official who carry out their function, though restricted by the skein of red tape that controls their action. It was very different a century ago. Society in this country was then perhaps the most unequal that had ever existed. Enormous wealth on the one hand enabled the few to live in princely state, while round their walls poverty was widespread.

The country clergy had not far to seek social problems that required a solution, a solution which they could help to provide either by general propaganda or by direct assistance to the individual poor in their parishes. Naturally the propagandists who printed their comments on the social state of country parishes are remembered where the quiet workers are forgotten. Simple things like those provided by the charities that existed in most parishes, such as coal, blankets, soap and an occasional dole of bread, like the personal charity of squire and priest, were a temporary and immediate alleviation of distress, but were impermanent. Admirable as such things were, they did nothing effective in the solution of the problem of poverty nor its results in disease, vice and squalor.

The life of many of the country clergy a century ago must have been very pleasant. As one of them wrote: "Your work is all of the pleasant kind; you have, generally speaking, not too much of it; the fault is your own if you do not meet much esteem

and regard among your parishioners of all degrees; you feel you are of some service to your generation; you have intellectual labours and tasks which keep your mind from growing rusty, and which admit you into a wide field of pure enjoyment; you have pleasant country cares to divert your mind from head-work, and to keep you for hours daily in the open air, in a state of pleasurable interest; your little children grow up with green fields about them and pure air to breathe”.

Not to put too fine a point upon the pleasures of country life he said in another place: “It is very picturesque to see the ploughman at work on a soft mild winter day. But go up and walk by the ploughman’s side, you man from the town, and see how you like it. You will find it awfully dirty work . . . Hard work for that poor fellow and ill-paid work . . . to earn the humblest shelter and the poorest fare that will maintain a bare life. You walk beside him and see how poorly he is dressed. His feet will have been wet since six a.m. . . he had a little tea and coarse bread and nothing more for his dinner at 12 o’clock (I speak from personal knowledge) and he will have nothing more till his twelve (I have known it fifteen) hours of work are finished, when he will have his scanty supper . . . I feel glad, when I think of the social evils I see, that the responsibility of treating them rests upon abler heads than mine”.

This parson had sympathy, but disclaimed any responsibility for dealing with the social evils he saw. He is not much to be blamed for that. The ruling cliché of the day was *laissez-faire*, and the economic laws that controlled society were commonly supposed to be ironclad and unchangeable. Other parsons were moved to feel that something should be done and to try to get it done. One of the first of these was the Rev. Charles Kingsley whose propaganda novels, *Alton Locke* and *Yeast*, appeared in 1847 and 1851. In *Alton Locke*, the story of a Radical tailor, there is a vivid story of a meeting of farm workers, “The men who are eaten”, in a wild hollow of the hills, the hollow of a prehistoric camp, where life could have been no harsher or more difficult than it was for the gaunt starving men who gathered there to voice their dreary complaints at their fate. “I was struck”, wrote Kingsley, in the person of his hero, “with the wan

haggard look of all faces; their lack-lustre eyes and drooping lips, stooping shoulders, heavy dragging steps, gave them a crushed, dogged air, which was infinitely painful". How much more he wrote in this book and in *Yeast* and in *Two Years Ago* is well enough known to need no labouring here. But though his writings may have stirred some uneasy consciences they had no immediate effect, and many of his brother clergy continued to accept these shocking conditions as of use and wont, demanding little more than a respectful attitude from these poor specimens of God's handiwork marred by man.

Not so Canon Girdlestone who came from an urban Lancashire parish to a rural one in North Devon in 1866. He has been called the pioneer of the agricultural labourers' movement, and in some ways he certainly was. Wages and conditions in rural North Devon were very different from those in Lancashire. When he came to Halberton the Canon found that wages were sometimes only 7s. a week and seldom more than eight; carters and shepherds got a shilling more. About three or four pints of cider a day were allowed, "the quality of which ordinarily rendered it unsaleable", and wheat was sold to the labourer at a fixed price, below the market in dear years, above it in cheap. No overtime was paid. Cottages not fit, many of them, to house cattle in, wages not sufficient to keep body and soul together: "a peasantry enfeebled in body and depressed by their deplorable circumstances". What was to be done? A sermon only aroused a storm of vilification; so Canon Girdlestone wrote a letter to *The Times* giving a plain and clear statement of the wages and conditions of farm workers in North Devon. The effect produced was remarkable. Innumerable local newspapers opened discussions on the subject, and the Canon received many offers from farmers and others offering good wages and comfortable homes to any Devon man who would accept. Some sent money to pay the cost of removal, either as a gift or on repayment. Many other gifts of money were received from philanthropists.

One of the main difficulties in getting the men to accept these offers was their own inertia, their "homesickness", their ignorant dread of any change, but this was overcome by energy and determination, and for years this devoted parish priest, against the

opposition of both farmers and landowners, arranged single-handed the migration of these poor helots to places where they might meet with better circumstances. The opposition of the farmers took many objectionable forms. They would not hear the Vicar speak at the vestry meetings, and in other ways obstructed necessary Church business, but in spite of all the work went on and many heads of humble families must have lived to bless the day when Canon Girdlestone came to Halberton. In June 1872 he left that place and went to Olveston in Gloucestershire. By then the labourers themselves had started a union and one of its early activities was to take over the work of migration begun by the Canon. A small union in Herefordshire and the neighbouring counties had indeed done so before Joseph Arch's National Union was founded in the same year as the Canon removed from Devon.

Many of the country clergy deeply resented this break with tradition. Willing as they might have been to dispense charity and to patronize the labourer, they, by reason of their class, were more disposed to share the political sentiments of the landowners and farmers; but there were many who ranged themselves with the labourers and were of the utmost service to them in their tyro efforts to organize.

Dr. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester, is reported to have said with reference to Joseph Arch: "There is an old saying, Don't nail their ears to the pump and don't duck them in the horse pond", to which Arch replied: "The Bishop appears to believe in adult baptism which is contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England".

At the Bath Congress that year the Bishop of Oxford propounded the proposition that it was no part of the Church's business to regulate wages, an attitude that was decidedly burking the issue. Canon Girdlestone, of course, took the more reasonable stand that it was definitely a part of the Church's business to condemn social abuses, and the president, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, rather non-committally, summed up by expressing the earnest desire of the Congress "not only to raise them (the labourers) morally and spiritually but also to give them a chance of rising in the social scale".

The Bishop of Manchester did not think that it was no part of the Church's business to intervene in a dispute about wages when the farmers of East Anglia locked out their men for daring to join a union in 1873. He wrote to *The Times*, the favourite remedy of our great-grandfathers for all evils, and asked, "Are the farmers of England going mad? Can they suppose that this suicidal lock-out will stave off for an appreciable time the solution of the inevitable question: What is the equitable wage to pay the men? ".

Other high dignitaries of the Church actively supported the Union. Even Cardinal Manning sat upon a platform in London beside Charles Bradlaugh, the famous unbeliever, at a meeting in support of the labourer's cause. The Hon. and Rev. J. W. Leigh had done much to help the work of Canon Girdlestone, the Dean of Hereford and Canon Tuckwell were others, as was the Rev. C. W. Stubbs, Vicar of Granborough in Buckingham.

"How", he asked, "can a Christian minister teach them [the labourers] to pray to a Father at all, with any feeling of sacredness attached to the name, if the only father they know is a beast of burden—far dirtier and far worse housed than most of the farmer's horses? How is he to teach them to pray for daily bread without helping them to get the wages which alone can pay for it?", and many other equally pertinent questions. Stubbs did not hesitate to lay himself open to the obloquy that was the usual punishment meted out by the farmers to men like himself, country parsons who dared to criticize social conditions. Like many others of the day and earlier, Stubbs believed that the provision of allotments, of smallholdings on a rising scale of size, such as the labourer might hope to make his own in time, were the solution of the social evils resulting largely from underpayment, and particularly from inadequate housing, that were so palpably a part of the countryside.

The nineteenth century saw several experiments in the partition of farms in order that they might be run by labourers on co-operative lines. Perhaps the first of these was the Co-operative Agricultural Society established at Assington, Suffolk, by Mr. Gurdon in 1830. This was a layman's attempt to find a means

of overcoming the poverty of the labourer, then, if possible, more severe and unendurable than it was in 1870. The business was so successful that it was expanded in 1854 and was, I believe, still functioning in 1920, though what its present fate is I do not know. Stubbs was so enamoured of this idea that he proposed that the 1,200 country clergy should undertake to place a portion of their glebe lands at the labourer's disposal, especially in villages where there were no allotments, so as to give him some access to a bit of land for his own use. The object was to provide a first rung of a ladder by which a labourer might hope to climb to independence. He had the courage of his convictions and at the close of the year 1873 divided twenty-two acres of his glebe into half-acre allotments. These he let to labourers at an annual rent of 66s. an acre, which must have been a good return. He kept one acre himself, and farmed it as the labourers did, growing wheat, beans, oats, potatoes, mangolds, and carrots. He kept careful accounts and estimated that in the six years of the grave agricultural depression which ended in 1883 he made a profit of £3 8s. This may not seem extraordinary, but it meant a good deal more in 1883 than it does to-day, and was a goodly sum to men whose weekly wage was ten or eleven shillings.

This was not an easy thing for a country parson to do. Canon Tuckwell was bitterly opposed by his bishop, but overcame him in a famous controversial battle. He cut up the whole of his glebe of two hundred acres into allotments, and two years after he had done so wrote: "Already throughout the village I found corn bags ranged along the walls, potatoes under the beds, hams hanging from the ceilings wrapped up in old *Reynold's Weekly Newspapers*; the housewives for the first times in their lives facing winter unemployment without alarm". Canon Tuckwell went much further in his opinions as a result of this experiment, and became what few people would be to-day: a confirmed land nationalizer.

Another great believer in small farms as a measure of social security was a Norfolk parson, the Rev. Augustus Jessop. He began his ministry as a country curate for seven years, went to town for some twenty-five, and then once more took a country living. I cannot discover that he ever did more in the way of social service in his parish than carry on the ordinary duties of

his profession, but he was an excellent propagandist. Though convinced that conditions generally had improved during the quarter of a century he had spent in an urban parish, yet especially in housing there was still a great deficiency. Cramped and crowded quarters destroyed modesty, or made it impossible, and led to grave sexual delinquency, for which the sinners themselves were hardly to blame. Jessop thought that the labourer of 1887 was better off than his father of 1862. His lot would indeed have been pitiful if he had not. His children were cleaner, better taught, better dressed than they were. His wife was no longer the poor drudge she had almost invariably become. She took a great pride in sending her children to school with due regard to their personal appearance, and the women did less field work. More, the labourer had become a keen bargainer, a man who felt some independence (though how little it must have been), one who would do nothing for nothing, who had begun at least to realize his value to the community.

In the nineteenth century the country parson had opportunities for social service outside the ordinary run of his duties that no longer exist. The farm worker is now, according to the dictum of the secretary of his own trade union, the highest paid of any in the world except in the Dominions and the United States, where the cost of living is even higher than our own fantastic prices. There is no need for the parson to undertake charitable work, because almost every need that can arise is provided for by a benevolent State. No longer is he called upon to advise in matters of difficulty. The labourer is able to read. He has his own organization, and can apply to such institutions as the British Legion, branches of which flourish in most villages.

What, then, remains for the descendant of those men who were so active in condemning social abuses and amongst whom there were so many not content only to condemn, but who must gird up their loins and do something to amend them? Some such part in village life outside the Church must be played by the country parson so that his full influence inside the Church may be exercised, or so it seems to me, but modern times are so changed that I confess it is exceedingly difficult to see what it may be.

SCOTLAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO UNITY

The One and the Many

By G. D. HENDERSON

THE longest way round may be the shortest way home. This would appear to be one of the conclusions that may be elicited from a study of Scottish ecclesiastical experience during the last three centuries.

Life involves both the One and the Many, not in apartness, but in co-operation, in a relationship of constant interaction: the One, no abstract sameness, the Many, no utter diversity, but the combination producing richness, fullness of content, an endless process of expression and realization. In our time interest seems to concentrate upon Unity, so that Difference is somewhat in disgrace, the tendency having indeed become so very marked that no change of direction can be expected for generations. The characteristic institutions of our day are unions of one sort or another, clubs, combines, political totalitarianisms, Church unions, ecumenical movements. Clinging, then, to the pendulum, submitting to the standard of judgement that for the present prevails, we ask, What has Scotland contributed to the cause of religious unity?, and inquiry brings us information that should be helpful both by way of warning and by way of encouragement. Scotland has in fact had a unique experience, and the Church in Scotland can now claim to have achieved a degree of unity that is of especial interest and value, and is particularly important for its unusual comprehensiveness.

Humanism, with its great discovery of the worth of the individual, had much to do with the Reformation, in which the Church sought to adapt itself to this new world-emphasis, in the

light of the teaching of Jesus Christ who had so long before proclaimed that "it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish". The tendency was, indeed, to make light of formal visible unity, not deliberately as a matter of principle, but inevitably through concentration of attention upon that individualism which had been so long and so unfortunately neglected. The same Lactantius who lamented how the people of God "have been rent into divisions at the instigation of demons", could admit that "nothing is so much a matter of free will as religion", and that "religion is to be defended, not by putting to death, but by dying"; but most thinkers and most ages have come short of this broad judgement, and have seen only one side of the shield. Thus individualism in Cromwellian England spelt sectarianism, and we have likewise the multitude of Christian and quasi-Christian and sub-Christian groups of modern America.

At no period was Scotland the playground of extreme divisiveness: in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Anabaptist and Independent found little response to their divers revelations. The Calvinistic insistence upon scrupulously keeping together Word and Spirit helped Scotland to avoid the danger to which Richard Hooker declared English Puritanism succumbed: "When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them". John Knox assumed that there could be only "one face of kirk" in the country, and toleration was not merely suspect, but openly characterized as "wicked", and the question was confidently put: "What concord hath Christ with Belial?" It was, however, Richard Hooker himself who pointed out that "he which affirmeth speech to be necessary among all men throughout the world, doth not thereby import that all men must necessarily speak one kind of language", and differences naturally emerged within the Scottish Church.

The seventeenth century witnessed a most bitter conflict between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy. Andrew Melville with his "wonted humor of freedom and zeal" had succeeded in establishing the full Presbyterian system of Church government

by Assembly, Synod, Presbytery and Kirk Session; but James VI, especially after he became James I of Great Britain, and had English support to give him confidence, grew more tyrannical, and tried to assert his royal supremacy in matters spiritual, appointing bishops as the instruments of his will as against the democratic ministers who stood for spiritual independence, and had been given to addressing him in terms reminiscent of the franker of the Old Testament prophets. Charles I attempted a similar method, but neither he nor his ecclesiastical adviser, Archbishop Laud, realized the intrinsic devotion to liberty in the Scots, and hostility flared up into rebellion in the Jenny Geddes riot at Edinburgh and the subsequent National Covenant campaign, which was indirectly instrumental in bringing both Laud and Charles to the scaffold.

A sharp difference within Scottish religious circles was by this time established. Many found ecclesiastical controversy repulsive and disgusting, disliked extreme enthusiasms, and thought the Covenanters gloomy and bigoted. With Erasmus they asked: "Why do we make so strait and narrow Christ's religion which he would have so wide?" They shrank from the self-righteousness of Robert Hamilton, a leader of the extremer party, who described his friends as "the Anti-popish, Anti-prelatic, Anti-erastian, Anti-sectarian, true Presbyterian Remnant of the Church of Scotland". The quieter and more cultured type knew that the Reformers had nothing against Episcopacy as such, but that, finding the bishops the main obstacle to the progress of the new ideas, they were obliged to dispense with them, and did so the more readily because for so long the spiritual functions associated with the office had slipped into the background. Such people therefore acquiesced with little hesitation in the restoration of Episcopacy by Charles II after the somewhat violent period of Hildebrandism when intransigent "divine right" Presbyterians ruled the country in pride and tyranny.

But the restoration bishops were a definite disappointment, and those set over Scotland in positions of civic authority, in the effort to maintain the royal supremacy, simply destroyed the cause of Episcopacy throughout the country by their incredibly unwise

treatment of those who conscientiously clung to the Covenants, and to the doctrine, worship and government laid down in the Westminster documents. Sir Walter Scott had no great admiration for the Covenanters of the persecution period, but it seemed to him "as if Satan himself had suggested means of oppression". Politics and religion were as usual hopelessly confused by all parties, and some who regarded themselves as martyrs for the faith were held by the secular power to have been put to death for "their designs of subverting the monarchy". It was most natural, therefore, that the opportunity was seized in 1690, not merely to enthrone a constitutional ruler in the person of William of Orange, but to restore democratic Presbyterian church government, puritan worship, and Calvinistic principles. The threat from Episcopacy was at an end; but there remained amongst Scots people, both at home and wherever they settled in other parts of the globe, the most deep-rooted prejudice against anything that resembled the system under which so much had been suffered and so little benefit experienced.

This is to-day a matter of no slight consequence when Presbyterians and Anglicans meet to consider their differences, and discuss possibilities of co-operation and even of ultimate incorporating union. The chief factor in the case is historical. Scottish Presbyterianism is what we see it to-day to an appreciable extent because in the seventeenth century there was royal, English and secular interference with the established form of religion. The fundamental objection was not to Episcopacy and its ordinary associations, but to the attempts at enforcing it from outside by civil enactments. Episcopacy in Scottish experience meant State control of religion, and that the people simply would not have, and this attitude has consistently been maintained and the spiritual independence for which they struggled then and later they to-day enjoy in the present united Church of Scotland. John Knox had not the slightest objection, we must realize, say, to the repetition of the Lord's Prayer in public worship, and yet a hundred years after his time the excited imagination of simple folk saw even here a needle to draw in the Episcopalian if not the Papal thread, and much else was done, or not done,

just to emphasize beyond all possibility of doubt the determination not to submit to compulsion. John Knox knew nothing of Presbyteries; but a century later men like James Guthrie and George Gillespie poured out pamphlets to prove Presbyterianism the only scriptural form of Church government. Theory is to some extent an afterthought, a rationalization, an apologetic; and what rank as principles are in some degree, if not inferences from accepted practice, protests against detested practice. The threadbare public worship of the eighteenth century, which would have surprised Knox, was thus in part due more to hatred than to love, more negative than positive, more a revolt than a reform.

Another point that is not irrelevant to-day is indicated by the wording of the National Covenant of 1638. The gist of that famous document consists in a single reference to "the practice of all innovations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the kirk, or civil places and power of kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free assemblies and in Parliament"; but the Covenant as a whole is in terms of the strictest loyalty to the King, avoids details with regard to the contemporary dispute, and concentrates its assault upon "the Popish religion and tyranny". Rome in fact bulked very largely in the popular imagination, so that an English historian could declare the whole religion of Scotland to consist in "an entire detestation of Popery". This is not surprising when we consider what had been happening on the Continent; but to-day again this is an element in the case. Definite antipathy to Romanism still constitutes the main difficulty in all discussions of Anglicanism, and the present-day predominance of the Anglo-Catholics in the Church of England and their appropriation of the word "Catholic" creates what appears to be an insuperable barrier.

The form of Episcopacy which it was sought to impose upon Scotland was actually very mild indeed, and men such as Robert Leighton believed that an accommodation between the two systems was by no means out of the question. Latterly it has been generally recognized in Scotland that while various forms of Church government can claim Bible warrant, none can arrogate

to itself any exclusive *jus divinum*; and an ordinand of the Church of Scotland to-day does no more than "acknowledge the Presbyterian government of this Church to be agreeable to the Word of God". There has been corresponding relaxation of the doctrinal formulae, and since the middle of the nineteenth century great changes have taken place in the sphere of public worship and church architecture, so that the day of mere "dourness" and "cussedness", obstinacy and contrariness, may be said to be past, and the attitude of credulous terror has also for the most part been outlived. But it remains for the Presbyterian very seriously to reflect upon the extent to which mere accidents of history have contributed to the hardening and canonization of the system to which he has been accustomed, and to consider how real he can expect much of all this to appear to a convert from Hinduism or from existential materialism.

Another matter here demands attention. Even the enthusiast wearies in the course of time, and innovations promulgated with passion and sacrifice sink to the common level of by-laws and standing orders. The Reformation was a spiritual awakening, a realization that organization and performance and ceremony were not enough, and that religion was an inward, individual matter, a question of personal faith. But the new order settled down, and Protestantism became institutionalized and fully organized in its turn. This is specially true of Calvinism, for Calvin himself was legally-minded and conservative and judicially calm. During the Scottish persecutions, however, many an "outed" Presbyterian minister gathered surreptitious "conventicles" on the moors or in the glens, and here the little crowd of pious country folk, seated among the heather and on the rocks under the open sky, worshipping God, it might be at the risk of their lives, could not have cared less about forms and ceremonies, orders and institutions. They were back at the fountain-head, worshipping God in spirit and in truth: no liturgy, no organ music, no purple-robed choir, probably not even a Geneva gown for the preacher, but positive puritan simplicity, "aids to devotion" being unnecessary because of the obvious real presence of Christ himself. These Scots did not go so far as the English sectaries who in

terror of petrification melted to mere fluidity; the Scots retained their reverence for the ordained ministry, and kept strictly to the Geneva programme, but the emphasis, as at the Reformation, was upon the spiritual rather than the institutional, and this had a marked influence upon ecclesiastical Scotland in the eighteenth century.

From the conventicle there developed the "praying societies", small groups of zealous people in many parts of the country, who met to read and discuss the Bible and to pray, remembering how Peden, the Covenanting prophet, had declared that "it was praying folk that would get through the storm". This brings us to the Secessions, and the break-up of the Scottish Church. The first Secession occurred in 1733 when Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling, and three other ministers, with their congregations, separated from the Church of Scotland as then constituted, and formed the Associate Presbytery. To this tiny group there gradually adhered many of the "praying society" people, and a denomination developed which consisted of good Christians, believers, persons who had "closed with Christ", men and women of a type which in England would have been found chiefly in Baptist or Independent congregations, meeting for mutual edification, testimony, Bible study and prayer. The Churches thus formed were of the "gathered" sort in contrast with the national and established Church of Scotland which was a community institution claiming spiritual supervision over the whole population on a territorial basis, and content with profession of Christianity as at least a working basis. James Wood, writing in 1654, made the distinction clear, membership of the Church, according to him, not implying that one has been judged already inwardly regenerate and sanctified, or that the Church is satisfied touching the work of saving grace in the heart of the applicant: and Samuel Rutherford claimed for the Church all who were within the net, hearers of the Word, professing willingness to receive the Gospel. This is a matter which seriously divides the Churches to-day; denominations are either "multitudinous" or "gathered", either, according to Troeltsch's analysis, "church" or "sect".

Another small Secession happened in Scotland in 1761. Thomas Gillespie and two brother ministers with their flocks formed the Relief Church, and this grew steadily by accessions of the same believer type. Thomas Carlyle had a Secession upbringing and always maintained that it was among these people that "a man who awoke to the belief that he actually had a soul to be saved, was apt to be found". The Seceders had, as separatists, small concern for formal outward visible unity. It is so as a rule: the farther one moves to the left ecclesiastically, in the direction of the spiritual, the less thought there is of outward unity and even of history and tradition; whereas the farther one moves to the right, in the direction of the authoritative and institutional, the more is formal visible oneness respected; and to-day we find the strongest ecumenical interest among those who call themselves "Catholics". It is not surprising, then, that the Scottish Seceders showed a divisive tendency, quarrelled and split, and quarrelled and split again. In the early nineteenth century Scotland had in fact seven parallel Presbyterian religious bodies, living in that small territory, mostly on terms of mutual excommunication. All who had seceded were Evangelicals, orthodox, Calvinist, puritan, upholding the individual conscience against authority, and all believing in the right of the people to choose their own minister as against the legally supported landed patrons who would not give them the emotional and unctuous preachers whom they admired: indeed it was said that these pious people would reject the Apostle Paul himself if he were presented to a parish by a patron. Meanwhile the institutional variety of religion, more chilly if more cultured, was maintained by the Moderate party in the Church of Scotland.

The Disruption of 1843 involved a different kind of Secession. The Evangelical party, which had never died out within the Church, strengthened in the period of the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution, and there was a widespread Evangelical Revival in the early nineteenth century, which by the third decade gave this party control of the Church's policy, a position of which it sought to take advantage with a view to meeting the challenge of the new order, proposing certain modifi-

cations to adapt the Church to the altered conditions and to enable it to do its duty to the whole community as an instrument of Christian good. The Evangelicals under their champion, Thomas Chalmers, had unsympathetic parties on both sides, the Moderates who were conservative, suspicious of change, afraid of the proletariat, anxious about property rights and vested interests; and the Seceders, who took religion to be a purely personal affair and held that people who desired religious ordinances should pay for them, and were indifferent with regard to all but the zealous. Chalmers and his friends sought by Act of Assembly to increase efficiency in the Church, render its methods more elastic, and provide more encouragement for people to join it; but they found their earnest plans completely frustrated by legalist State mechanism and red tape and general solid imperturbable do-nothingness and obduracy. They had valued the State connexion when it meant opportunity and co-operation, but now they decided to forgo the advantages of an establishment which was proving incompatible with spiritual independence. John Knox had once said: "Take from us freedom of Assemblie and take from us the Evangel". The National Covenant insisted on "Free Assemblies". The Seceders appealed to "the first Free faithful and reforming General Assembly of the Church of Scotland". And now Chalmers and his associates formed the Free Church, claiming independence of State interference and obstruction, and using the slogans, "Non-intrusion"; "the Headship of Christ"; "the Crown Rights of the Redeemer". This was no Secession of a handful, for one third of the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland went out, and the Disruption has been called "the most honourable fact for Scotland that its whole history supplies".

Throughout this long period of Secession and Disruption the mother Church of Scotland kept on its way, holding the affection of the bulk of the people, and especially of the professional and peasant classes, emphasizing the place of morality, taking a broad-minded and charitable view of life, not separating religion from the world but interesting itself in the whole man, and concerned for the maintenance of a community based on Christian prin-

principles, keeping in touch with the state while never submitting to Erastian domination, and slowly learning to accommodate itself to the developing democracy of the times and to the changes in world thought.

We set out to write of Unity, and we have given a picture of difference, division, disintegration; but we did suggest a long way round, and now we may rapidly trace the road home.

The Seceders drew together to some extent in 1820, and then more fully in 1847 when the United Presbyterian Church was formed; and in 1900 this body joined with the Free Church to form the United Free Church, a union which made inevitable the still more triumphant reunion of 1929, when the old Church of Scotland and the United Free Church came together in the present Church of Scotland. Fragments were unfortunately dropped at each stage of progress; but the union was as complete as could have been hoped for. The range of unity was limited in that it was entirely within Presbyterianism; but principles were involved which are much wider than this one denomination. The causes of union make a complicated study, but included the alteration in the whole world's outlook upon life, the emergence of a new western paganism, the growth of organized anti-Christian doctrine, the multiplication of interests amongst all classes, changes in the financial situation, the fact that the experience of all was moving in the same direction, the denominations facing the same difficulties, and that by the same methods, the effect of War and common effort and suffering, the general drift towards the community emphasis, and not least a truer Christian spirit among Christians. What Principal Rainy said in 1897 all were saying thirty years later: "The situation has assumed a form, and we have come into a position, in which it concerns us in the most serious manner that these union proposals should succeed. I cannot consent to contemplate anything else whatever".

The movement was not towards mere uniformity, but was the considered action of parties, each of which had its point of witness still to maintain, but each of which had learned to appreciate that the others likewise had something of value to contribute. It was

markedly comprehensive. Fr. Congar from the Romanist standpoint and Fr. Hebert from that of the Anglo-Catholics have indicated the dangers of this word; but in Scotland real unity in and through difference was achieved. We do not have simply a heterogeneous collection in a bag, and the present situation is clearly the stronger because of the troubled course of the experience behind it. It is easy to find faults in all concerned, self-righteousness in those who went out and latitudinarianism in those who stayed where they were; and the criticism of Adam Smith, the economist, applies to every controversy of those centuries: "To the great Judge of the universe they impute all their own prejudices, and often view that divine Being as animated by all their own vindictive and implacable passions". But each brought a gift, if not gold, then frankincense or myrrh. Thus it has been pointed out that "the intense religious earnestness of the Seceders' home life has counted for much in the history of the Scottish people. It has developed powers of endurance, strength of character and intellectual force which have brought honour to our country". On the other hand the characteristic Scottish caution and sanity and balance were prominent in the Church of Scotland and prevented all hysteria.

In course of time the onesidedness of the distinctive factions moderated. Thus those who were keen for close association between Church and State discovered the dangers of secular and political control, the unfairness of privilege, the unprogressiveness of the official and established, while those who were keen for independence came to realize that one cannot live outside the law, especially where property and contract are involved, that duty to the community as a whole is important and the tone of public life sustained by explicit recognition of Christianity. And so the reunited Church of Scotland continues to be recognized as the national Church and its constitution is guaranteed by the State, the King is formally represented at the meetings of General Assembly and when he is in Scotland he attends worship in the Church of Scotland. On the other hand, the State admits that the Church owns its own property, appoints its own ministers, frames and interprets its own doctrinal standards, modifies its practices

entirely independently of all state interference, and that this freedom is derived from the Divine Head of the Church alone and is an inherent right. Though this issue of Church and State has been decided almost by default in America, it is an intensely living and prominent question in other parts of the world to-day, for in the Far East Christianity finds itself in a pagan atmosphere and under non-Christian secular authorities, and on the Continent of Europe Communism is, quite naturally, adopting an attitude which creates a position of the utmost danger and difficulty for Christians. The Church of England also will soon have to take its own problem of State relationship more seriously. In Scotland meantime we have obtained agreement on lines which seem to outside observers as well as to ourselves to be remarkably satisfactory, and this is the outcome of many generations of conflict and discussion. Both national recognition of religion and spiritual independence are secured: we have the advantages, without the disadvantages, of two opposing systems.

Again, the "Church" with its great nominal membership realized that a surface varnish of Christianity was not enough, that the many depend on the few, that society needs a nucleus of those who have not bowed the knee to Baal, while the "Sect" realized that it could not justifiably isolate itself from the world, and that while salt is necessary, one cannot live by salt alone. Thus the apparently deep distinction between Church and Sect has turned out to be one of degree and not of kind, and the true Israel is plainly always in process of cultivation within the wider Israel of God.

And all parties came to understand that while they leaned to authority or to liberty, to the institutional or to the personal, these tendencies became noxious save in combination and co-operation, that spiritual life depends upon their maintenance in full tension. Everyone was obliged to take to heart the words of Cromwell: "Think it possible that you may be mistaken"; but at the same time remained convinced that his experience provided a call from God to bear witness: "The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?" It was felt that allowance must be made for circumstances and temperament, and that Christ

spoke with many tones of voice, and was concerned both with eternity and with time, both with enduring principle and with changing application, so that there is room for many types within the visible Catholic Church. As Calvin strongly proclaimed: "we are not on account of every minute difference to abandon a Church", and in matters of worship and government there should be accommodation to the variations due to circumstances. This has encouraged general acquiescence in the demand of our time for more visible unity, as a means whereby the world may be led to believe.

Scottish ecclesiastical life since the Reformation has brought a better sense of proportion, for example as to the relation between Word and Sacrament, or between Faith and Works; and many suspicions have died down, though it is still possible to hear such an objection as is credited to someone who objected to stained-glass windows, saying that he preferred the glass as God made it. No doubt Scotland is in many details still inclined to be conservative, but it has had genuine religious experience of a varied kind, and has reflected earnestly upon it, and has with deliberation moved towards unity in a manner that has already proved a source of real inspiration to those in other parts of the world who are devoted to the final establishment of the Kingdom.

If we are to advance further and assist others so to do also, it must be in the spirit of Hugh Binning, a seventeenth century Scottish preacher, who said: "The more unity with God, the more unity among ourselves. Because here we are not fully one with our Father, therefore there are many differences between us and brethren. Because we are not perfectly in Christ, therefore we are not one as He and the Father are one".

THE EUCHARIST AND THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST

By E. L. MASCALL

I PROPOSE in this article to discuss one particular problem of Eucharistic theology, namely the problem of the relation between the Eucharist and the Sacrifice of Calvary. It should be stressed that there are many aspects of the Eucharistic sacrifice, some of them of the greatest importance, which will not be referred to at all, or only referred to incidentally. I shall say little or nothing, for example, about the relation of the Eucharist to the Church or of the relation between the Eucharist and the Church's ministry. Both of these are questions of major interest, and they have received considerable discussion in recent years. But the question with which I shall be concerned is no less vital, although it has received little attention from Anglicans for almost two decades. In spite of this neglect there is a good deal that can be profitably said about it as a result of some highly original and penetrating work which has been done by theologians of the Roman Communion. It is because this movement of thought seems to offer at least some prospect of loosening the deadlock which has stultified discussion between Catholics and Protestants for the last four hundred years that I have thought it worth while to engage on the present discussion.

I.

When the Catechism of the Book of Common Prayer describes the purpose for which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was instituted as "the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ and of the benefits which we receive thereby", it makes a statement from which it is difficult to imagine that any Christian could dissent. If, however, we go

on to inquire what precisely is to be understood by the word "remembrance" in this context and what is in fact the relation between the Eucharist and Calvary, we find ourselves inevitably involved in controversies which have rent western Christendom for four centuries and which are even now very far from resolution.

In the theology of the Eucharist as in many other matters, it may well be the case that the ultimate cause of the deadlock between Catholics and Protestants lies not in the points on which they have explicitly differed, and of which therefore both parties have been fully aware, but rather in a common assumption which both parties have inherited from the Middle Ages and of which, just because it has been a common assumption, both have been almost if not entirely unconscious. As long ago as 1930 the late Dr. F. C. N. Hicks in his important, if somewhat cumbersome, work *The Fullness of Sacrifice* drew attention to the way in which, both during the Reformation period and after, discussions of the Eucharist had been dominated by the medieval conception of sacrifice as consisting exclusively in the death of the victim, this being taken in complete isolation from the circumstances which led up to it, accompanied it or followed from it. The consequence of this was a situation in which each side had an argument which was quite invulnerable from the attacks of the other. The Protestants were in effect repeatedly asserting "Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; therefore the Eucharist cannot be a sacrifice", while the Catholics as constantly replied "But the Eucharist is a sacrifice, therefore Christ must be in some sense put to death in it"; and neither side observed the suppressed major premise which was common to both arguments, namely that sacrifice is simply equivalent to death. For Catholics therefore, the Eucharist was seen as a *repetition* of Calvary, while for Protestants it was at most a *commemoration* of Calvary. (How difficult in fact the Protestants of the Reformation period found it to go even as far as this has been shown by Dr. Brilioth in the discussion which he gives of the Eucharistic doctrine of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin in his work *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*.¹) It is true that in actual fact both sides have tended

¹ chh. iv, v.

to mitigate the initial starkness of their affirmations. Catholic theologians have generally asserted that, while the Eucharist is a repetition of Calvary, it is not a *literal* repetition, while many Protestant theologians have been anxious to insist that, while it is a commemoration of Calvary, it is not a *bare* commemoration; but what exactly is involved in a repetition which is not literal and in a commemoration which is not bare neither side has found it very easy to explain.

There has, of course, been a school of Protestant thought which, while it has considered the Eucharist as simply a commemoration, has seen it as a commemoration not of Calvary but of the Last Supper, the meal at which the Eucharist was instituted and was first celebrated. Such a view, in addition to any other objections which may be brought against it, only pushes the problem a stage further back and renders it even more intractable. For it evades the question of the relation between the Eucharist and Calvary only at the expense of raising, as an independent problem, the question of the relation between the Last Supper and Calvary; and this certainly makes things no easier.

When we turn to the great Anglican divines we find ourselves in an atmosphere of thought which is much less clear-cut than is that of either continental Protestantism or of continental Catholicism. It would be easy to explain this as merely an example of the well-known Anglican genius for woolliness and compromise, but I doubt whether such a judgement would be altogether fair. I suspect that their hesitations arose largely from the fact that they had much more respect than the continental reformers for the writings of the Fathers; and although they failed to locate the root weakness of late medieval Eucharistic theology in its exclusive identification of sacrifice with death, they seem to have realized fairly clearly that the error had lain not in the view that the Eucharist was a sacrifice but in an inadequate and restricted view of sacrifice itself. Many of them repudiate clearly the common Protestant thesis that the only sacrifice in the Eucharist is the purely metaphorical sacrifice which consists of the offering which the worshippers make of their praise and thanksgiving. Thus we find Jewel writing in the Elizabethan period: "We offer

up Christ, that is to say, an example, a commemoration, a remembrance of the death of Christ. This kind of sacrifice was never denied";² while Laud saw the Eucharist as having a threefold sacrificial character, first in the offering made by the priest of "the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death, represented in the bread broken and wine poured out", secondly in the sacrifices made by priest and people, of praise and thanksgiving, and thirdly in the self-oblation of the individual communicant.³ We might add, as a third example, the words of Bishop Bull: "In the Eucharist then, Christ is offered, not hypostatically, as the Trent fathers have determined (for so he was but once offered) but commemorative only".⁴ What, however, such writers understand by a commemorative sacrifice is not at all easy to see.

II.

The tendency among Catholic theologians, both medieval and post-medieval, to think of the relation between Calvary and the Eucharist in terms of repetition has led them almost inevitably to seek for some action in the Mass which can be considered as an equivalent of the slaying of our Lord which took place once and for all on the Cross. As has been already observed, they have done their best to avoid any suggestion that in the Mass there is a literal slaying of Christ by the officiating priest; nor has there been any marked tendency to revive the views, held apparently by a few medieval thinkers, that Calvary was the sacrifice for original sin and the Mass is the sacrifice for actual sin, or that Calvary was the sacrifice for the sins committed before Christ's death and the Mass is the daily sacrifice for the sins committed each day. They have emphasised rather the contrast between Calvary as a bloody sacrifice and the Mass as an unbloody one; they have tended to speak of Calvary as involving a real immolation and the Mass as involving a mystical one. Nevertheless, the domination of their thought by the idea of repetition has caused them to look for some ceremonial act,

² Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, ii, p. 230.

³ *ibid.* p. 269.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 446.

included in the celebration of the Mass, which depicts and, as it were, re-acts the slaying on Calvary, and they have conceived the sacrificial character of the Mass as residing in this act. They have viewed the Mass rather as a kind of passion-play, differing from other passion-plays simply in the facts that it has been instituted by Christ and that he himself takes the rôle of the victim. Thus Melchior Cano, to take but one example, saw the *fraction* of the host as the essentially sacrificial act, re-enacting the breaking of Christ's body on the Cross; with the startling consequence that a Mass in which the fraction was omitted would be no sacrifice at all.⁵ Others, such as Salmeron, Vasquez and Lessius, have located the essential sacrificial act in the *separate consecration* of the Body and the Blood, typifying the separation of Christ's blood from his body in his death.⁶ Others again, such as de Lugo and Franzelin, have conceived the transubstantiation of the elements as inflicting a kind of humiliation upon the glorified Christ, as reducing him sacramentally to a lower condition (*status declivior*), as producing a kind of kenosis (*desitio*) of the risen Lord.⁷ Whatever its weaknesses, and they are many, this last view has at least the advantage over the others that it associates the sacrificial character of the Mass with the consecration of the elements and not with something done to them after they are consecrated. But all these views have the inherent defect that they locate the sacrificial character of the Mass in some feature of it which is alleged to re-enact, in however "mystical" or symbolic a way, the slaying of Christ on Calvary. They all envisage the Mass as a *repetition*, even if an "unbloody" repetition, of Calvary. They naturally tend, in spite of the efforts of their exponents to avoid this conclusion, to make the Mass a sacrifice *numerically different* from Calvary, even if dependent upon it.⁸ And the paradoxical consequence follows that when these theologians go on to consider how the Mass is related to Calvary

⁵ *ibid.* p. 356f.

⁶ *ibid.* p. 359f.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 373f.

⁸ Billot is even quoted by Masure as having maintained the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Mass as different not only numerically but even specifically (*Le Sacrifice du Corps Mystique*, p. 35).

they come remarkably close to the Protestant theory of commemoration. For they see the Mass as related to Calvary simply through the fact that (as they allege) some ceremonial act in the Mass pictures the death of Christ; though they differ from most Protestants in holding that this ceremonial act is performed with the Body and Blood of Christ and not simply with bread and wine. Thus, although (or perhaps it would be more accurate to say *because*) they consider the sacrificial element in the Mass as consisting in something, namely a ceremonial act, which is other than the death on Calvary, they can restore the link with Calvary only by seeing this ceremonial act as, so to speak, a *symbolic imitation* or *picture* of the death of Calvary. There is moreover the further drawback that when we consider it as a *picture* of Calvary the Eucharist is not in fact a very good one, not nearly such a good one as, for example, the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play. It is surely very doubtful whether a visitor from Mars who had read the account of Christ's passion in the Gospels and then found himself present at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in either a Catholic or a Protestant church would derive the impression that there was any connexion between the two, unless he listened very carefully to the words of the rite; and even then he would probably be quite baffled as to what the connexion was. So far as what was being *done* was concerned, if the ceremony struck him as resembling anything at all it would be the Last Supper rather than Calvary, and even so the resemblance would be difficult to discern unless the Church was one of a very consciously "evangelical" type. In short, however firmly we may be convinced that the Eucharist was instituted for the continual remembrance of the Sacrifice of the death of Christ, it seems clear that any attempt to conceive the relation between the Eucharist and the death as being simply one of *resemblance* is quite misdirected. And in fact the fundamental ceremonial features of the Eucharist—the taking, blessing, breaking and giving of the bread, and the taking, blessing and giving of the cup—do not appear to derive from any deliberate pre-figuring of the Passion by our Lord at the Last Supper but from the normal ceremonial of a Jewish religious



meal. What Christ in fact deliberately added, and what invested the meal with a sacrificial significance, was not anything that he *did* but certain words that he *said*, his declaration that the bread was his body and that the cup was the new covenant in his blood, and his command that the rite should be repeated as his *anamnesis*. It is highly significant that in recent years some Roman Catholic theologians have shown a tendency to abandon the attempt to find in the ceremony of the Mass some action which can be looked upon as an equivalent of the immolation of Calvary simply in virtue of its external structure; it is not, however, always realized that that attempt was the natural outcome of the view that the Eucharist is, in however qualified a sense, a *repetition* of Calvary.

III.

The first clear instance of the abandonment of the repetitive view of the Eucharistic sacrifice by a Roman Catholic theologian would seem to be provided by the distinguished Jesuit theologian Père Maurice de la Taille, whose great work *Mysterium Fidei* was completed in 1915. Logically if not chronologically, his teaching forms a natural sequel to that of Dr. Hicks. Hicks maintained that in the Old Testament sacrifices the essentially priestly and sacrificial act was not the slaying of the victim, which might in fact be performed by a lay person, but the offering upon the altar to God of the blood, which in Jewish thought was identical with, or at least a divinely ordained symbol of, the victim's life. The slaying was merely an indispensable preliminary by which the life was set free to be offered. So, wrote Dr. Hicks, applying these considerations to the work of Christ, in whom all the Old Testament types are fulfilled, "the Sacrifice is not the death alone; nor the pleading with the blood alone; nor the offering upon the altar 'in heaven'; nor the act of Communion alone . . . Each stage is sacrificial. All together make the One Sacrifice".⁹

Following a somewhat similar line of thought, de la Taille sees a sacrifice as consisting of three elements, namely a ritual oblation, an immolation, and a divine acceptance. In the case

⁹ *op. cit.* p. 251.

of the one true Sacrifice of Christ, these are realized respectively at the Last Supper, on Calvary, and in the entrance of Christ into the heavenly places. What, then is the Mass? It cannot be a new *immolation*, for Christ cannot die again; and if he did die again in the Mass, the Mass would be a different sacrifice from that of Calvary, whereas it is actually the same. It must therefore be a new *oblation*, one made by the Church after the immolation, an *oblatio hostiae immolatae*, as the Last Supper was an oblation made by Christ before the immolation, an *oblatio hostiae immolandae*. The Mass brings about no change in Christ and inflicts no humiliation upon him; he is a victim, but a glorified victim, and is present in the Mass as such. Substantially the same view as this was developed independently by the Anglican theologian Sir Will Spens in his essay on the Eucharist in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, which was published in 1926, and in subsequent articles in the journal *Theology*; he uses a slightly different terminology to that of de la Taille, and refers to the three elements as oblation, immolation and consecration respectively. For him, "the Last Supper and the Eucharist are not separate sacrifices from that of Calvary, but supply a necessary element in the sacrifice of Calvary, by expressly investing our Lord's death before God and man with its sacrificial significance".¹⁰

The strong points of this approach to the Eucharistic sacrifice are sufficiently obvious. By making the death of Christ and the Eucharist two distinct elements in the one Sacrifice, it avoids any suggestion that the Eucharist is a repetition of Calvary. So far from the Eucharist doing again, in however "mystical" or symbolic a manner, what was done on Calvary, it does something essentially different. In de la Taille's terminology, the Eucharist *offers* what Calvary *immolated*, and it offers *after* the immolation the victim which the Last Supper offered *before*. Furthermore, this view altogether avoids that exclusive identification of sacrifice with death which we have seen to be the root cause of the deadlock between Catholics and Protestants. The death is only one element in the sacrifice; and although it is a *necessary* element and is indeed the element in which the sacrifice comes to its climax

¹⁰ *Essays Catholic and Critical*, p. 436,

of self-giving in obedience to the Father's will, nothing prevents us—though neither de la Taille nor Spens very clearly took this step—from viewing the sacrifice as one great and all-inclusive activity of filial homage which begins with the Incarnation—*Verbum supernum prodiens nec linquens Patris dexteram*—and reaches its consummation when the risen victim makes his triumphal entry into the heavenly realms, bearing with him for the Father's glory the spoils which he won by the shedding of his blood.

Nevertheless, this view would appear to demand careful qualification. We may well agree that the death of Christ is only one constituent of the sacrifice and at the same time hesitate to describe the Eucharist as a further constituent of it. We may well envisage the sacrifice as including the whole sweep of the incarnate life of Christ—birth, childhood temptation, ministry, death, resurrection and ascension—without feeling able to add the Eucharist as a further item in the list. Nobody, I think, would be prepared to say that the Eucharist is something which *happens* to Christ, in the sense in which we may quite legitimately say that the passion, resurrection and ascension were things which happened to him. Both de la Taille and Spens seem to have had a lurking awareness of this difficulty, for each of them hesitates to consider the Eucharist as a distinct element of the sacrifice in separation from the Last Supper. For de la Taille the Last Supper and the Eucharist *together* provide the element of oblation; while Spens writes that “the Last Supper and the Eucharist . . . supply a necessary element in the sacrifice”¹¹ (not, we must observe, *two* necessary elements) and that “*at the Last Supper and in every Eucharist* he consecrates that his most holy death to be a sacrifice”.¹² The only writer, so far as I know, who has explicitly affirmed that the Eucharist, as distinct from the Last Supper, is necessary for the completeness of the sacrifice is the Roman Catholic Bishop of Victoria, B.C., Dr. Alexander Macdonald, who

¹¹ *Essays Catholic and Critical*, loc. cit.

¹² “The Christian Sacraments”, in *Theology*, xviii, p. 15 (1929), italics not in original. Spens goes on to suggest that the Eucharist is necessary in order that we shall take part in the consecration.

wrote in his book *The Sacrifice of the Mass* (1924) as follows: "Without the ceremonial offering in the Mass, the Sacrifice finished on Calvary would have been ritually incomplete . . . Our Lord's Sacrifice of himself attained its *actus primus*, or complete essence, on Calvary: it attains its *actus secundus*, or complete operation, on our altars".¹³ Even here, however, the contrast between Calvary as *actus primus* and the Mass as *actus secundus* suggests that the Mass cannot enter into the constitution of the sacrifice in the same way as that in which the events of our Lord's incarnate life enter into it. Nevertheless, in whatever degree these writers may have been conscious of the difficulty, none of them seems really to have faced it; in each case we are left with the suggestion that without the Eucharist the sacrifice of Christ would be incomplete. If the Catholic theologians of the Counter-Reformation tended to make Calvary and the Mass into numerically distinct sacrifices, the theologians of the school which we are now considering tend to make neither Calvary nor the Mass a sacrifice at all. For them, when we celebrate Mass we are either adding an element which is necessary to make the sacrifice complete or else re-enacting *ex post facto* the act of the Last Supper, which *was* necessary to make the sacrifice complete. If we take the former alternative, neither the offering which Christ makes of himself in the incarnate life nor the offering which the Church makes of him in the Mass can be properly described as a sacrifice, though each might be described as, in a broad sense, sacrificial; it is only the two together that form the sacrifice by their conjunction. If we take the latter alternative, then the incarnate life is perhaps to be described as a sacrifice, in view of its consecration at the Last Supper (since the Last Supper is itself an event in the incarnate life), but the Eucharist, so far from being a sacrifice, is only an imitation of the act by which the incarnate life was so consecrated.

It goes without saying that probably none of the writers mentioned would in fact admit the consequences which have just been drawn. All of them were anxious to assert that the Mass is

¹³ *op. cit.* pp. 105, 108.

a genuine sacrifice and that it is identical with the sacrifice of Calvary. What we are concerned with here, however, is not whether this last assertion is correct, but whether the theories which these writers held about the nature of the sacrifice provide an adequate basis for it; and it seems fairly clear that they do not. For if the Eucharist, or the Eucharist and the Last Supper together, is one element in the sacrifice, it cannot be the sacrifice itself. These writers avoid making the Eucharist a repetition of Calvary only at the expense of making both it and Calvary something less than a sacrifice. However near they come to propounding an adequate theory, they fail to achieve complete success. Something is still lacking.

IV.

The missing factor can, I believe, be found in the work of another Roman Catholic writer, Abbot Anscar Vonier, whose book *A Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist* was published in 1925. For Vonier, the fundamental fact about the Eucharist is the fact that it is a *sacrament*; and the fundamental fact about a sacrament is the fact that it is a *sign*, albeit a sign of a very special kind. Now the purpose of a sign is to represent; and the purpose of that particular kind of sign which is a sacrament is to re-present, to make present, to effect, that which is represented. A sacrament is a sign which has effective causality, a sign which brings about that which it signifies. Furthermore—and this is Vonier's special contribution to the discussion—sacramental efficacy is an altogether unique type of effective causality and it must not be confused with other types. It is, of course, supernatural, but not all supernatural causality is sacramental. "If", writes Vonier, "the priest at the altar brought down Christ from heaven in his natural state as a full-grown man, this would not be a sacrament in the least, as it would lack the very essence of the sacrament, representative signification".¹⁴ And again,

"The sacramental world is a new world created by God, entirely different from the world of nature and even from the world of spirits. It would be bad theology to say that in the sacraments

¹⁴ *op. cit.* p. 32.

we have here on earth modes of spiritual realities which resemble the ways of the angels. We have nothing of the kind. If we spoke with the tongues of angels and men it would not help us in the least to express the sacramental realities. Sacraments are a new creation with entirely new laws".¹⁵

For Vonier, then, the Eucharistic presence of Christ is entirely real, but it is of an altogether different type from his presence on earth before his ascension and his presence in heaven after it. Those presences are, so to speak, presences in their own right, while the Eucharistic presence exists because and only because Christ, by his institution and promise, has attached it to certain sensible signs. It exists simply because it has a sacramental sign ordained by God and through no other cause whatever. In Vonier's words, "the sacramental sphere is an unknown world with a well-known inhabitant".¹⁶

It must, I think, be admitted that Vonier is inclined, in the medieval manner, to identify sacrifice too exclusively with death, but this is an emphasis which can easily be corrected without detriment to his special contribution. What is of primary importance is his realization that the Mass is not to be thought of as something that *happens* to Christ in the sense in which the events of his incarnate life in general can be thought of as happening to him, as the last event in a series of which the other chief members are his birth, infancy, temptation, ministry, death, resurrection and ascension. The sacrificial character of the Mass does not consist in its being an event which happens to Christ after his ascension and which in some way repeats or imitates his death, but in its being the means by which the whole sacrificial action of Christ, centred in the Cross and culminating in the Ascension, is made sacramentally present in his Church. It is not a repetition of the sacrifice, nor is it the completion of the sacrifice; it is simply the sacrifice itself, present in the unique

¹⁵ *op. cit.* p. 35. Vonier was to a remarkable extent anticipated in the middle of the nineteenth century by R. I. Wilberforce; see, e.g. his *Doctrine of the Incarnation*, p. 289, and his *Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist* (3rd ed.), p. 96f.

¹⁶ *op. cit.* p. 92.

mode of a sacrament, present, that is, simply and solely because the sacramental species are the divinely ordained effective signs of it. The inner reality which the sacramental signs contain—namely, the whole redemptive act of Christ—does not *happen* historically and physically, in the Mass; it is simply *there*, sacramentally. As something done by the Church, as the saying of certain words and the doing of certain things with the sacramental species, each Mass is, of course, a new event; but it is not a new event in the life of Christ. Calvary was, of course, an event in the life of Christ and so was his entry into heaven; if we ask what Christ is doing now, the answer is that he is reigning in glory and interceding for us before the Father's throne, not that he is dying on our altars. In the physical chronological order the Mass is simply something done by the Church with the sacred elements. It is in the sacramental order that the Mass is a sacrifice. That is to say it is a sacrifice not because Christ is dying at a particular time on a particular altar, as he died once at a particular time on a particular cross, but because the elements of bread and wine which are at that time on that altar are the divinely appointed signs of the sacrifice. And in the sacramental order the Mass contains and communicates the whole redemptive activity of Christ, the whole sweep of filial self-oblation that extends from his incarnation in the womb of Mary through his death on Calvary to his heavenly glorification. The Mass is therefore neither a new sacrifice, nor a part of the one Sacrifice; it is the one Sacrifice in its totality, present under a sign. We may legitimately inquire what part is played in the one Sacrifice by the various events of our Lord's incarnate life; how, for example, Calvary is constituted as a sacrificial reality, and is made something more than a legal execution, by the events of the Last Supper, and whether Calvary can be considered as a sacrifice apart from the Resurrection and the Ascension. But we cannot legitimately inquire what part is played in the sacrifice by the Mass, for the Mass is not part of the sacrifice; it just *is* the sacrifice—sacramentally. Its efficacy consists not in its being an operation performed upon, or an action performed with, the crucified and glorified Body and Blood of Christ; but in

the fact that, by divine ordinance, the eucharistic species are the sacramental signs of the Body and Blood. Nothing happens to Christ in the historical order as a result of the eucharistic consecration. What happens in the historical order as a result of the eucharistic consecration happens to the bread and wine; which become, not by a change of physical properties but by sacramental causality, the Body and Blood of Christ, so that the one Sacrifice is made present in the Church as the ground of the Church's existence and the source of its life.

V.

I shall conclude this survey of recent Catholic thought about the Eucharist with some reference to the remarkable work of Canon Eugène Masure, the Director of the *Grand Séminaire* at Lille. This can be found in two outstanding books, *Le Sacrifice du Chef*, of which the second edition was published in 1932 and of which an English translation by Dom Illtyd Trethowan appeared in 1940 under the title *The Christian Sacrifice*, and *Le Sacrifice du Corps mystique*, which was published in 1950. Reference may also be made to an article by Canon Masure in the *Downside Review* of 1947 and to discussions of his views by various other writers in the same journal. Masure opens his discussion in *Le Sacrifice du Chef* with an examination of the nature of sacrifice in general, and castigates with some violence the view which has been predominant for the last three centuries, according to which the essence of sacrifice lies in the destruction of the victim. The responsibility for this view he attributes to de Lugo, though, as I have already suggested, it would seem to go back into the Middle Ages; incidentally, it is very prominent in the discussions of the Anglican Sir Will Spens.¹⁷ Masure places the whole notion of sacrifice upon the widest basis and goes back to the famous sentence of Augustine: *Verum sacrificium est omne opus quod agitur, ut sancta societatae inhaereamus Deo, relatum scilicet ad illum finem boni, quo veraciter beati esse*

¹⁷ *Essays Catholic and Critical*, p. 433f.

possimus,¹⁸ with St. Thomas's variant: *Omne illud quod Deo exhibetur; ad hoc quod spiritus hominis feratur in Deum*.¹⁹ But Masure sees still more significance in another passage in St. Thomas: *Sacrificia proprie dicuntur quando circa res Deo oblatas aliquid fit... Et hoc ipsum nomen sonat: nam sacrificium dicitur ex hoc quod homo facit aliquid sacrum*.²⁰ The root idea of sacrifice, therefore, is not *death* (though the death of the victim may indeed be necessary when sacrifice is offered in a fallen world), still less is it *destruction*, but *transformation*—the transformation, by the divine acceptance, of a gift offered by man in homage to God. In what then, Masure inquires, does the Sacrifice of Christ consist?

"First", he answers, "in the return of the Son to his Father with his religion of adoring love, accomplished in the hard conditions which our sins imposed; then in the acceptance granted by the Father with all the depth of his eternal love to this homage of the incarnate Son; so as a result in the meeting of the Son with the Father, conditioned—for our sakes—by previous immolation, and one which went, solely through man's wickedness, *usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis*...

"Thus the Christian sacrifice did not lie only in the immolation of the Cross, although it appears there to our eyes in full relief and in all its force. That would be too narrow a conception... We must keep the whole, from the kiss of Judas to the Father's welcome...

"This sacrifice had nothing ritual about it, if by ritual we mean figurative liturgy. But since all the stages of this divine tragedy correspond to the great metaphysical adventure, the toilsome return and the triumphant welcome, which the ancient holocausts tried in vain to picture on their unsubstantial altars, we must say that Christ's death and Resurrection constitute the Christian sacrifice, the only sacrifice".²¹

¹⁸ *De Civ. Dei*, x, 6: "A true sacrifice is every work which is performed in order that in holy fellowship we may cleave to God, that is, which is related to that end of goodness in which alone we can be truly blessed".

¹⁹ *S. Theol.*, III, xxii, 2: "Anything which is presented to God in order that the spirit of man may be carried to God".

²⁰ *S. Theol.* II II, lxxv, 3 ad 3: "There are sacrifices properly so called when something happens in connection with things offered to God... The very name shows this; for 'sacrifice' is derived from a man making something holy".

²¹ *The Christian Sacrifice*, p. 185-6.

But how can we share in this sacrifice, the sacrifice of him who is our Head? How can it be communicated to us? Through our participation in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, Masure replies, and this leads him to consider the meaning of *sacrament*. And he points out that, however much the point may have been neglected by modern Catholic theologians through fear of the misuse which had been made of the notion by Protestants, the fundamental meaning of sacrament is *sign* or *symbol*.

"Our controversies with Protestants", he writes, "have as it were broken the force of this vocabulary into pitiable fragments. When we speak of symbols we think nowadays of deceptive appearances, empty signs and mystical illusions. That is why we no longer dare to say that the Eucharist is the symbol of Christ's body.

"But our forbears put into the word all the meaning figured externally before their eyes. And they considered that man can possess the same reality in two ways, as such in its historic actualization—as with the Passion according to the four Evangelists—and in its bare metaphysical nature, veiled by a symbol which makes it at once real and present, and pictured at the same time by our ritual figures—and so is the Saviour's Passion on the Altar".²²

Masure is quite explicit that the Mass must not be looked on as a further event which *happens* to Christ in the historical order:

"We must not make a contrast between Calvary and the Eucharist by adding them together like two distinct quantities similar in kind, for we are not faced here with mere copies of a single reality, but with efficacious symbols of a previously existing mystery".²³

This authentic tradition, that the whole sacrifice is contained and communicated under the sacramental symbols, Masure asserts to have been fully operative in both St. Thomas Aquinas and in the Council of Trent, and to have become obscured only in the post-Reformation writers under the stress of their controversies with Protestants. We may perhaps suspect that in forming this estimate Masure has been too much influenced by respect for the exalted position which the Angelic Doctor and the Tridentine definitions hold in his own communion, and that

²² *ibid.* p. 212-3.

²³ *ibid.* p. 214.

in fact the debasement of the tradition which Masure rightly deplores can be traced back into the Middle Ages. But of the degeneration itself there can be no doubt. I referred at the beginning of this paper to the universal interpretation of the Eucharist by counter-reformation Catholic theologians as some kind of *repetition* of Calvary. Masure subdivides this interpretation into two varieties. "One group of theologians", he says—and he includes among these Vasquez, Lessius, and, in general, those of Flanders and the Spanish Netherlands—"had rightly sought a symbolic reference to Calvary in the sacramental signs, but they had made the new sacrifice consist exclusively in this, as though a resemblance could of itself produce reality... Then under the pressure of the theory itself, which could develop only by exaggeration, the ground suddenly shifted. Now it is not only because it contains an image of Calvary that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, but because it is itself physically another immolation. Lessius had spoken of an image which would transform itself, if it could, into reality. De Lugo thought that this virtuality actually existed: there is a new immolation at the altar. There is a death upon the corporal: *semper moriens ad interpellandum pro nobis*".²⁴

But, Masure continues, "at this final stage of the vicious circle, other theologians, more sensitive, protest. 'It is too much', they cry, struck to the heart at the vision of their Saviour's corpse laid upon the altar at their Mass each morning". And so, as in the case of de la Taille, they take refuge in the saving gesture of *oblation*. "Some find it at the end of the mystery of the Redemption, in Heaven, where Christ still offers himself, and so bring this upon the altar; others see it at the beginning, at the Supper, where Christ delivered all his Body and his Blood as a holocaust ready for offering to his Father's glory". Nevertheless, Masure concludes, "there is another interpretation possible of sacramental immolation—the doctrine of the efficacious symbol. A sign instituted by Christ is rich enough to contain within it the reality which it resembles. Its extraordinary power comes to us

²⁴ *op. cit.* p. 223.

not precisely from this resemblance, however moving this may be for us, however exquisite our Lord's selection, but from the fact of institution by him. It is a sign possessing, in virtue of its author, the value which it signifies".²⁵

It will, I hope, be clear from this exposition of Masure's doctrine that his insight is refreshingly penetrating and his touch remarkably sure. I cannot help feeling that he has opened up an approach which, if its importance were realized, might do much to loosen the deadlock in Eucharistic theology which has prevented constructive discussion between Catholics and Protestants for over four centuries. His second and shorter work, *Le Sacrifice du Corps Mystique*, which has not yet been translated into English, is particularly remarkable for its clarity, its penetration and its power of synthesis.

Before leaving the discussion of Masure, there is one further point on which I think it will be well to touch. We have seen that for Masure it is not the *resemblance* of the Mass to Calvary that constitutes it as a sacrifice, but its institution by Christ. "The sacramental sign," he writes, "is not efficacious because it symbolically resembles the mystery to be produced by it. It is efficacious because it has been instituted by our Lord". But he goes on to assert that "it has been chosen and instituted by him by reason of this resemblance", and that therefore "its causality derives in the last analysis both from its author and from its resemblance to the effects".²⁶ I cannot but think that this concession very much weakens Masure's position; I have pointed out earlier in this article that in fact the ceremonial features of the Eucharist do not derive from any deliberate prefiguring of the Passion by our Lord but from the normal cere-

²⁵ *op. cit.* p. 224-5. It is important to remember that not only are the eucharistic species the effectual signs of the body and blood of Christ, but also that the eucharistic rite is the effectual sign of the redemptive act of Christ. The real presence is for the sake of the sacrifice, not *vice versa*. Cf. Masure *Le Sacrifice du Corps Mystique*, p. 157f., and G. Dix on "Consecration" in *The Liturgy* (ed. K. D. Mackenzie), p. 93f.

²⁶ *op. cit.* p. 225 note.

monial of a Jewish religious meal; it was the utterance of certain words in connection with the ceremonial that constituted it as a sacrifice and related it to the forthcoming Passion.²⁷ And Masure has in fact shown considerable vacillation in his views as to how the resemblance between the Eucharist and the Passion is to be understood, even in the secondary place which he assigns to it. When he wrote *The Christian Sacrifice* he took what he later described as "the easy view, falling in with the common opinion that the sign of immolation is the separation of the bread and wine, and, after the Consecration, the separation of their species".²⁸ This view which Masure described as having "hypnotized" Lessius, Billot and Vonier, he himself came to abandon. (Incidentally I ought to confess to having succumbed, at least partially, to this hypnosis myself, as can be seen by a reference to page 184 of my book, *Christ, the Christian and the Church*.) In 1947 he expressed himself as follows: "This mystery is wholly present under the species of bread; it is present again under the species of wine. Both species are expressive. The bread by its solidity and mass represents the immolated body—and so Christ's death. The wine, poured forth like Christ's blood, puts before our eyes the same single victim".²⁹ But even here Masure feels it necessary to find *some* resemblance between the encharistic species and the crucified victim, though

²⁷ Masure himself writes: "It is not because the ritual sign of the consecration of bread and wine was already a sacrificial rite that the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ is a sacrifice; on the contrary, it is because the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ is a sacrifice that the Jewish rite of the eucharist of bread and wine has become sacrificial" (*Le Sacrifice du Corps Mystique*, p. 189).

²⁸ "The Mass: Sacramental Immolation", in *Downside Review*, lxxv, p. 203 (1947). Cf. *The Christian Sacrifice*, p. 204.

²⁹ *Downside Review*, art. cit. p. 205. It is interesting to compare the following passage, written by Dr. A. M. Farrer in 1937: "Certainly Blood was not added to Body because these two are complementary constituents of one substance; that would have required Flesh rather than Body. Rather, the two suggest different trains of thought about the one substance—Body the wholeness and reality of the person, and its continuity here and hereafter: Blood the sacrificial death, that which is poured out, given, and not recovered, the discontinuity and the break". (*The Parish Communion*, p. 88).

now he sees the resemblance in each species and not in the two considered together; Mgr. H. F. Davies, however, in a discussion of Masure's new position, appears to have overlooked this point and to have understood Masure to hold that the essential symbolism is provided simply by the transubstantiation.³⁰ Be this as it may, in his second book *Le Sacrifice du Corps Mystique*, published in 1950, Masure apparently reverts to the earlier view, possibly under the influence of the Papal encyclical *Mediator Dei*, for he writes as follows: "The species, each with its separate consecration, evoke the image of the body drained of blood and of the blood shed to the last drop at the moment of Christ's death". And again: "The separation of the species is the image of Christ's death; their oblation is the symbol of a sacrifice".³¹ But in any case I cannot help feeling that the whole attempt to see the sacrificial character of the Mass as constituted, even in a secondary way, by a *resemblance* between some feature of the sacramental rite and the death on Calvary is devoid of theological content, however edifying it may be from a purely devotional point of view; it seems to me in this respect to be comparable with some of the more artificial mystical interpretations of Holy Scripture. The performance of the Eucharist does not provide at all an obvious picture of Calvary. As I have already urged and as Masure himself maintains, what ultimately constitutes the Eucharist as a sacrifice is its institution by Christ. It was not, I would suggest, necessary that the sacramental species should be bread and wine in order for the Eucharist to be a sacramental sign of Christ's sacrifice; some quite different elements might have been equally appropriate, if Christ had chosen to invest them with sacramental character. It would, however, seem to be necessary that they should be bread and wine (or at any rate some articles of human food and drink) if the Eucharist was to be also a means by which we could feed on the sacrifice; or, to put the matter slightly differently, if the Eucharist was to

³⁰ *Downside Review*, lxvii, p. 1f. (1949).

³¹ *op. cit.*, p. 61, 70; quoted by Illtyd Trethowan in *Downside Review*, lxxviii, n. 402 (1950).

be that kind of sacrifice (which, for example, the Jewish whole-burnt-offering was *not*) which is consummated in communion. What bread and wine naturally picture is food and drink, not sacrifice.³² Masure himself seems to recognize this when he writes:

“We may add, or rather we must add, using another suggestion made by P. Sage that the sign [*sc.*, in the Eucharist] by presenting itself before our eyes as food and drink in their most human and necessary forms, shows us throughout its sacramental development that the body and blood of Christ are given to us as a *life-giving* victim. For the normal conclusion of a sacrifice is the consumption of the victim by the assistants, and the species of bread and wine enable us to accomplish with the body and blood of Christ, which they represent, precisely this supreme efficacious rite—efficacious, this time, of supernatural grace”.³³

VI.

This somewhat lengthy discussion will, I hope, have made plain the resurgence in modern Catholic eucharistic theology of a number of highly important features which had been for a long time obscured and neglected. In many cases their reformulation has been tentative and hesitant, and different writers have placed their emphasis upon different points. Most of them are members of the Roman Communion and have had to exercise great circumspection to make their statements concur with the Sacrosanct Synod of Trent and the almost as sacrosanct theology of St. Thomas Aquinas. While none of them has directly contravened these venerable authorities and indeed most of them have claimed their support, a member of another communion may perhaps be forgiven for suggesting that the divagation from the authentic tradition which they deplore perhaps began earlier than they have recognized and may have influenced the outlook, if not the dogmatic affirmations, of even the most august teachers. From the whole discussion three main points emerge, which are closely connected with one another. First, there is the virtual abandon-

³² It may be for this reason that some Protestants, considering only the external form of the Eucharist, have looked upon it as nothing but a Christian fellowship-meal, “no sacrifice, but a life-giving feast”.

³³ *Downside Review*, *art cit.* p. 208.

ment of the narrow identification of sacrifice with *death* and destruction, and the placing of it in the wider setting of the oblation of the victim to God to be transformed by the divine acceptance. Secondly, there is the recognition that the Eucharist is not to be conceived as some sort of *repetition* of Calvary or as a fresh incident in the Saviour's incarnate life; with this is closely associated the deeper understanding of the nature of sacramental signification. Thirdly, there is the realization that the relation between the Eucharist and the redemptive act of Christ is not to be thought of primarily in terms of *resemblance*, but as constituted by the divine ordinance and promise. All these features point to a recovery of that essentially *eschatological* attitude to the Eucharist which, as Dom Gregory Dix has so convincingly shown,³⁴ characterized the Church's outlook in the pre-Nicene period, before it was supplanted, as a result of the official adoption of Christianity as the imperial religion, by an attitude that was predominantly *historical*. I may perhaps illustrate this by reference to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Catholics have sometimes tended to be embarrassed by the fact that, with three somewhat dubious exceptions of an incidental kind,³⁵ there is no reference to the Eucharist throughout the Epistle. Even the passage in which Melchizedek, who is explicitly produced as the type of Christ's priesthood, is mentioned as bringing forth bread and wine is given no eucharistic application.³⁶ What a missed opportunity! laments the Catholic apologist. And what a godsend for the liberal Protestant who wants to maintain that the Eucharist meant little or nothing to the primitive Church! Surely, we feel, if the Eucharist had anything like the importance for the first Christians that it has held in subsequent Catholicism, the writer, after describing what the Son of God has done in the past, how he became incarnate, suffered, died, rose again and entered into the heavenly places, would go on to tell us what this same Saviour does now in the Eucharistic rite. But in fact nothing of the kind is said. And why? Not, I would suggest, because for

³⁴ *The Shape of the Liturgy*, ch. xi.

³⁵ vi 4, x 29, xiii 10.

³⁶ Cf. Massey, *The Christian Sacrifice*, p. 177f.

the writer the Eucharist was unimportant, but because it was not for him another event in the Saviour's life. It was for him—though he would not of course have used these words—a sacramental, not a biographical, fact. It was not another incident in the Messianic biography, something happening to Christ *after* the Ascension in the way in which, for example, the temptation in the wilderness or the crowning with thorns happened *before*. It was something in which the *whole* biography, the *whole* life of self-oblation to the Father, beginning in time with the Incarnation in the womb of Mary and culminating in the eternal order at the Ascension, was made present, not as a new event in history, but as a permanent reality communicated to the Church under the sacramental signs. Thus, if from one point of view we are bound to say that there is nothing about the Eucharist in the Epistle to the Hebrews, from another point of view we might almost say that the Epistle is about nothing else.³⁷ For *everything* that the Epistle describes is given to us in the Eucharist; it would be a pitiful weakening of the theme to make the Eucharist *one item* in the series.

It might perhaps be objected that, in stressing in this way the centrality of the notion of *sacramental signification*, I have been adopting a purely Western and Latin outlook. The very word *sacramentum* is a Latin word, for which the Eastern Church has no precise equivalent; the Easterns are content to describe the Eucharist as a mystery (*mysterion, tainstvo*), and the word "mystery" contains no particular suggestion of a *sign*. In fact it might be taken as implying the concealment of the inner reality rather than its manifestation. I think that all that the objection really shows is that Eastern sacramental theology is less developed than Western, not that there is any real contradiction between them, on this point. For, as I have been at pains to point out, the eucharistic elements have not the character of signs in view of any *resemblance* to the divine realities which they contain. Nobody would be reminded of the Body and Blood of Christ by the appearance of the consecrated elements; nobody would be

³⁷ Cf. Masure, *Le Sacrifice du Corps Mystique*, p. 167f.

reminded of Calvary by the appearance of the Eucharistic liturgy. The elements are signs—effectual signs—in virtue of Christ's institution and promise, not in virtue of their physical properties. It is only by faith that they are recognized as being signs at all. The sign is the sign of a mystery; and the mystery is the mystery of a sign. And at this point at least we may perhaps be content to leave the matter with the words of St. Thomas:

... *si sensus deficit*
ad formandum cor sincerum
sola fides sufficit.

THE ORGANIC AND COVENANT IDEAS OF THE CHURCH

By H. E. W. TURNER¹

AN important book on the Church entitled *The Structure of the Divine Society* has recently been published by Professor Dillistone, one of the Evangelical scholars who have of late enriched the Church with scholarly contributions from that point of view. Its principal theme is a contrast, partly historical and partly constructive, of two ideas of the Church, the Organic and the Federal. As the exposition proceeds it is clear that Professor Dillistone has a marked preference for the Covenant idea, but his final conclusion is that neither by itself is sufficient, and his final formula is "Heirs of the Covenant in one Body". I propose in this sermon to summarize his treatment of both concepts, and then to try to apply his contrast further, and finally to consider a possible reconciliation of the two points of view.

i. The Organic Idea of the Church

Historically it has its roots in the thought and practice of early Indian society, where in the caste system it led to "inbreeding" and a structure of society which arrested the progress of India from barbarism to maturity. Its concern with Form led to formalism. For Western man its source is rather Plato and Aristotle. It is a matter of argument whether the organic idea is basic to Hebrew society, and can only be traced through a few of the images used by our Lord such as the Vine and its Branches. It reappears decisively in the Pauline image of the Body of Christ. With the help of Mersch, *Le corps mystique de Christ*, Dillistone traces its application through the early Fathers

¹ A sermon preached before the University of Oxford in St. Mary's on Sunday, December 2, 1951.

but reaches the conclusion that it is used rather devotionally and spiritually than doctrinally during this period. In Aquinas we find a new stage in the development of the metaphor, for the Aristotelian preoccupation with Form reinforces the Pauline and Patristic use of the metaphor. It received a powerful reinforcement in the philosophy of organism of Whitehead, and a modern Anglo-Catholic theologian like Mascall presents what is virtually a fusion of ideas derived from Whitehead and a system based upon Aquinas. In him Aquinas and Whitehead are met together. With Mersch he is inclined to press the image of the Body, already applied morally and spiritually by the Fathers, into a metaphysical and ontological mould.

The importance of the concept of organism cannot readily be over-estimated. It describes a multiplicity in unity—a whole of parts of such a character that through the interrelation of parts a new level of life appears to emerge. There may be structure and form in a crystal but it lacks the qualities which decisively characterize an organism—a deeper interpenetration between whole and part, a more fruitful and costing response to its environment.

In the field of biology the concept of organism is either a description of existing phenomena or it is nothing. It can, however, be applied to human societies, though here we leave the sphere of strict scientific description and enter that of analogy. There is a significant difference in the status of the parts. The parts of a biological organism are fractional and functional only—that is to say, they have no independent life of their own. The members of a society are persons who are not merely functional parts but have, or deem themselves to have, the status of persons. When we apply the concept to the Church we are still further removed from functionalism, for here we are concerned with a colony of souls united in a society with moral and spiritual structure.

The organic view of society has its own attendant dangers. Too close an approximation of society to the organic ideal might lead to the reduction of the constituent persons to the status of

functional parts. Karl Popper in his book on *The Open and Closed Society* points out the tendency towards totalitarianism in the Platonic ideal society. At least Plato was prepared to regard slavery as the necessary basis of the good life for his hierarchy of classes. Marxism, which has been supported by analogies drawn from the biological level of life, is wholly self-consistent in its insistence that an individual or a whole class can be liquidated in the interests of the organic whole. It is an obvious criticism that it falls below the level of personality in its treatment of the individuals which make up that society.

A further danger is that the organic view of society may become preoccupied with problems of structure than with questions of end. The hierarchic principle is strongly present in Plato, while questions of form dominate both Plato and Aristotle, the former as an artist, the latter as a scientific philosopher. It might even be urged that these interests condemn the organic view to be in danger of becoming static rather than dynamic in character.

All these dangers might reappear in the Divine Society in cases where it is considered too closely as an organism, and the dangers of applying the concept of the body of Christ in a metaphysical or an ontological sense may easily be seen in a hardening and a formalizing of the moral and spiritual realities upon which the Church is really based.

ii. The Covenant Idea of the Church

Over against the Organic idea of the Church Professor Dillistone sets the Covenant concept. Here again we have a description of a different but an equally characteristic type of human relationship. Judging by the primitive form which Covenant sacrifices took it has its roots in the remote past. It rises to dominant heights in the history of the Hebrew people, though there is room for two opinions on the question whether the organic concept of society is also found among the Hebrews and the respective importance of these two concepts. It is essentially a relationship between persons directed towards the future and issues in the realization of common purposes. This basic

idea was worked out in two ways by the Hebrews. The prophetic tradition stresses the personal aspect of the relationship, whereas the legal tradition tended to emphasize rather the terms upon which the covenant was based. Here appears to be born the principal by-form of the Covenant idea, the notion of Contract. Professor Dillistone distinguishes the two as follows: Covenant is the unconditioned giving of persons, Contract is the gift of a thing upon conditions. It is rather curious to find an emphasis upon the unconditioned giving of persons as a description of Covenant, since the whole conception of Covenant implies a certain mutuality. Would it be a more accurate description to speak of a giving of persons with the emphasis upon future purposes, while still defining Contract as a giving of a thing with an emphasis upon the conditions themselves?

While certain touches which suggest an organic view can be ascribed to our Lord, the Covenant idea of the Beloved Community is especially prominent in the Last Supper. Rather surprisingly it is less prominent in St. Paul, though it might form part of the idea of the Church as the Israel of God and as the *Koinonia* of the Called.

It plays no part in the doctrine of the Fathers, but recurs in Calvin and the later Reformed tradition as represented by the Federal Theology where a similar tendency to slip into terms of contract can be observed as in the later period of Judaism. It was powerfully reinforced by the political philosophy of the Social Contract popular in the period between Hobbes and Rousseau.

The Covenant idea has its own dangers. We have already called attention to the regress into Contract displaying itself either in too close an insistence upon legal or of doctrinal conditions. It is suspicious of Forms considered as a necessary ingredient of the Church's structure, and tends at least at times to consider the Church as the free association of persons for a religious purpose as Locke defined it, or as a sect of persons already saved brought together by their common need of each other. It claims to be forward-looking rather than engrossed in

problems of its own structure, and condemns the organic view as tending towards a static preoccupation with the Church itself.

Thus far we have only summarized rather selectively the content of Professor Dillistone's work. We must next begin to inquire how far these two approaches in fact colour our standpoints with regard to certain problems with regard to the Church, and whether we can find some principle of reconciliation between the two. Professor Dillistone himself calls attention to a dialectic of tensions within the Church which easily pass into a dichotomy of opposites.

1. The first problem to which we shall try to apply this method is the problem of the whole and the part. Here the organic doctrine of the Church seems to give priority to the whole. The Catholic approach to the Church is one of continual dependence upon the Divine Society. The parts no doubt develop and grow, but they still remain dependent upon the life of the whole. The Branch can never say to the Vine "I have no need of thee". This seems to determine the Catholic answer to what it means to be a Christian. At our Baptism we become members of Christ incorporated into him, and the question is rather of a process of growth in Grace within this relationship of dependence. No doubt we do not grow automatically or even steadily, but the crises of our spiritual lives are as it were taken in our stride and do not affect the structure of our Christian existence. The Covenant idea of the Church, however, emphasizes the element of conscious relationship and personal affiliation. Even if Baptism is normally accepted as the gateway into the Christian life, it is nevertheless faith which really saves. The essence of the Christian life is joyous though costing personal encounter with God. To the question "I have been baptized and confirmed and go regularly to church, what lack I yet?", the Organic view would answer, "Become what you are. Realize your incorporation and progress in the life of Grace", while the Covenant idea would plead "Become a Christian by the crisis of faith". Besides dependence, sometimes over against it, the Covenant idea sets the liberty of sons with the necessary element of personal adhesion on the Covenant God by free consent. That

s why those who hold the Organic view sometimes are at a loss to understand the importance attached to justification by faith which is regarded as vital by those who maintain the Covenant view. The critique of the doctrine contained in Mascall's *Christ, the Christian and the Church* is to be noted here, while others who accept it, at least formally, cannot understand why the doctrine is pressed beyond the circle of ideas associated with the beginning of the Christian life. That is why many Anglo-Catholics find it difficult to see what bearing the doctrine has on questions of Church order and the like. Justification by faith considered as the expression of the crisis of encounter with the Covenant God and the precondition of the entry into the scope of the Covenant has unlimited possibilities of extension and application for those who hold the Covenant idea. To the question "Are you saved?" the Organic view might answer "I trust that I am in the way of salvation through my incorporation into Christ and to reach at last through the Grace of perseverance the haven where I would be"; the Covenant theory is very bold and says, "Thank God I am through my acceptance of the offer of Christ in justification, and if I continue in the life of faith I know that it will be well with me at the last day".

It is possible, however, that here we have a dialectic of tensions and not a dichotomy of opposites though the divisely minded on either side can force an issue. There may be (and the Covenant theory believes that there is) a perversion of the Organic theory of the Church which persists in treating its members as babes in Christ and discouraging the attainment of the status of full-grown sons. The opposite danger is the reduction of the Church to a free association of the elect. There does not appear, however, to be in any need to be swept into either of these two extremes. Beyond the tension of the Organic and the Covenant society there is the Church as the Family of God whose members are ends and not means, both dependent and yet nature, who follow devoutly and consistently the sacramental road and who yet live the life of faith, who continue dependent upon the means of grace and yet make the Christian life their

own by a conscious act of self identification with their Lord. For the human family is after all at its best an organic whole in which each member is or is on the way to becoming a person, a whole of parts wherein the parts have a more than functional value.

ii. There is secondly the problem of Form and Content. The Organic view of the Church regards the Form of the Church as a vital, unchanging ingredient. The Hierarchic principle is of the utmost significance here. There are no doubt difficulties in such a view. It is hard to discover from the Bible alone a Divine Form to which the Church must approximate on pain of not being a Church, nor is there any agreement among those who believe in such a necessary form upon its precise nature. The Roman Catholic principle here differs from the Orthodox, and the Anglican differs again from both. We are content with the Quadrilateral, Historic Creeds, Historic Episcopate, Apostolic Scriptures and Gospel Sacraments. Some would wish to use the one adjective Apostolic for all four points, but it is hard in strict candour to do so. It is not, of course, denied that there are many secondary forms which are not vital to the being of a Church. On the other hand the Covenant view of the Church regards such a preoccupation with form, with the historic past as evidence of a certain archaism or a tendency to be static, thereby losing sight of the real task and mission of the Church and failing in consequence even more disastrously in the duty of being a Church. Personal confrontation with the Covenant God is the key feature on this view, and it has more concern with the present and the future than with the past, and can theoretically be enshrined in any form, or even in none at all.

But here again we are surely faced with a dialectic of tensions rather than with a dichotomy of opposites, though no doubt the divisive mind can press towards one of two "ideal limits". There are those who are vastly preoccupied with the Hierarchic principle. Père Congar in his recent important book, *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'église*, calls attention to the fact that many Roman Catholic treatises on the Church turn out to be almost exclusively preoccupied with the Hierarchy: that is on any show-

ing with part rather than with the whole of its subject-matter. The opposite danger might almost be described as a kind of "Covenantal Undenominationalism".

In fact there is even within these two concepts taken separately a certain narrowing of the gap. The Covenantal Society does normally see the need for forms, and there is indeed a widespread tendency to regard the Presbyterian system of Church Order as especially appropriate for this purpose. No doubt the choice of this method of ordering the Divine Society derives from the belief that it represents the closest possible approximation to the New Testament pattern of the Church. Nor is it really true to suggest that the Organic idea of the Church is exclusively concerned with an appeal to the past or with a tendency to "inbreeding". It might rightly be urged against the Covenantal idea of the Church that it might well take Christian history with greater seriousness, and that the claim of the Anglican Quadrilateral to summarize fairly the lessons of Christian history could be easily maintained. On the other hand the Covenant idea of the Church might rightly claim that the attempt to make any one form of the Church metaphysically or ontologically necessary could not appeal to the evidence of Christian antiquity.

Once again it is possible that the idea of the Church as the Divine Family might well provide the necessary meeting ground. Form and content are no more irreconcilable opposites than inside and outside. The Family is and must possess a formal structure, whatever Hierarchical tendencies may display themselves therein, yet this formal structure does not inhibit but rather advances the content of the common life which exists within the family life. It is a Society in which past, present and future are all linked. There may be families which are living on their past just as there are Christians who are lost in archaism, but the family has no need to jettison its past to be its own contemporary. It can possess both depth and breadth, both regression historically and extension laterally. Might not the same features characterize the Church as the Family of God? Must the static and the unchanging and the dynamic and the unchang-

ing be regarded as polar opposites rather than as mutual complementaries?

iii. There is thirdly the tension between symbol and instrument. T. W. Manson calls attention to a possible contrast between the Church as the continuation of the Incarnation and the Church as the Result of the Atonement. The Organic view of the Church regards the Church as in very truth the Body of Christ, the extension of the Incarnation, the place of incorporation into Christ and of Life in him. On the other hand the Covenant idea thinks rather of the Church as the society within which the Atonement works, the place of confrontation of the sinner by the Saviour which occurs in the faithful presentation of the Cross. It is not surprising to read a fair and able critique of the idea of the Church as the extension of the Incarnation in the work of Bishop Newbiggin of South India, a former Presbyterian. But here again is surely a dialectic of tensions rather than a dichotomy of opposites. There might indeed be approximations to the two extremes, the one of an ecclesiastical pietism which was content simply with being the Church, the other of a restless missionary activism which scarcely gave itself breathing space to be in Christ. It would be surprising indeed if these were really polar opposites. After all, Atonement and Incarnation mutually imply one another.

The devoted teaching of Oliver Quick both in Durham and at Oxford showed quite plainly the need of both the categories of symbol and instrument for the framing of an adequate Christian theology. Here again it is in the concept of the Church as the Family of God that the real place of meeting is found. The Family is alike the expression and the instrument of human love. So the Church is meant both to show forth in richest measure the love which was its origin and to fulfil the working rule "In love serve ye one another".

iv. Lastly there is the tension between the Church as the home of sinners and the army of saints. Here again is a pair of concepts linked with those which we have just examined. At first sight the Organic view of the Church really fits the former idea

badly because, as Professor Dillistone points out, there are pages in her history where almost as ruthlessly as a Marxist society she has dealt with heresy, seeking to liquidate the part in the interest of the whole. Yet there are dark pages in the history of the Covenant idea of the Church as well. There is little to choose between the Spanish Inquisition and Scottish witch hunts. Yet the Organic view of the Church has with greater consistency acted as a hospital for countless sin-sick souls and as an ark for storm-tossed humanity, almost to the impairing of its task in expansion as the Army of Christ. On the other hand, although the pastoral commission is not belittled, the Covenant Society bears more the character of an army in forms which vary between the New Model Army of Cromwell, the Salvation Army and some aspects of militant missionary Evangelism in the last and the present century. In all these there is the consciousness of being the instruments of the Atoning Christ, whereas the pastoral commission of the Organic view might be connected rather with the expression of the love of the Incarnate Lord.

It is possible that here fits in the contrast between the Church idea and the Sect idea beloved of Baron von Hügel. On the one hand is the Great Church with its inclusive love for souls, even at the risk of impairing its own instrumental efficiency in so doing; on the other hand the sect idea with its insistence upon being the Army of Christ. One great difference might lie in the treatment of the offending member. An army always liquidates the bad soldier either by death or detention. It cannot afford passengers. The great Church has rather the characteristic of the family which holds on to its erring member as long as possible, and if it has finally to cast him off blames itself no less than him. It even risks its own holiness in order to do so. On the other hand, the Sect idea is dominated by what Mgr. Knox in his great work *Enthusiasm* calls the Katharist ideal of the Church, the doctrine of a pure Church. Such groups which split off from the whole in order to seek a more pure order face one of three outcomes. Either like Novatianism they remain pure and "inbred", making their own purity almost an end in itself, or like Donatism (with its

outcrop of the curious Circumcelliones) it is reminded that a declaration of Puritanism does not abolish the old Adam, or like the descendants of the pure theocracy of Calvin's Geneva turn into a differently structured though parallel association of Churches which retain few, if any, of the characteristics of a sect.

Once again it appears to be in the idea of the family that we find something of the reconciliation which we need. Here is love displayed and forming almost the instinctive air which its members breathe, yet here also is a veritable militancy for the purpose which the family sets before itself, not only within its own life but for the purposes to which it allies itself. A mother fights for her children with the proverbial ferocity of a tigress defending her cubs. The family as a whole, if it is a proper family, exercises eternal vigilance for the right development of its members. Is there perhaps here a place of reconciliation for the tensions which beset the Church? Though at times one element may appear to predominate over the other, both alike, the pastoral and the missionary commission, the home of sinners and the nursery of saints are necessary elements within the life of the Divine Society considered as the Family of God.

Our conclusion therefore must be that, while the contrast between the Organic and Covenant ideas of the Church so clearly and penetratingly set out by Professor Dillistone sheds light on point after point at which there have been differing standpoints within the life of the Church and which have with the divisely-minded often led to strains which have impaired the structural unity and spiritual harmony of the Church, a place of reconciliation is possible. The dialectic of tensions is unavoidable, and may as easily lead to the enrichment as to the debasement of the life of the Church. Those who hold these two opposite patterns of the Church's life will not indeed find that they have won the day as completely as they wished, but there is real hope that in a revival of the idea of the Church as the Family of God they can find preserved all that is most characteristic of their life and thought. The Church has recently been called the ambiguous society. That is true not merely because it is necessarily the

Divine society composed of fallible and sinful men, but it is also ambiguous in a deeper and more profound sense as being the society which, in its very search for the fulness of Christ, is bound to oscillate between two great ways of understanding its message and mission, and in cases where devotion to one element of thought outstrips its loyalty to the wholeness of its mission, to turn what should lead to fruitful interplay into a dichotomy which breaks fellowship and which makes further progress well nigh impossible.

THE THEOLOGIA GERMANICA

The Nature of Christian Mysticism

By E. J. TINSLEY

IN view of the strong polemic against mysticism in the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr and Emil Brunner ("Anglo-saxon" and "continental" theology here combining for the moment), and the fascination for some literary figures of an amorphous spirituality of the orientalized gnostic type (Aldous Huxley, Charles Morgan, Gerald Heard, Christopher Isherwood etc.), there is urgent need for a re-examination of the mystical element in Christianity, and, more particularly, for an attempt to delineate clearly the differentia of specifically Christian mysticism. In Niebuhr and Brunner there is no attempt to distinguish between the various types of mysticism; for them its only authentic form would seem to be the non-historical, non-incarnational, neo-Buddhist mysticism which attracts Huxley. Their criticisms that mysticism of this type is fundamentally Pelagian in its estimate of sin as either ignorance or imperfection, and that, therefore, it reduces redemption to a matter of self-enlightenment through some kind of yogic exercise, is perfectly justified as against Huxley, who takes just this position. He writes, for example, in *Ends and Means*: "Religion is, among other things, *a system of education*, by means of which human beings may *train* themselves, first, to make desirable changes in their own personalities, and, at one remove, in society, and, in the second place, to heighten consciousness, and so establish more adequate relations between themselves and the universe of which they are part".¹ Significant for an understanding of the nature of redemption is his remark, in *The Perennial Philosophy*, that the Eightfold Path of the Buddha constitutes "the means which it is within the human being to employ in

¹ Aldous Huxley, *Ends and Means*, p. 225.

order to achieve man's final ends and be 'saved' ".² Relevant as the strictures of Niebuhr and Brunner are to the "vedantic" theosophy of Huxley, they are grossly unfair and misleading as an assessment of the mysticism which is authentically and distinctively Christian, rooted in the historic Incarnation and the historic Atonement.

The distinguishing feature of Christian mysticism is its firm grasp of the implications of an historical religion, and the central place which it assigns to the historic Incarnation and Redemption in Christ. Christian mysticism, in its classical form, has never been an attempt to refine upon Christianity, gnostic fashion, by by-passing or eliminating the "scandal of particularity". It has not sought "the making of any shorter way to God than that of the closest contact with his own condescensions".³ Christian mysticism is basically, perhaps, a mode of prayer, a setting forth of the pattern of the Christian life as essentially the *imitatio Christi*. Knowledge of God in orthodox Christian mysticism has always been of the Biblical personal reciprocal kind, a matter of personal attachment, rather than of an increasingly depersonalized contemplation of the Absolute, in the Greek manner. *Gnosis* in Christian mysticism has always involved the affirmation that knowledge of God in Christ is only possible because of the "prevenient" revelation, and because of the redemption of man which has been wrought in history. Hence the proper, the normative, form of the mysticism which is authentically Christian is the "imitation of Christ", and this, not in the sense of setting about the painstaking reproduction of a blackboard illustration, but in the New Testament sense of self-donation in obedience to the work of the Holy Spirit who graciously "fills out" or completes Christ, by taking of the things of Christ and revealing them unto us. Christ is thus not only the object of our imitation, but, through the work of the Spirit, the means of it. The imitation of Christ, that is to say, is not first a matter of human endeavour; it is not a yoga; but it is first a divine gift of grace.

² *The Perennial Philosophy*, p. 203.

³ Friedrich von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, Vol. II, p. 266.

It is divinely initiated and sustained activity, and not a yogic exercise. It is the submission in humility, patience, obedience and suffering to the one mind of the one Body of Christ. The context of the life of imitation is the Church as the Corpus Christi. The "Way" of the Son of Man, to which he submitted in obedience, is reproduced in the "Way" of those who are his. Their obedience is the mode of imitation. And all this has become possible for the Christian because of a redemption which has been wrought.

The *Theologia Germanica*, an anonymous writing of the fourteenth century, which takes its place alongside the works of the great German mystics such as Eckhart, Tauler, and Suso, might be described, in one way at least, as an essay on the theme of the Imitation. There is nothing here of the tendency towards pantheism which does taint the mysticism of the German school, notably that of Eckhart, nor is there any suggestion that the writer wishes to play down the historical nature of Christianity by inferring that meditation on the Incarnate life belongs only to the preparatory stages of the Christian life, nor does he sit loosely to the fact and implications of an historic atonement. On the contrary, he describes as "the false light" the suggestion that the imitation of Christ is anything but central to Christian mystical theology: "But that other thing which they affirm, how that we ought to throw off and cast aside the life of Christ, and all laws and commandments, customs and order and the like, and pay no heed to them, is altogether false and a lie".⁴ Or again: "There is no other and better way or preparation to the joyful life of Jesus Christ, than this same course (the *imitatio*), and to exercise oneself therein, as much as may be".⁵ The mystical union of the Christian with Christ is not a matter of yogic exercise: "Ye must observe that when we say, as Christ also saith, that we ought to resign and forsake all things, this is not to be taken in the sense that a man is neither to do nor to purpose anything; for a man must always have something to do and to order so long as he liveth. But we are to understand by it that

⁴ *Theologia Germanica*, translated S. Winkworth 1937, p. 108.

⁵ *Ibid* p. 78.

the union with God standeth not in any man's powers, in his working or abstaining, perceiving or knowing, nor in that of all creatures taken together".⁶ The Eucharist is preeminently the place where the Christian's imitation is completed in mystical sacramental union: "And whatever may bring about that new birth which maketh alive in Christ, to that let us cleave with all our might and to nought else; and let us forswear and flee all that may hinder it. And he who hath received this life in the Holy Sacrament, hath verily and indeed received Christ, and the more of that life he hath received, the more he hath received of Christ, and the less, the less of Christ".⁷

For the author of the *Theologia Germanica* there is no specially mature mystic way which can dispense with the Bible and the Theology and Liturgy of the Church; such a notion is for him a temptation of the Devil: "The Devil puffeth up the man, till he thinketh himself to have climbed the topmost pinnacle, and to have come so near to heaven, that he no longer needeth Scripture, nor teaching, nor this nor that, but is altogether raised above any need".⁸ This author would not accept any mysticism as Christian which did not stress the worship, teaching and discipline of the Church as alone the fitting and necessary context for growth in the Christian life: "The proud and puffed-up spirit thinketh that she needeth neither Scripture, nor instruction, nor anything of the kind, therefore she giveth no heed to the admonitions, order, laws, and precepts of the holy Christian Church, nor to the Sacraments, but mocketh at them, and at all men who walk according to these ordinances, and hold them in reverence".⁹

These quotations form a small part of the material of the *Theologia Germanica* which is given over to the theme of the Imitation of Christ. The whole book, in fact, has as an under-current the doctrine of the *Imitatio* as the necessary and distinctive pattern of Christian mysticism. It is interesting to find this

⁶ *Ibid* p. 97 f.

⁷ *Ibid* p. 183.

⁸ *Ibid* p. 83.

⁹ *Ibid* p. 85 f.

emphasis in a writer who belonged to a school usually suspected of the vagaries of oriental mysticism. Furthermore the *Theologia Germanica* is no isolated phenomenon in the history of Christian mysticism, in its stress on the *Imitatio*. In both East and West the *Imitatio* is the hallmark of the Christian mysticism which derives from the New Testament, rather than the pseudo-Dionysius; it is fundamental to the mysticism of a St. John Climacus, as it is to a St. Augustine or a St. John of the Cross.

ACADEMIC REFORM AT BALLIOL, 1854-1882

T. H. Green and Benjamin Jowett

By W. G. ADDISON

THE visitor to Balliol normally enters the college through a gateway in a frontage built by Alfred Waterhouse in 1867. Passing two medieval libraries he may enter the chapel built by Henry Butterfield in 1857. Beyond, across the quadrangle, is another work of Waterhouse, the hall built in 1877. On the architectural, or other possible defence of these alterations we pass no comment, but may remark, "which things are an allegory". In two senses: they symbolize the passing of the old Balliol, for much else besides the fifteenth century chapel was destroyed in these decades; secondly, their symbolism is, so to say, inverted, since both Waterhouse and Butterfield used the neo-Gothic idiom, whereas the contemporary intellectual movement within the college was emphatically not backward to the ages of faith but forward to the age of criticism. There was even a proposal that Augustus Pugin should undertake a programme of more extensive demolition, but since he was a Roman Catholic, it was felt that that would never do. During almost the whole of T. H. Green's Oxford career from freshman to professor, some part of the material fabric of the college was in the hands of the destroyer. Any Guide Book to Oxford will show that Balliol was not alone. As with the college so with the university. Remembering the Museum (1850) and Keble College (1870) and the domestic dwellings in the same northward direction we may say that red brick and mortar typify the revolution in Oxford carried through during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The

bricks—and the revolution—are there; neither can be hidden, though both are mellowed with the passage of time.

Oxford is perhaps always in “transition” yet the Oxford University Act of 1854 is really a landmark in its long history. That Act was the first instalment of legislative interference with the autonomy of the colleges and the university; it was followed in 1877 and 1881 by two other Acts on the same pattern; the total accumulative effect of the three may rightly be termed a revolution. The Act of 1854 empowered Commissioners to enlarge the professoriate, to free fellowships and scholarships from restrictive limitations, to modify endowments and trusts, to establish and regulate Private Halls, and, though only after interminable argument between Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Pusey, to abolish oaths and subscriptions at matriculation and at graduation in Arts, Law and Music. The centenary of the new order at Oxford will fall in 1954.¹ However, as is our English way in reforming ancient corporations, “the powers and privileges of the university and its officers, and of the colleges and their officers” except as expressly altered by the Act were to continue in full force. In 1877 the same process—of reform by draft schemes prepared by Commissioners for parliamentary sanction—was repeated. All this was naturally not everywhere welcomed; some colleges were more non-cooperative than others; few did not fight to the last ditch. Dean Gaisford (1831-55) at Christ Church refused to acknowledge the Commissioners’ communications. He was succeeded by Dean Liddell, “the patrician dean”, whose reign lasted until 1891 and, though he was of very different temperament from his predecessor, the Oxford of Matthew Arnold lingered longest at Christ Church. To its loyal servitors and students—for Dean Gaisford thought “the two orders should not be confused”—the men of Balliol were “sons of Belial”. The University did not exist; “it was just Christ Church”, and it is hardly necessary to remark that the fox-hunting set was more widely represented

¹ Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, III, Chap. xv. Chap. xvi opens, “The old Laudian Oxford came to an end in 1854”.

at Christ Church than at Balliol.² In those happy days a nobleman had merely to sign the matriculation papers and was received with no questions asked. Within those walls in 1865 Women's colleges, nonconformist Academies, Extension Lectures and even college Missions had not so much as been heard of. Only in 1867 did Christ Church receive more or less graciously its new statutes from the Commissioners of the Act of 1854—by which time the reformers were already preparing for the campaign which ended in the second triumph of 1877.

Perhaps the most obvious as it was certainly the most controversial feature of this process was the ending of the dominance of the clerical element in government and teaching—a process now so far complete and permanent that it can be viewed with calmness as part of the inevitable march of events. We may illustrate from the Balliol of T. H. Green. Of his eleven colleagues in 1861 nine were clerks in holy orders, the Master was a cleric and the Visitor was the Bishop of Lincoln. But in 1881 only one fellow—T. K. Cheyne, Lecture in Hebrew—was in orders, the Master, now Jowett, was the last clerical Head and very soon the Visitors were no longer bishops but eminent statesmen or lawyers. Merton College stands next to Balliol in its alleged antiquity; in 1860 eleven out of its twenty-nine fellows were ordained; in 1880 only five, in 1895 not one. As for the university, in 1860 with one exception *all* the Heads were in holy orders; the one layman, Robert Bullock Marsham of Merton, had been elected several years before the Reform Act of 1832! By 1900 there were at Oxford twelve clerical and nine lay Heads ruling sixty-eight clerical and two hundred and thirteen lay fellows. Of this aspect of the new order it may perhaps be said that "the great demolition" of the universities as ecclesiastical corporations has not in fact led to a decline of theological or general scholarship, while no proctor at either university has as yet been heard to suggest that the manners and morals of the

² Lord Willoughby de Broke, *The Passing Years*, pp. 30, 158; Stephen Paget, *Life of Francis Paget*, pp. 21-3.

undergraduates have suffered by reason of the abolition of subscription, declaration and oaths.

We should greatly err if we attributed all the opposition to the reforming Acts and the Commissioners' schemes to the desire of the clerical and conservative party to preserve its own authority and status. The traditionalists' fear was not for themselves but for the ark of the Lord; they saw themselves as set for the defence of religion and piety in a world running down the steep slope to destruction in a morass of agnosticism, secularism and godless radicalism. They feared, as more than one of them said, to see their sons or their pupils passing from school to university. Like John Henry Newman a generation earlier they "harboured fierce thoughts against the Liberals" not from pride but from fear—fear for the souls of those committed to their charge. Like Lord Willoughby de Broke, though on very different grounds, Pusey and Liddon thought the omens obvious and ominous. The date of Green's resettlement in his rooms at Balliol, 1865, witnessed a concatenation of significant details; the battalions were being marshalled as by an unseen hand into position. In that year Stubbs returned to Oxford as Regius Professor of Modern History and Pusey lost no time in hailing him as an ally in a war to the death against "the autocracy of Mill and the anti-theistic philosophers". Stubbs agreed that something he too called "liberalism" was "rampant" and took as his text for his first sermon at the university church the somewhat pessimistic universal affirmative, "The times are evil". Also in 1865, Gladstone's rejection by the university he had served as Burgess for fourteen years was in part proof that the majority of the electors shared the new professor's apprehensions. So far as university politics contributed to Gladstone's "unmuzzling", the predominant motive was a painful sense of duty. Sadly but sternly the Tory and High Churchman felt compelled to withstand "innovation" by a conviction that they had no other choice.

Yet if Professor Stubbs lamented as a theologian, as an historian he might have rejoiced. Had he but read aright the

signs of the times he might have discerned the promise of a rich harvest to be reaped from the intellectual turmoil and academic upheaval of that decade which followed the publication of *The Origin of Species* (1859) and *Essays and Reviews* (1860). The old order and the new were in embattled array all along the line and out of their contests religion and piety no less than truth and knowledge emerged stronger—more vigorous in themselves and better able to serve the generations that were for to come. If it is admittedly difficult to assess the profit and loss to the individual or to the colleges considered as self-contained units, it is easy enough to measure the general advance along the whole front of academic studies, in history, law, anthropology and other humane sciences, within the two short decades that were to elapse before the death of Dr. Pusey in 1882. Or take Philosophy, which implied Ethics and Political Science and the History of other men's "religious opinions". Pusey's call for allies against Mill was of course a call to a campaign of vaster scope and complexity than either he or Stubbs, not being philosophers, were likely to envisage. Their cure for anti-theistic philosophy was less philosophy and more reliance on truth as intuitive, authoritative, dogmatic. When therefore in that very year the answer to Mill was on the way they were not likely to recognize or welcome it coming as it did. They would have dismissed as unfortunate profanity had any Liberal misquoted in their hearing:

God moves in a dialectical way
His wonders to perform.

Yet so it was; the vast dialectical movement of thought and faith which was to displace Mill and the anti-theists began its revolution when in 1865 Green returned to his studies and lectures, and in the same year an unknown Scottish amateur in metaphysics, James Hutchison Stirling, published a lengthy and very individualistic exposition of the "Secret of Hegel". Some of Stirling's most original paragraphs discussed Hegel's debt to Kant. Without assuming—though the thesis is arguable—that Kant and Hegel are to the modern world what Plato and Aristotle were to the ancient and medieval, it is not disputable that in 1865

a signpost had been erected pointing down a road along which were to march for the next forty years the men who in teaching Oxford were to teach an incalculable number of English-speaking learners in the schools of wisdom in these islands and overseas. Those two events, Green's lectures and Stirling's book, justify the definite dating of the emergence of a new phase, period or fashion in British philosophy of which the focus was a "school" of Oxford Idealists whose predominance in the "home of movements" brought to an end "the autocracy of Mill". Let Quiller-Couch speak for all. "The young tenants of the Home of Movements, turning from Mill and Mansel to Kant and Hegel, pursued the evasive Absolute far into the night". It is an observation of Hastings Rashdall that universities are always "homes of movements", religious, ethical, political, since they teach the teachers who then scatter to the far corners of country or commonwealth or continent; the advent and progress of Oxford Idealism provides an apt illustration.

The door, then, closed slowly but firmly upon the Oxford which the clerical Heads of Houses and the canons of Christ Church had known and loved and fought to preserve. Nor was the day far distant when their own disciples would be found applying the new philosophy both to theology and political theory. In the last decade of the century the congregation at St. Mary's would hear Liddon denouncing the new metaphysics in general, while beneath the pulpit the erring editor of *Lux Mundi* barely escaped personal anathema. Since about 1910, it is true, Anglo-Hegelianism has fallen on evil days so that now scarcely a philosopher or theologian can be found to fling it a passing salute. In the West happily there has been no lack of alternatives: neo-realism, logical positivism, neo-Thomism, neo-Calvinism, existentialism and neo-existentialism. But on the other side of the iron curtain, where Mr. J. Stalin has recently found it necessary to warn Mr. Varga against falling into "the swamp of idealism", the only permitted alternative is the philosophy associated more or less accurately with Karl Marx—a fact sufficient, one would suppose, to give the anti-idealists matter for thought if not for

perturbation. And whether T. H. Green and Bernard Bosanquet were in fact Dialectical Idealists is another question not here to be pursued.

Returning to our much narrower inquiry, we note the partnership between Jowett and Green which began with the return of the latter to Balliol in 1865. Jowett was not yet "master of the college" but did exercise *de facto* authority and was able to rely on the votes of the majority among his colleagues. The Master, Robert Scott, D.D., Prebendary of Exeter, Professor of Divinity, Delegate of the Press, Member of the Hebdomadal Council, was sufficiently pre-occupied with university administration and was doubtless already contemplating a suitable decanal climacteric to an honourable and distinguished career of scholarship. In five years' time Jowett's own talents would be given wider scope and effectiveness but meanwhile he was quietly and persistently labouring at certain schemes of a university range in which he hoped Balliol would take the lead. Two such schemes had indeed first been fathered by two former fellows of Balliol, A. C. Tait and Frederick Temple, with whom Jowett had remained in close and cordial contact; with Temple especially he had marched in company ever since they had jointly undertaken a translation of Hegel's *Logic*; Temple was the first and Jowett the last of the seven courageous essayists of *Essays and Reviews*; and to Temple Jowett had dedicated his edition of the earlier *Epistles of St. Paul*. He now very naturally summoned Green to assist in the execution of plans long ago advocated and now ripe for experiment.

First there were the tentative beginnings of that varied educational missionary service to the general community now known as "university extension" or "extra-mural activity", the general idea of which was that the younger lecturers should go out from Oxford to the fast-growing cities there to teach what they had learned to such as would listen. Green for instance travelled to Edinburgh in 1867 to deliver four lectures on the Puritan Revolution which in the opinion of S. R. Gardiner showed that he might have achieved eminence among the great historians of

that half-century. Strange indeed would it have been if both T. H. Green of Balliol and J. R. Green of Jesus had after years of dubiety found their vocation in the same field. However, our present point is that Green was one of the pioneers in a department of further education where he was followed by a goodly proportion of eminent teachers from either of the two ancient universities. Graham Wallas, L. T. Hobhouse, J. H. Muirhead, C. F. Masterman, Hudson Shaw and many others took to this "travelling in Oxford goods" and (to change the metaphor) sowed on favourable soil the seed of several great trees. At Bristol for instance a university-college was established largely through the propaganda, the guidance and the personal subventions of Jowett and Green both of whom were original members of the college council. Green, it may be added, left a substantial legacy for the promotion of education in urban areas, and at Bristol another bequest still provides an entrance scholarship. Reading, too, received the missionaries from Balliol though there the establishment of a college was not achieved until 1892. Justice requires mention of the fact that its first Principal, H. J. Mackinder, was a student of Christ Church and that the Dean, Francis Paget, was its first Visitor. But what matter, Balliol or Christ Church, so long as the work was done?

Secondly, the possibility of enabling young men with little or no financial resources to enjoy the benefits of residence at Oxford had been the subject of discussion ever since the first stage of reform had been reached in 1854. The institution of a community of "unattached" or "non-collegiate" students—"lodgers out" in unofficial parlance—as members of the university, quartered within one and a half miles of Carfax, living in licensed lodgings, governed by two "censors" and admissible to lectures, prizes and other privileges, had been argued over in numberless common rooms. Jowett had been busy allaying the fears and enlisting the cooperation of the members of the Balliol foundation, and in 1868 he had succeeded in launching a scheme by which poorer or older men might be attracted to Balliol and Oxford. Some premises in St. Giles were taken, christened "Balliol Hall"

and placed in charge of Green.³ That device fulfilled its object for a short period and was rendered rather less necessary by the generosity of Miss Hannah Brackenbury who, in 1868, provided large sums for scholarships in non-classical subjects and for additional accommodation within college walls. Green's tenure of the censorship of Balliol's "lodgers out" was, therefore, only a brief interlude, though he continued to give support, financial and other, to the "unattached" students of Balliol. Before he died (1882) both the Extension Movement and the non-collegiate system had struck firm roots which through the 'eighties were carefully tended by Jowett—and by John Percival during his manful but stormy residence in Oxford as President of Trinity College.

One other region in which Oxford Liberalism, focused at Balliol, advanced an even more momentous academic transition may be mentioned. In 1870 Scott received his deanery and Jowett the mastership of the college. It was the year of Herbert Henry Asquith's arrival as a scholar from the City of London School and according to him Green's influence was "undoubtedly the greatest personal force in the real life of Oxford"—a tribute confirmed by that of Lord Bryce who speaks of Green's as "the most powerful ethical and most stimulating intellectual influence upon the minds of the ablest youth of the university". The focus of that influence was of course within the college walls where Green became Senior Tutor, Dean and Librarian—offices involving the general supervision of the routine administration, of the examinations, and of the kitchen as well. Thus if these and other similar tributes are anywhere near the truth, the effect of Green's adhesion to the cause of the higher education of women at Oxford can scarcely be exaggerated.

Furthermore, it would not be irrelevant to notice that in 1871 Green married Charlotte Symonds, whose father, a distinguished Clifton physician, traced links in a genealogical chain running back to John Hampden; Miss Symonds was in fact one of a small but growing company whom Pusey and Liddon were accustomed

³ The house was later (1889) the first home of Ruskin College.

to classify as "female Dissenters". The year following, 1872, two other partnerships began with the marriages of Mandell Creighton to Louise von Glehn and of T. H. Ward of Brasenose to Mary Arnold. Each of these three ladies and subsequently other brides of other dons were soon engaged in forming and serving an Association for the Education of Women. In less than a decade that association could point to considerable achievements. Whereas in 1870 there was practically no provision at either Oxford or Cambridge for the formal education of females beyond the age of eighteen years, by 1878-79 both Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville College were at work, and by 1890 they (and two colleges at Cambridge) were well on the way to their subsequent and successive expansions. The foundation of those achievements was the patient labour on endless committees, councils, associations, in the 'seventies. Financial difficulties and parental suspicions were common to the pioneers at both universities; perhaps the Oxford group suffered most from the clash of aim or emphasis among their own members. The "denominational difficulty" was especially acute—at Lady Margaret Hall it was solved at least partially through the assistance given by the Greens to Edward Talbot whereby a compromise was reached that the new hall though essentially a church foundation was not to exclude students of other denominations.

Here too, then, in the painful ascent of English women to equality of academic status and privilege, the stimulus and direction provided by the college of Jowett and Green, of R. L. Nettleship and Arnold Toynbee, of J. W. Mackail and A. C. Bradley were at least equal to that of any other corporate group in the University. These brief notes on the personal sources of that contribution may perhaps suggest caution in accepting too readily the oft-repeated assertion that it was the other "ancient university" which was quicker off the mark in adjusting its resources and broadening its range to meet the coming age.

A CHRONICLE: THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

THE past year has seen the further consolidation of the two political *blocs* which have been forming in Europe, and extending to cover most of the world, ever since the end of the German war. On the Soviet side the consolidation has been and is being effected, as usual, by force: in all the "satellite" States, but particularly in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, where traditions of independence still survive, arrests and trials have been eliminating possible opposition leaders among the members of the ruling Communist cliques. The Polish forces are now under a Russian commander; and the persistent refusal of the Soviet Government to sign a peace treaty with Austria on any reasonable terms is revealed more and more clearly as due in the main to the need of an excuse for retaining Russian troops in Hungary and Rumania. Even the constant demonstrations by "satellite" governments against Marshal Tito's régime in Yugoslavia now appear to be staged less in the hope of weakening, still less overthrowing it, than with the object of consolidating the Soviet hold on the three "satellites" involved: Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. Similarly the demonstrations against the Western Powers and the West German Government which have become a regular feature of life in the Soviet Zone of Germany are primarily a means of increasing Soviet influence and control over that unhappy and uneasy region. At the same time Soviet armaments, already much greater than those of the West, are being still further increased, and a very large army, equipped with Soviet weapons, is being built up in China: though definite evidence is of course hard to come by, there are, as *The Times* has pointed out, "reasons for believing that during 1951 Russia has herself embarked on a rearmament programme—starting from a "position of strength", while denouncing as "aggres-

sive" the beginnings of rearmament in the West.

On the Western side the process of consolidation has been far less simple and at first sight less successful. That, however, is inherent in the fact that it has to be carried forward by free discussion, both between the individual States in the "grand alliance" and between the various political parties in each State; and when this is borne in mind it will be found that the progress made has been far from negligible in the circumstances. All the governments concerned are now committed to programmes of rearmament, inadequate perhaps in some cases, but even there a considerable advance on previous performance; and in no country—not even in the formerly semi-pacifist Denmark—has the government's programme failed to secure a substantial parliamentary majority. Moreover, the forces which these programmes are building up are to be coordinated through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and, in the case of European land armies other than those of Britain, Norway and Denmark, through the "European Army" plan.

The history of this last expedient is instructive as showing the sort of difficulties which are bound to be encountered by an association of genuinely free nations, each free to consider its own national interests. When, for cogent military reasons, first the American and then the British authorities came to the conclusion that there must be a German contribution to the defence of Western Europe, they came up against the difficulty that this contribution, in any case objectionable to France, could not be secured without some acknowledgement of German equality of status, which would make it doubly objectionable to her. The French solution of the difficulty was the so-called "Pleven Plan" for a European army with no national units larger than divisions and under the control of a super-national authority; but when this came to be worked out in detail it was found, as might indeed have been foreseen, to bristle with technical difficulties. In particular the proposed super-national authority, though acceptable enough to the German and Italian Government, to whom it appeared as a means of escaping from the inferior status imposed upon their countries after the war, involved too great

a surrender of sovereignty for the Dutch and the Belgians and even for many Frenchmen, as soon as they began to realize its full implications. One way out seemed to lie in bringing Britain, as well as the Scandinavians, into the scheme; but Mr. Churchill's Government, though less ostentatiously aloof from it than their predecessors, have made it plain that there can be no question of that; and there has never been any question of Norwegian or Danish participation being permitted by public opinion in those countries. In these circumstances the French Government are being forced to put more water in their super-national wine; and it seems safe to predict that if any super-national authority ultimately emerges from the further discussions now in progress it will be nothing like the sort of federal cabinet for Europe which M. Pleven originally envisaged. Meanwhile the discussions are held up after the fall of M. Pleven's Government and there is still no German contribution to the defence system.

The discussions have been complicated by the intervention of two outside interests, the enthusiasts for "Federal Union" in the Council of Europe at Strasbourg and the perambulating Senators and other exponents of American political opinion who have lately pullulated on this side of the Atlantic. Neither of these seems really to appreciate the difficulties in the way of any serious surrender of sovereignty by a European State; but, while the Strasbourg group does at least understand that the difficulties are fundamentally psychological—as M. Van Zeeland, the Belgian Foreign Minister, has put it: "Our hearts still lie with our own fatherlands"—and that public opinion is not yet "educated into federalism", the Americans, with that political naïveté which is sometimes so touching and at other times so exasperating a trait in their national character, blandly assume, and proclaim to the world, that there should be no more difficulty about imposing a federal government on the countries of Europe from Italy to Norway than there has been about imposing it on the States of the Union from Florida to Maine, forgetting that even in America the result was only achieved after a civil war.

This and similar naïve ideas in the American mind have lately been disturbing Anglo-American relations. A short time

ago France, with Belgium, was in American eyes the villain of the European drama: her sacrifices for rearmament were notoriously inadequate and much less than those of Britain, she was the chief obstacle to the rearmament of Germany, and her plan for a European army was criticized as unrealistic and a mere excuse for evading the German issue. By prolonged and skilful playing on the "federal" note, however, the French have diverted most American criticism on to British heads; and according to the American Press the British refusal to "integrate with Europe" either politically or economically, is to be the main excuse for refusing requests by Mr. Churchill during his present visit to Washington.

At this juncture another obsession always latent in the American breast, "anti-imperialism", has been roused into renewed activity by events in the Near East. The French defence of "imperial" interests in Indo-China can be represented as part of the anti-Communist crusade: but the British Government enjoyed no such advantage in their disputes with Persia and with Egypt, and in the former case at least they have had good reason to complain of less than lukewarm support from Washington, if not of positive hostility from some American officials. (The French have lately complained of a similar American attitude in North Africa.) In that case, moreover, the traditional American "anti-imperialism" was reinforced by a naïve susceptibility to the threat that if Dr. Moussadek were not allowed to have his own way Persia would go Communist, or fall into Russian hands. Palmerston knew how to deal with this sort of blackmail: in 1840, when warned that his policy might cause the fall of the July Monarchy in France, he wrote with truth: "The French have on every occasion since 1830, when they wanted to drive us to make some concession to them, used this same argument...but we were hard-hearted, and yet L. Philippe continued to reign". Americans, however, do not read Palmerston.

It seems indeed very difficult for Americans to understand that the Communist menace is *not* the chief preoccupation of

Oriental governments. Logically, of course, it should be, if those governments appreciated their own ultimate interests; but, being Oriental, they are moved by passion rather than calculation, and their ruling passions are now nationalism and xenophobia. Only if a serious Communist revolt were threatened in one of the countries concerned could there be any hope of a change in their attitude; and of that there is no sign—on the contrary the Communist parties throughout this area, including Persia, where they have had ample scope for making trouble, remain suspiciously quiescent.

That being so, it is impossible for the British or any other Western government to integrate their policy in this region with their policy in Europe or, for that matter, in the Far East. They cannot hope that any amount of concessions to Arab or Persian nationalism would ensure the wholehearted adherence of the Moslem countries to the anti-Communist front: it is true that a section of opinion in the Lebanon, Syria and Iraq is favourably disposed in principle to the so-called "Four Power Plan" for a Middle Eastern Command with local participation, but other sections are opposed to it, even in principle, and in any case it seems clear that, as soon as it came to working it out in practice, the question of Israel, if no other, would create an immediate deadlock. Nationalism, in short, has got hopelessly out of hand in these countries; and only when it has had a severe lesson—such as, we may hope, it will soon receive in the Anglo-Egyptian dispute—will there be any chance of the peoples whom it has infected being ready to collaborate with the West in the common interest of both.

It is to be hoped that the State Department at Washington now appreciates that Near Eastern questions are *sui generis* and not fit to be classed under any ready-made heading such as anti-Communism or anti-Imperialism: for the difficulties of coordinating British and American policy elsewhere are likely to cause enough unavoidable friction without the addition of a gratuitous quarrel over these issues. The growing impatience of American opinion with the Korean situation and the need of the Truman

administration for something tangible in Korea to show the public in an election year, either a satisfactory truce or a decisive military stroke, is producing in Washington the state of mind reflected in statements such as that lately made in the Scripps-Howard papers, that "the only hope of a United Nations agreement on peace terms or on war strategy is that Prime Minister Winston Churchill will shift British policy over toward the American position"; but there is no sign that Mr. Churchill is willing, or indeed able, to shift British policy far enough to satisfy American opinion. However much he may regret the Labour Government's precipitate recognition of Communist China, the objections to withdrawing a recognition once granted are so great and so obvious that no one on this side of the Atlantic expects him to reverse that decision: nor can he conceivably agree, after Mr. Lyttleton's visit to Hongkong, to put any more restrictions than those already imposed on the trade of Hongkong with China. Above all, he is bound to voice the very gravest objections to any plan for extending the Korean war to the mainland of China if the present truce talks fail—and there is reason for thinking that some such plan is under serious consideration in Washington.

On the other hand, Mr. Churchill must clearly make at least a gesture to satisfy American opinion, if he is to secure the economic assistance which this country must have soon if it is to surmount the present inflationary crisis. He is not likely to get more than a minimum of help in any case, and he is likely to hear a great deal to the effect that the British have brought the crisis upon themselves through too much "welfare" expenditure under the Labour Government. With much of this he may be sympathetic; but he will have to point out that to talk of undoing what has been done in this sphere is not practical politics and that, as things are, he cannot do more than prune the more extravagant items of expenditure. Nor, to meet another American grievance, can he force the British miners to produce more coal for export. It will thus be all the more necessary for him to do something to meet American wishes in the political, if he cannot meet them in the economic, sphere: yet it is not easy to see what concessions he can make, or where.

The other countries of Western Europe are in much the same situation. All of them in their various degrees, except the two prosperous "neutrals", Switzerland and Sweden, need American economic help, but none is prepared to pay the full political or economic price which Congress and the American "man in the street" wish to extract for it. Clearly, some very careful diplomacy will be needed in the coming year: and it will not be rendered any the easier by the knowledge that before the end of the year the American elections may presage a radical change in the policies of the United States Government.

The foregoing may seem a somewhat pessimistic survey: since it is a survey of the matters now under discussion between the nations of the free world, who are trying to overcome the obstacles to the further development of coöperation between them, it has been of necessity concerned with those obstacles, but it does not imply that there has not been progress, political, military and economic, in the past year, nor that the progress is not continuing. To specify the military and economic progress is beyond the scope of this article; but on the political side one can point not only to the establishment and development of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization but also to the efforts made, with increasing success, to reconcile the ex-enemy countries to their former foes and incorporate them in the framework of the Western alliance. The incorporation of Italy is almost complete: that of Japan has been carried a great step forward by the unexpectedly easy passage of the Japanese peace treaty; and towards that of Germany, the most difficult, the first decisive steps have now been taken.

Nor should we assume that, because we hear comparatively little of disputes and difficulties on the other side of the Iron Curtain, the process of welding the "satellites" into a monolithic Soviet-Communist *bloc* is proceeding any more smoothly and easily. We now know enough of Soviet methods to realize that "purges" and political trials in a communist-dominated country are a sure sign that something has gone seriously wrong with its administration and that Moscow has demanded scapegoats. In the past year there have been plenty of such signs in Poland,

Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria; and now the arrest of M. Slansky, once almost the "uncrowned king" of Czechoslovakia, shows that the state of affairs in that country must be regarded in the Kremlin as profoundly disquieting. There is of course no chance that any of these countries will provide an example of successful "Titoism" like Yugoslavia; but the reliability of their populations in the event of war must be considerably discounted by Soviet strategists, and as the economic situation in most of them is known to be unsatisfactory, concern for them should reinforce fear of atomic warfare in dissuading the Soviet Government from military aggression in Europe at this juncture.

Whether there are deterrents of equal power to aggression in Asia is no doubt another and a more dubious matter; but the Soviet Government presumably have enough belief in the late M. Litvinov's doctrine that "peace is indivisible" to avoid the sort of action in Asia which would risk unloosing a general war, and short of that there is not much they can do beyond what they have done already. It has been suggested that they might incite the Chinese Communists to overt aggression against Indo-China or Burma; but that seems unlikely so long as the Korean war continues—and the present state of the armistice negotiations in Korea seems to indicate that it is likely to continue for some time yet.

The prospect is therefore that the "cold war" will remain more or less cold; but there is unfortunately no sign that it will get any colder, still less cool off altogether. The Soviet attitude at every point of dispute—Berlin, Austria, disarmament or what you will—remains intransigent and a study of the Soviet press and radio reveals no sign of any weakening in the resolve to use all means short of general war to bring about the overthrow of every non-Communist State. Every such State, almost without exception, has its political weak spots where trouble can be made or from which at least propaganda value can be extracted; and some governments, such as the South African with their gratuitously provocative native policy, seem almost to go out of their way to create them. Over large parts of the free world, too, the

economic situation is dangerously unstable, particularly in Asia, even where it is not being made worse by direct Communist action, as in Malaya; and all the talk about "economic aid to undeveloped territories" etc. has not as yet led to much positive result. The economic situation is now in itself a major political factor, in fact the greatest of all the material, as distinct from the spiritual, factors in the problem. In one sense, of course, it has always been so: even as early as the end of the seventeenth century it was a current saying that the struggle between Louis XIV and his enemies of the Grand Alliance would be won by the side which could throw the last *riksthaler* into the scale, but in these latter days the impact of economics upon politics has become much more open, direct and immediate. Too little is known of economic conditions in the Soviet Union (though they are known to be bad in most of the European "satellite" countries) for it to be possible to say positively whether or not they are a worse drag on the Soviet *bloc* than is the so-called "economic crisis" in Western countries on the anti-Soviet alliance; but it is unfortunately clear enough that economics create the worst of all the headaches now afflicting Western statesmen, and that nothing could strengthen the West more in every way than a solution of its economic problems.

REVIEWS

EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON

CLARENDON: POLITICS, HISTORY AND RELIGION, 1640-1660 By
B. H. G. WORMALD. (Cambridge University Press.) 25s.

THERE are some historical problems which come to be regarded as having been so satisfactorily settled by the work of some distinguished scholar that no alternative solution seems conceivable. One example concerns the motives and activities of Edward Hyde, later first Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor of England, after the first session of the Long Parliament. On the authority of S. R. Gardiner, confirmed by Sir Charles Firth, it is usually held that the key to a right understanding of Hyde's conduct is to be found in the strength of his episcopalian opinions: in the autumn of 1641 the great common lawyer and recent champion of the constitutional Revolution accepted the leadership of the Episcopalians in the House, and converted them into a Royalist Party in order to save the Church from a threatened puritan reformation; while not immediately withdrawing from the Commons he was henceforth the King's servant and, though favouring a policy of moderation, wholly devoted to the Royalist cause. This interpretation has now been challenged and decisively rejected by Mr. Wormald. Churchman though he was, Hyde (it is explained) was *not* the spokesman of the Episcopalians (that was Falkland's privilege), *nor* did he cease to believe in the Revolution and change sides in the manner alleged. It is true that he parted company with the extreme and violent Parliamentarians led by Pym. It is also true that later events precipitated him on to the side of the King's friends. Nevertheless, Hyde the Parliamentarian remained the Parliamentarian, though of a non-violent kind: he was no less a Parliamentarian and no more a Royalist after the Civil War than he had been at Westminster in 1640.

What, then, it may reasonably be asked, are we to make of *The History of the Rebellion and Civil War in England*, from which the generally accepted estimate of Hyde is principally derived? Is not that Royalist enough? It is, Mr. Wormald replies, but not in the sense in which it is usually taken to be. The apparent discrepancy between the fact that Hyde remained a Parliamentarian and yet produced a "royalist" history begins to disappear when it is remem-

bered that he did not write until circumstances compelled him to see things from the angle of the King. When the demands of the violent party drove him into closer contact with Charles, not only did the intensity of his non-royalist politics give him a deeper insight into the King's difficulties and mistakes, but there also came to be established a strong bond of personal (as distinct from political) attachment between them: "That bond ensured that if Hyde was never a Royalist he early became a loyalist, and this fact was decisive for the *History*. Fired with this loyalty he became so good an historian in his exposition of the situations in which the King found himself, that he has misled his readers regarding his own attitude towards the events described at the time they were taking place" (p. 155). Refusing to be thus misled himself, Mr. Wormald has re-examined the *History*, the *Life* and the occasional writings, together with the contemporary evidence; and, with a procedure "similar to that of a certain school of Biblical scholars", reconstructed in detail "the ideas of Hyde as they unfolded in relation to events" (p. xi).

If a descriptive title were required for Hyde after 1641 it would not be "Parliamentary turncoat" or "Koyalist convert" but "bridge-builder". Anxious above all else to consolidate the recent legislative reforms he attempted to unite a divided Commons and a divided Lords, and to eliminate friction between King and Parliament. That is to say, he followed precisely that policy which Gardiner blamed him for not pursuing. Far from changing sides to strengthen Royalists against Parliamentarians, his object was to prevent the emergence of any such distinction. It was this that determined his opposition to Root-and-Branch, the Bishops' Exclusion Bills and the Grand Remonstrance. For the same reason he exploited his intimacy with Digby and gained Falkland and Culpepper admission to the Council; and any notion that he allied himself unreservedly with Charles is refuted by the fact that the King's support of the Bishops' Protest to the Lords and his attempted arrest of the five Members were interpreted by Hyde himself as a rejection of his policy. Yet when Civil War seemed certain, his efforts for peace did not slacken, as witness his draft of the King's reply to the Militia Ordinance and his attempt from Newmarket to move the King towards a conciliatory reply to the Declaration of fears and jealousies. Even when the breach actually occurred and Pym's violent party chose to regard him as the chief of malignants, his last thought was to alienate Charles irrevocably from his Parliament, and he persisted in his efforts for a negotiated settlement. Not until the passing of the Nineteen Propositions had indicated that it was the present Parliament and not the King that was entirely deaf to reason did Hyde admit the need for a powerful Royalist army, since

the King had now become the leader of resistance against what threatened to be a form of irresponsible prerogative rule worse than that which the first sessions of the Long Parliament had resolved to destroy. Even then, unlike the Royalist leaders, he regarded the King's armed strength primarily as an instrument for securing a negotiated peace, as his labours at the time of the abortive Treaty of Oxford testify. It was only after this failure that he admitted that the war must be fought as a war, for then it had become very evidently a war not against Parliament itself but against those who, in the name of Parliament, had made a mockery of all that Parliament stood for.

But, even when this reversal of the rôle hitherto attributed to Hyde in the years preceding the Civil War has been conceded, it might be said of his insistence upon a policy of "no compromise" afterwards that this, at least, favours the generally accepted Royalist interpretation. Against this Mr. Wormald demonstrates that, in fact, the Hyde of historical legend no more existed after Naseby than he did before: "Hyde's attitude to the contemporary scene in the second phase is in direct continuity with his attitude in the first one. The ideas and recommendations of 1646 onwards are nothing but those of the previous period in a completely different setting" (p. 255). The explanation lies in the fact that not only had Hyde begun to write history, but also in so far as he returned to the contemporary political scene he did so with an historian's perspective: henceforth "the strength of his attitude and of the policy springing from it lay in the profundity of his analysis of the forces let loose by the English Revolution in the midst of which he lived and played his part" (p. 165). He was still an enthusiast for the constitution as it had emerged after the reforms of 1640-41, but the situation had so far changed that the kind of settlement he had sought to accomplish before had become, for the time being, wholly impossible. He was certain that that which he had worked and longed for could not now be brought about by the manipulation of any merely human power. Not only the violent party who continued to pursue their evil courses, but also the King's followers who had been far from innocent during the controversy, stood under the divine judgement. At the same time, he believed that the nation as a whole had not deliberately willed the Rebellion, and that there would be "a resurrection of the English affection and loyalty". The right policy for the King, therefore, was not to try to assert himself by compromise or by diplomacy or by foreign arms, but to stand firm and wait: "Patience, John, the scene will change", he said to Sir John Berkeley, early in 1647. The Independent and Presbyterian factions were united only by negatives and, possessing no principle of

permanence, must end in self-destruction. All this, he believed, experience would eventually teach others, as it had already taught him—though, since even a *de facto* government might offer some protection and so for a time seem worthy of support, and since Cromwell might try to become not only Protector but King, he recognized that this process of political education might be a slow and bitter one. Hyde, then, even amongst the Royalist exiles, remained a Parliamentarian, the advocate neither of absolute nor of mixed monarchy, but of kingship limited by law to act within the bounds of those institutions which it could of itself neither change nor transcend. Moreover, his conviction that the events of history, under the guiding hand of Providence, would do what earlier his politics had failed to do, was not mistaken: the fact that the restoration of the whole constitution in 1660 not only took place but was achieved in a non-violent manner, vindicated both his interpretation of events and the direction and method of his policy.

Though rejecting the view that Hyde was pre-occupied with ecclesiastical considerations from the beginning, Mr. Wormald shows that, nevertheless, his Anglicanism, deeply and permanently influenced by his intimate contact with the Latitudinarianism of the Tew Circle, placed him in a favourable position for pursuing his political objective. If he was the friend of Laud, and in some respects his admirer, like Falkland he did not hesitate to criticize both the archbishop's methods and character. Of all the Churches in the world the Church of England was, for him, "the most exactly formed and framed" not only "for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety" but also "for the preservation of peace". It was his consistent belief that "no reformation is worth the charge of a civil war", and not only in 1641-42 but also afterwards it was part of his deliberate policy to secure "ease for tender consciences in matters indifferent". Yet the ideas of Hyde were the ideas of Tew with a difference: "He was not primarily interested in religion in the way that Falkland was. He was interested in politics first, in the achievements, and then in the consolidation of the great reformation of the State" (p. 288). For Falkland the liberal Anglicanism of the Tew Circle was to be defended as an end in itself: for Hyde it provided what ought to have been a bridge uniting King and Commons. Granted he came to be rigidly opposed to changes in Church Order, but "even in retrospect Hyde's inflexibility was not so much ecclesiastical in the strict sense, as constitutional" (p. 281). It is noteworthy that his defence of the bishops was based not on the doctrine that episcopacy was *de jure divino* but that it was an essential part of the government of England. Central to his thought was the distinction between religion in its essential and unalterable principles as prescribed by Christ, and what he called Religion of

State: that is, the variable ecclesiastical superstructure of doctrine, government, discipline and worship. The latter was a subdivision of the temporal order, since the primary reference of its "in-essentials" was not to God but to society, and was therefore of *political* significance and rightly belonged to the Prince. He was satisfied that it was in a clear recognition of this difference between religion and Religion of State that there lay the best hope for the cessation of religious controversy. It was not that he was a secularist; he was as convinced as Chillingworth of the supremacy of genuine spiritual religion over the merely institutional and, far from accepting the Hobbesian view of the self-sufficiency of politics, recognized that the movement of political events revealed the action of that Reality to which Christianity pointed. Yet he was impressed by the fact that ecclesiastical institutions are the necessary support to true religion, without which it cannot be effectively propagated or sustained, and that these institutions in turn depend for their welfare upon the institutions and policy of the civil State. The best interests of true religion and the State are therefore inextricably woven together. In this Hyde showed a lifelong consistency, though it is not the one that has been commonly supposed. He was not a High Churchman from the beginning, nor did he undergo a conversion from a comprehensive to an exclusive policy. With his distinction of religion and Religion of State he assumed from the first that, in principle, *ecclesiastical* change was always feasible, and this his experience confirmed. The political situation made some kind of change desirable in 1640, wholly inadmissible after 1649, and necessary after the Restoration—though, since England was wedded to the old ecclesiastical order, it followed that any changes must be of a conservative kind.

In unfolding this minutely penetrating reassessment of Hyde's statesmanship, Mr. Wormald has produced what must be one of the most important works of English historical scholarship of recent years. Doubtless students will find it possible to question him on points of detail, but his general thesis, briefly and inadequately outlined above, is likely to stand firmly established. Parts of the book make heavy going, and especially the first 113 pages demand the closest concentration; but nowhere could it be called dull except by those who are not likely to read it. As it stands the book is a unity in itself. It is, however, only the first part of a comprehensive study of Clarendon, and in future volumes Mr. Wormald intends to take us through the critical months preceding the Restoration and on through that period of Settlement of which Hyde was the chief architect. It is safe to say that all who read this first instalment will wait impatiently for the next.

THOMAS WOOD.

HEBREWS: A NEW APPROACH

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS. AN HISTORICAL AND THEOLOGICAL RECONSIDERATION. By WILLIAM MANSON. Hodder and Stoughton. 10s. 6d.

PROFESSOR Manson, in his Baird Lectures, delivered in 1950, has sought a new approach to the interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews in an endeavour to throw new light both on the purpose of the writer and on the nature of the community which he is addressing. His thesis may be put briefly. The epistle was written about A.D. 60, its teaching is to be understood as essentially an elaboration of the teaching of Stephen, and the group addressed is a minority among the Jewish Christians of the Roman Church, to whom the writer is personally known, "who in reaction from the larger freedom of the world-mission gospel were asserting principles and counter-claims akin to those of the original 'Hebrew' section in the Jerusalem Church".

The implications of such a thesis are important, and reach far beyond the particular circumstances in which the Epistle to the Hebrews was written. Professor Manson is asking his readers, in effect, to consider whether our preoccupation with the epistles of Paul has prevented us from realizing the importance of other developments in the first age of Christian missionary expansion. He suggests that the key to the Epistle to the Hebrews is only to be found by examining the history of the world-mission of Christianity from its inception in the work of Stephen, and he finds in the account of Stephen's speech and martyrdom in Acts a decisive step in the history of the Church. Stephen's message was a call to the Church of Jesus to leave the Temple and all that went with it behind, and to go out and, so to speak, anticipate the Son of Man's coming by proclaiming him to every nation and people of that larger world which was now included in His dominion. The effect of Stephen's manifesto was to create a division in the Jerusalem Church between the Jewish-Hellenists, who "scattered" and went out to preach the gospel, not only under the compulsion of persecution but in fidelity to Stephen's teaching, and the "Hebrew" Christians, absorbed in traditional ideas of the Lord's coming, who remained at Jerusalem within the covert of the Temple and the ordinances. Paul, while being one of the greatest of the later Jewish-Hellenist missionaries, was one among many, and a highly individual one at that. The division in the Jerusalem Church was to be mirrored in similar divisions in the Churches of the Diaspora wherever such Churches, as at Rome, contained large numbers of Jewish Christians; it is

against such a background that the Epistle to the Hebrews must be understood with its appeal to a group conservatively Jewish-Christian in sentiment and tendency to understand the transcendence of the Person and Work of Christ over the Old Testament religion of the Law and the Cultus.

Professor Manson argues his case carefully and persuasively, and with a detailed discussion of the theological argument of the epistle. Yet, although he has made a notable contribution to the understanding of the epistle, it may be doubted whether many of his readers will be altogether convinced. The indifference of the epistle to the questions of the Law and circumcision, which were still burning questions for the "Hebrew" Christians of Jerusalem at the time of Paul's last visit, seems difficult to reconcile with such an early date for its composition. If the epistle is to be dated later, many of Professor Manson's arguments lose their force. Nor will everyone agree with Professor Manson's verdict that the Roman-Christian community to which Paul wrote was Jewish in the main; the words of the Jewish leaders at Rome to Paul on his arrival remain a serious obstacle to such a view, and the Epistle to the Romans itself permits of other interpretations. On the other hand, Professor Manson's view of the importance of Stephen in the development of the Church is one that may well command wide assent, although here too many will feel that the speech which Luke puts into Stephen's mouth is not the best of evidence for his actual words.

It would be ungrateful to end a review of a book which is so full of stimulating and suggestive contributions to one of the most difficult of New Testament problems without thanking Professor Manson for enabling us at least to consider it in a new and profitable light. If he has not solved a problem which may well never be solved, he has, in many points, helped to give a fuller meaning to the words of the epistle, and to the understanding of the many-sidedness of the earliest Christian mission in the Gentile world.

RICHARD HEARD

GOSPEL CRITICISM

ABOUT THE GOSPELS. By C. H. DODD. Cambridge University Press. 3s. 6d.

THE GOSPEL MESSAGE OF ST. MARK. By R. H. LIGHTFOOT. Oxford University Press. 10s.

THE ORIGINALITY OF ST. MATTHEW. By B. C. BUTLER. Cambridge University Press. 18s.

MORE than a quarter of a century has now elapsed since the publication of Streeter's *Four Gospels* in 1924 closed an era in English

gospel studies. Dr. Lightfoot, indeed, describes this work as "the final and most complete expression in English of the methods and results of source criticism". In more recent years Drs. Dodd and Lightfoot have been among the foremost interpreters for English readers of the method of form criticism, and the appearance of these three very different books offers an opportunity for considering some aspects of present-day gospel criticism.

Dr. Dodd's *About the Gospels* is a collection of four broadcast addresses, and Dr. Lightfoot's *The Gospel Message of St. Mark* is a collection of papers and lectures, for the most part on various features of St. Mark's Gospel, and including a notable essay on "Form Criticism and the Study of the Gospels". It is no disrespect to these two distinguished scholars to say that for many readers the chief interest of these books lies above all in the incidental light which they throw upon the mature views of their authors as to the purpose and trustworthiness of the gospel records. Dr. Lightfoot, as is noted above, is inclined to think that the work of source criticism is now as a whole complete, and that, rightly viewed, form criticism is the natural and indeed inevitable development of the earlier study. With this verdict Dr. Dodd appears to be in general agreement, although with some important reservations: thus, he speaks of the circulation of "fly-sheets" with a few sayings of Jesus on some special topic, and of the bringing together of such fly-sheets into more comprehensive collections, some of which were used in the composition of the Gospels. Where both writers differ significantly from Streeter, however, is in their concentration of interest upon the development of the tradition behind the Gospels, and upon the purpose of the Gospels themselves.

On the oral tradition behind the Gospels Dr. Dodd comments that it "is anything but irresponsible gossip. It is the sifted and certified tradition of a community. . . an intimate. . . and an effectively organized community". Moreover, the very conditions of Christian instruction offered a powerful motive for great care in distinguishing the actual sayings of Jesus from the Christian teaching built upon them. Yet, while these safeguards, and the early composition of written fly-sheets, which Dr. Dodd dates soon after the Church moved into Greek-speaking countries, guarantee the general truth of the tradition, there is a margin of uncertainty, and Dr. Dodd holds, for example, that the explanation of the parable of the Sower in Mark iv "is not what Jesus said at the time, but a highly intelligent application of his parable in terms of the situation of the early Church", while the strange story of the devils and the Gadarene swine in Mark v ". . . belongs to the outer fringe of the tradition and has been altered in transmission". The significance of such

conclusions, simple as they are, lies in the fact that they represent the considered opinion of an acute scholar who has examined in great detail and over a long period of years the "results" of the early radical form critics, and has seen that the employment of form-critical methods need not lead to an unduly sceptical attitude towards the historicity of Mark's narrative.

On the purpose of the Gospels, too, Dr. Dodd has much of great value to say. He draws attention, in particular, to the underlying element of mystery in Mark's story, and to the fact that Mark was perfectly aware of it. It is about what happened "under Pontius Pilate", and it is about what God has done for mankind. This "mysterious undercurrent" he shows to have been present in all forms of the literary tradition, as far as we can trace it, and to offer a solution of the fundamental problem of the Fourth Gospel. He conceives of John as re-telling gospel-incidents in such a way as to bring out the inner meaning of each of them separately, and of the gospel as a whole, partly by re-shaping the stories in detail, partly by arranging them in a special order, and partly by placing alongside a story a discourse which expounds its deeper meaning. "Mark was always hinting at a secret—the mystery of the Kingdom of God. John has told the secret, perhaps as fully as it can be told".

Dr. Lightfoot, writing from the same general standpoint as Dr. Dodd, to whose work he frequently pays tribute, stands perhaps more under the influence of his German form-critical predecessors in his approach to the Gospels as historical documents, although he too sees clearly that "there is a vital connexion between the little sections of the gospels and the great, fundamental, permanent gospel themes of vocation, physical and spiritual restoration, life and death, love and hate, judgement and salvation", and that "truths which are worked out fully in John may be discerned at an earlier stage, and in a less coherent form, in Mark".

It is with St. Mark's Gospel that Dr. Lightfoot is primarily concerned, a book which "from first to last is mysterious and baffling". He reminds us, however, that its first readers possessed an immense advantage over us; the evangelist was one of themselves, and therefore they had or could procure from the outset the key to the understanding of the book, and the knowledge how to use that key. He is inclined to believe that the tradition of Peter's connexion with the gospel contains some truth, but that it should not be pressed to the extent of connecting Peter with the contents of the book as a whole, or of asserting that the stories have come down to us exactly as he told them. He emphasizes that little influence can be placed in the chronology of St. Mark's Gospel, at least as it concerns the individual sections of teaching, and here, as also in explaining some of

Mark's omissions, he seeks to show that Mark was not interested in the Lord's biography as such, but only in so far as the traditions help him to set forth what he understands to be the Gospel. While the evangelist has incidentally given us some of the most precious traits of the "Jesus of History", probably we shall best understand his book and his purpose, if we regard both it and the little sections by means of which it is so largely built up, as an illustration, exposition, and demonstration of the Church's Gospel.

While Drs. Dodd and Lightfoot have moved forward, as it were, from the generally accepted results of the source criticism of the Gospels towards further objectives, the present Abbot of Downside has launched an attack upon the "Two-Document" theory itself. Following the example, and at times the arguments of his predecessor, Abbot Chapman, in his posthumous work *Matthew, Mark and Luke*, Abbot Butler in his book on *The Originality of St. Matthew* attempts to show that the hypothesis of a lost document Q is unnecessary, and that both St. Mark's and St. Luke's gospels are directly dependent upon their predecessor Matthew.

His method of procedure is to submit chosen parallel passages to a detailed examination, and to demonstrate that the borrowing of Mark and Luke from Matthew is both a simpler and a more satisfactory explanation than the usual one. Although he occasionally makes ingenious use of some of the conclusions of the form critics to support his case, his book is primarily a refutation of the arguments employed in favour of the now "orthodox" theory by Oxford scholars in the early years of the century, and above all those employed by Streeter himself. Although he argues dexterously, and makes many shrewd hits, he cannot be said seriously to have shaken the foundations of the "Two Document" theory. The fundamental weakness of his case lies in what he assumes and in what he leaves out. The question of who is borrowing from whom in any given passage can often be plausibly reversed, but the overwhelming difficulties attached to Abbot Butler's "simpler" theory lie in the consequences of their adoption. Against the usual view that Matthew is a skilful and artistic conflator of his sources, for example, he is unwilling to allow much for his literary craftsmanship, although on his own theory of Matthew's dependence solely on apostolic oral information the artistry of the work becomes even more evident. Nor does he make any serious attempt to explain why both Mark and Luke agree in leaving out so many of the details of the Matthaean narrative. If Peter's modesty accounts for the absence from St. Mark's Gospel of some of Matthew's "Petrine" material, we could at least expect to find them in St. Luke's Gospel. Why, again, are the special Matthaean touches to the Passion-

narrative omitted by both Mark and Luke? Why has Luke made such a mess of his borrowings from the Sermon on the Mount?

Yet a book which fails in its main thesis has often much of value to contribute none the less. Many of Abbot Butler's arguments have real point, and he reminds us, for example, that Matthew's account of the Healing of the Canaanite woman is hard to explain as a mere re-writing of Mark's parallel account. Neither the "Two Document" nor the "Four-Document" theory, as Streeter presented them, is, *pace* Dr. Lightfoot, quite the last word in the source criticism of the Gospels.

The truth is, perhaps, that criticism of the Gospels has to-day reached a stage where the verifiable sources have been largely determined, but where there is still much room for speculation, which can never finally be proved or disproved, about both written sources and the tendencies of oral tradition. That Drs. Dodd and Lightfoot have helped us towards a better understanding of the purpose of the Gospels and of the conditions which determined their composition will be generally granted. But there is still much to do and to learn, and it is right that each step should be continually tested, as by Abbot Butler, if we are to progress even a little nearer to a truer understanding of the Gospels as the record of the earthly life and teaching of the Incarnate Lord.

RICHARD HEARD

NEW TESTAMENT STUDIES

THE GOSPEL MESSAGE OF ST. MARK. By R. H. LIGHTFOOT. O.U.P. 10s.

THE WORDS AND WORKS OF JESUS. By A. M. HUNTER. S.C.M. Press. 12s. 6d.

INTERPRETING THE NEW TESTAMENT 1900-50. By A. M. HUNTER. S.C.M. Press. 10s. 6d.

ANY work by Dr. R. H. Lightfoot on the Gospels is sure to be a model of careful and exact scholarship and the *Gospel Message of St. Mark* is no exception. His approach to his subject is identical with that of his previous books but the author shows himself aware of the criticisms which have been made of his previous work and safeguards himself against them. Some of us will still feel disposed to raise the general question of the relationship between history and interpretation in the Gospels as Dr. Lightfoot presents it. It is quite clear that Dr. Lightfoot is very far from believing that the Gospels are mere interpretations inadequately supported by facts. He has also conclusively shown (if anyone had really been disposed

to maintain this) that the theory of unmediated or photographic history can equally not be maintained. The question is rather one of phrasing the relationship between the two within the Gospels and the extent to which either takes control. Dr. Lightfoot, although far from minimizing the importance of history within the Gospels prefers to expound the elements of interpretation which he finds there. It is possible that others may prefer to take the opposite starting point and to emphasize those elements which appear to go back to the Lord Himself and to assign a less primary rôle to the evangelist himself. Neither Professor Lightfoot nor I would regard either historical or interpretative questions as what a modern logician would call "nonsense questions"; we should almost certainly differ as to the possibility of finding adequate answers to some at least of the historical questions which I should wish to put to the Gospels. It is worth noticing that the customary denial that the Gospels are biographies of Jesus is at best a half-truth and perhaps, if handled less carefully and reverently than Dr. Lightfoot does, a dangerous half-truth. Is it possible that those who deny the biographical character of the Gospels are influenced by a standard of biography never as yet fully attained?

Dr. Lightfoot returns to his theory that the Gospel according to St. Mark not only ends at present, but was meant to end at Mark xvi, 8. This is powerfully argued by him and has won widespread support, but I am still personally unconvinced.

The following points still appear to be to be relevant. Dr. Lightfoot's patient researches have proved to me that a sentence or even a paragraph might in certain circumstances end with a preposition. Evidence that a book might so end still appears to me improbable. In particular could the Second Gospel so end? It is important to note that it begins with what is for St. Mark a stylistic flourish, what a pupil of mine recently described as a "banner headline". It is difficult to believe that a book which begins "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (whether the manuscripts are right in adding the disputed words "The Son of God") could end merely "They were afraid for".

2. Despite Dr. Lightfoot's vigorous and persuasive pleading, it is still difficult to believe that the message of the angel "Go, tell His disciples and Peter" are not meant to lead up to an appearance of the Risen Lord to St. Peter. The point of the message, that Peter having denied should also despair, is clear enough. But is this sufficient? Clearly the author of John xxi thought not. As Dr. Lightfoot is careful to note, St. Paul mentions an appearance to Peter in the early verses of I Corinthians xv. It is not without significance in the light of Dr. Lightfoot's discussion of the point

that it is a Gospel which is the only document which claims to contain such a vision. I have sometimes thought that we also need a confession by the disciples that Jesus is the Son of God to round off the Gospel. He is so confessed by demoniacs, by the High Priest (in a kind of Marcan irony) and by the centurion at the Cross considered perhaps as the first-fruits of the Gentile world. Should the disciples alone be dumb in this crescendo of acclamation? I do not say that this is the kind of argument which will convince Dr. Lightfoot; it is rather part of an explanation why some are still somewhat chary of accepting his own theory.

3. It still seems rather strange that we are not allowed to argue from the conclusion of other Gospels to the ending of St. Mark. Here, if I am not mistaken, Dr. Lightfoot is implicitly correcting the conclusions of his own earlier work *Locality and Doctrine in the Gospels*. There, perhaps under the influence of Lohmeyer, he inclined to the view that the present ending of the Gospel was orientated towards the Parousia. His present work implies that he now sees the climax to be the Resurrection as known through its effects. If this be so, it would be even more natural to take into account the endings of the other Gospels. No doubt we should not expect the great new fact in History to be handled in exactly the same way in all Four Gospels. Taken together with the argument from "unfulfilled intentions" set out above, the point begins to have importance.

4. Dr. Lightfoot makes a fair point that the note of godly fear (the natural reaction to what Otto taught us to call the Numinous) is a more important ingredient in the Christian life than our relatively superficial days would allow us to suppose. The real difficulty about this ending is not so much the note of fear unresolved into joy as the conjunction of fear and disobedience. Fear in Dr. Lightfoot's sense is godly fear leading to obedience. Here we find in disquieting fashion fear and disobedience left unreconciled.

It would not, however, be fair to leave the impression that disagreement on this point vitiates the book as a whole. That is far from being the case. Some of us who disagree with some of the conclusions and even the axioms of Dr. Lightfoot have learnt much from him, not least in trying to discover precisely why we differ from him. Here is scholarship of a very high order, reverent, exact, careful and profound. It is the fruit of many years of deep study and meditation on St. Mark's Gospel. Those who read this book with real attention will learn to look with new eyes upon a Gospel simple in form but rich in significance.

Dr. Hunter's book on the Gospels breathes a different air. My only fear is that it should suffer unduly by being included in the

same review as Dr. Lightfoot's work. It would be far from accepting some of Dr. Lightfoot's premisses and will perhaps reach a different public. In some respects Dr. Lightfoot is a scholars' scholar. The point is not that others should not read his book or that scholars can afford to ignore Dr. Hunter's very different work, but that their immediate appeal is different. Dr. Hunter asks historical questions of the Gospels in the confident expectation that he will receive at least adequate historical answers. This is refreshing to a reviewer who has always believed that this is possible and taught and lectured accordingly. The book is clearly and vigorously written and abounds in good and pungent comments on particular points. If Dr. Hunter would regard this as an *Interim* report and give us in due course a really comprehensive work on the Life and Teaching of Jesus, he will put us even more deeply in his debt. The design and execution of the book seem to me beyond praise. Most of the principal topics in the Gospels are treated with admirable brevity and good sense. If there are a few points on which a different opinion might well be held, that is only to be expected and does not detract from the real value of the work.

The third item in this reviewer's trilogy is also by Dr. Hunter. It represents a survey of New Testament scholarship during the past half century. The work opens with sections on modern translation, textual criticism and even lexicæ. A glance at the Index reveals the range of the reading which lies behind it. It is easy for such a survey to lose unity and to degenerate into a mere catalogue of works and writers. Nothing could be further from the truth so far as this book goes. It is attractively written and abounds in shrewd and penetrating judgements. Its general standpoint represents the best and most sober tradition of British scholarship.

There are many points of detail, however, on which two opinions might be legitimate. Dr. Hunter seems to view too favourably the theory of a written source for the material special to St. Matthew and views with perhaps too much favour the Ephesian Ministry theory of Principal Duncan. Surely Onesimus would wish to put as much distance as possible between himself and his wronged master at Colossæ. Once he got to Ephesus it was little more difficult to reach Rome where the prospects of lying hidden were much greater. Many a sea captain would be glad of an extra hand aboard with no questions asked. Sections on the possibility of a developing theology in the Pauline Epistles would have been welcomed by many, not only because the literature is largely in periodicals to which not every reader will have the references, but also because we should welcome Dr. Hunter's own opinion. Unless Dr. Hunter thought that it would carry him too much into detail, we should

have welcomed a discussion (again with full references) of the probable date and character of the Last Supper. I do not discover reference either to Fr. Thornton's *Common Life of the Body of Christ* or to W. L. Knox's two books on *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*. They would have added value to the section on the sources of Pauline theology. A short section on the new approach to the exegesis might well have formed part of the last chapter on New Testament Theology although the matter is just touched upon in a note on Fr. Hebert's *Throne of David*. It is probable that Dr. Hunter would be critical of the whole approach but the question is becoming an urgent one at least south of the Border. Dr. Narborough's theory of the origin and purpose of Hebrews surely should have found a place and some discussion. On page 113 Dr. Hunter apparently identifies Silas and Silvanus without a word of explanation. This may well be right but it should be made plain that it rests upon a conjecture. The further suggestion that Silas had a hand in drafting the Decree of the Council of Jerusalem is new to me and does not appear to be necessarily supported by the text. These are all points of detail of which some matter more than others. They are part of the difficulty of constructing such a work and I cannot easily envisage a work of such a character from which I should have to express so slight dissent. Certainly I know no scholar who could have fulfilled this particular task with equal charm, clarity, common sense and critical caution.

H. E. W. TURNER

THE FLIGHT FROM GOD

ZERSTOERTE UND UNZERSTOERBARE WELT. By MAX PICARD. Eugen Rentsch, Erlenbach.

"The originality of Picard's intuition", Gabriel Marcel writes in his preface to the English edition of *The Flight from God* (noticed in a remarkable leader in *The Guardian* of October 12), "I would almost say his genius lies in having discovered that the Flight has assumed volume, structure and quantity. War is an illustration of this thesis; to-day it spreads across the world like a fire, and it is man who is in the service of war and flight; the converse is not true; man obeys flight and war". In his latest book, just published in Switzerland, Dr. Picard describes, in the form of a travel-diary, his impressions of the country where, he believes, the universal Flight from God has made less progress than elsewhere in Europe, where there is still hope for the future of man. The journeys, mostly on foot, covered by the diary range from August 1949 to October 1950 and from

Milan to Florence. The longest single journey began at the end of May 1950, when, setting out from Bologna, Dr. Picard travelled to Bergamo, Brescia, Vicenza, Padua and Venice (staying there eight days), crossing to Milan and (by rail) to Genoa and Pisa, on from there to Volterra ("the most beautiful village I have ever seen"), to Siena and Florence, Perugia and Assisi, Spoleto and Ancona, Lucca, Arezzo, Cortona and Mantua and finally to Cremona, Como and home to Caslano on the Lake of Lugano at the beginning of October.

All the main themes of his previous works recur in this diary of his walking tours but always in relation to the people and landscapes which he encounters. Thus, the very first entry, written in Milan, plunges us into the Flight from God. The primary force in this great city seems to be an objective world of movement, outside man's control, into which he is absorbed, so that the motions of the crowds milling in the streets are no longer the motions of single, responsible persons but part of an extra-human mechanism which drives them on and which exists, like the moving staircase, outside them, in a world of its own, controlled by laws of its own. And in the faces of the crowds Picard sees the "uniform emptiness" produced by the death that gnaws at life, silently, slowly but unceasingly—and at all life, which is why so few ever notice it. But when a face unscathed by the ravages of this death in life suddenly appears it makes all the others seem unreal. From such faces and the integral persons which they express can come renewal for all other faces and persons. This can happen, however, only where men still live in real community. A Benedictine from Chevretonne in Belgium, whom Picard met in Milan, observed that there is a lack of "spiritual tension" in religious life in Italy. But, Picard replied, in such a cohesive community as still survives in Italy, a few men live intense spiritual lives "on behalf of the many" and the many, who take their religion for granted, for whom it is part of the air they breathe, also live their "spontaneously" religious lives "on behalf of the few". Such is the true balance of the spiritually sound community.

Dr. Picard is continuously impressed by the cohesiveness of Italian society. In Cannobbio on Lago Maggiore he sees a man smoking by the window of the top floor of a house. Everything about him is so "firm and cohesive" that if the house underneath him were removed he would still remain there smoking! And in the smaller towns he is impressed by the continuity between the spiritual and the profane. In big cities cathedrals seem to be isolated, insulated from the rest of the place, but in a small city like Parma "there is no great antithesis between the cathedral and the city".

What, he asks, is the significance of such places as Venice, Florence and Perugia in a world liable to be destroyed at any moment by an atom bomb? The potential of destruction in the world to-day is already so great that such cities have been "virtually already destroyed". They are as remnants left over from a world of destruction. What Picard means is that the structure of the world is already essentially atomic. But in "self-defence" against the powers of destruction such cities shine forth more clearly to-day than ever before; the "marks of the divine" which are imprinted on them are more radiantly visible than ever, as if to warn man and to remind him that he is made in God's image. Destruction is not inevitable or irrevocable. "Destruction begins afresh in every moment, which means that it can also cease in every moment". Every silence, every new marriage, every new child is the potentiality of new creation, new life. Faces often contain the promise of the future. In a tram in Verona Dr. Picard saw the "unfinished face" of a woman, a face that "was visibly moving towards the future, humbly waiting to be completed". "But when it smiled, goodness came into it: it was no longer unfinished, it had already come to its future in the present".

The world of destruction is destroying not only the present, but also the past. A crumbling present acts as a disintegrating influence on the past. The past is becoming so detached from the present, its continuity with the present is being so undermined that even immediate history is almost as remote from the present as "pre-history". On the old Roman road in Modena, the Via Emilia, Picard suddenly becomes aware of the still living past, a past that is alive only because the present is intensely alive. "The more intensive the present the more the past is attracted by its power". And by "intensity" Picard does not mean "speed". Passing a shoemaker's workshop in Bergamo and seeing the men and women at work inside it he feels that they are not merely "using up" their time but filling it with content, "fulfilling" time. Just as the time "taken" in building up the walls of the great palaces in this same town of Bergamo was not used up but fulfilled "in space", so the time in which these work-people live is not empty at the end of the day but full. Real time is "full at the end of life, not at its beginning". And the life of such places as Bergamo exercises "a restraining influence" on the dynamism of our age. Without it the destruction of war in Korea, the potential destruction of war between Russia and America would be far greater. "Such utterly static places as Volterra have a restraining influence on the dynamism of destruction and on the dynamic in general". That such places as Volterra and such people as the village priests in many an isolated

mountain village in Italy still exist is not merely a picturesque curiosity but a fact of supreme importance for a world faced with such a vast potential of destruction. They are a reminder that man still belongs more to the world of creation and conservation, to the world of the intact and the Whole than to the world of destruction. But this world is truly a world, "with laws of its own that man does not yet properly know and understand because he still belongs more to the world of the Whole". The world of destruction still has a form and laws of its own. But the time may be coming when it will have engulfed the whole world and be no longer distinguishable from its antithesis, the Whole. This will be the "end of the world of reason" and the beginning of "the last world", the "world of madness". "And in this moment nothing else can happen except the Lord Himself appear".

STANLEY GODMAN.

BIBLE KEY-WORDS

RIGHTEOUSNESS. By GOTTFRIED QUELL AND GOTTLOB SCHRENK.
SIN. By GOTTFRIED QUELL, GEORG BERTRAM, GUSTAV STAHLIN
 AND WALTER GRUNDMANN. Adam and Charles Black. 7s. 6d.
 each.

MESSRS. A. & C. Black are bringing out a series of handbooks on Bible key-words, translated from the German and edited by Professor J. R. Coates. Two volumes under the titles of *Love* and *The Church* have already been published, and two more, *Righteousness* and *Sin* have just come out. The last two may be taken as a sample of all four. The first part of *Righteousness* deals with Justice in the Old Testament by Dr. Quell, who regards the Hebrew key-words for this to be judgement (*mishpat*), correctness (*qedheq*), loyalty (*chesedh*) and law (*choq*), words which in Hebrew have both a juristic and a theological use—the latter growing out of the former.

Though not mentioned on the title-page, Dr. H. Kleinknecht contributes a few pages on the Greek idea of justice, but most of the manual is by Dr. Schrenk, late Professor of the New Testament at Zurich, who deals with the Greek usage of the word ΔΙΚΗ (*dike*) which in the LXX is used to translate half a dozen different Hebrew words and several more of its derivatives. Righteous and righteousness in our A.V. translation of the Old Testament is the rendering of only two Hebrew roots, by far the commonest of which is *çaddiq*, which is also translated "just", "lawful" and "clean" by the A.V., and as the late Professor Kennett, in one of his

Schweich Lectures pointed out, may sometimes be the equivalent of "turning up trumps" (cf Is. xli, 2).

Dr. Schrenk touches briefly on the linguistic history concerning the original connotation of the word *ἔκρη*, quoting Homer, Hesiod and others. He then discusses the use of the word (and its equivalents in Hebrew and Aramaic), in the Septuagint, Rabbinic, New Testament and Apostolic Fathers.

The above will give some idea of how this key-word is treated by the authors. To learn and to profit from the book the reader must obtain it for himself. There are two indices, one of Bible references and one of proper names, among which are to be found barely a dozen English ones (and those mostly have been added in square brackets by the translator) out of over 150 others. Professor Coates is to be congratulated on his translation and additional notes. His printers and publishers also deserve praise for the way in which they have presented this useful series of key-words to the British public.

The manual on Sin has four names on its title page—Quell, Bertram, Stählin and Grundmann, and is translated (from the first German edition published in 1933) by Professor Coates, with some additional notes by him and by Dr. Walter Grundmann.

The Hebrew language had a large number of words which meant sin or guilt, and they were used for theological or secular purposes. According to Quell, the principal Hebrew roots, each with its own nuance, were *chata'* ("to miss the mark", which quite lost the sense of making a mistake). "This commonest expression for sin in Hebrew", he says, "lacks the deep religious quality of our word". *Pasha'* (to rebel) a spontaneous reaction to the holy and the god-like. "It is", he says, "deviation from a prescribed norm—in short, sin is "abnormal behaviour" and creates things that "are not done", and *shaghah* (to stray) is ignorance rather than culpable negligence. He gives us very little information about the word *'awon* (commonly translated "iniquity" in our A.V.), but tells us that there is only one root in Hebrew, *'asham*, which expresses definitely the idea of guilt, and that its use is almost confined to matters of ritual law. It is not necessarily wilful rebellion, but rather uncleanness. In all he quotes at least half a dozen Hebrew words which are all translated in the LXX by the Greek root *ἁμαρτάνω*.

"The myth of the so-called 'fall'. . . a story about sin", and the aetiology of clothes are discussed by the same author in the last nine pages of his contribution. This story, he says, is "told with absolute convincing simplicity which a child could understand" with no technical concepts and leaving theology to the reader who

may be interested in it. It produces an "impression of man's deviation from God's prescribed norm"—in other words "to be human is to be a sinner". Professor Coates in his introduction calls this exposition "a notable contribution to Bible study and will help the preacher as well as the theologian—and the sinner".

So much for the first author, who, having occupied a third of the book, leaves the rest to his collaborators. The next third deals with the doctrine of sin in the LXX, the Jewish idea of sin, and the Greek use of the word *ἁμαρτάνω*, the equivalent of *chata'*, though sometimes the Greek translation in the LXX of other Hebrew words. The last third of the book of 90 pp. is by Walter Grundmann, and is devoted to Sin in the N. T., and thus we come to the removal of the last obstacle to salvation by Christ's victory over sin. There are indices of Scripture and other references, and of proper names plus a couple of subjects such as the Last Supper and the Law.

TO THE MANNER BORN

RECOLLECTIONS OF THREE REIGNS. By SIR FREDERICK PONSONBY.
Eyre and Spottiswoode. 25s.

FREDERICK Ponsonby, known as "Fritz" to a wide circle of friends and associates in many ranks of life, will be best remembered by his name of birth rather than by the title (Lord Sysonby) which he acquired during the last few months of his life. He was, in an almost literal sense, a product as well as an adornment of the British Court. His father, Sir Henry Ponsonby, was Private Secretary to Queen Victoria for over a quarter of a century, having previously served as an Equerry both to the Prince Consort and to the Queen herself. Frederick, like his two brothers—one older and one younger than himself—was born within the precincts of Windsor Castle and was inured, from the cradle, to the atmosphere of Court life. The background of venerable tradition must have been almost irresistible. "The ancient castle", wrote the youngest of the three brothers many years later, "with its towers and battlements on its high eminence, not only dominated the valley of the Thames for miles round, but as the historic residence of sovereigns for centuries was an emblem, as perhaps no other royal residence in the world, of the continuity and stability of a monarchical system".

Some men react violently against the influence of early environment. Fritz Ponsonby did not. He first saw the light in Court surroundings, and it was in Court surroundings that he spent much the greater part of his long and active life. He was in the service of Queen Victoria during the last seven years of her life, was closely

associated with King Edward VII throughout his reign, and continued his work with King George V whom he predeceased by only a few months. His memoirs, now given to the world in a single volume, represent the author's revised and completed work so far as concerns the two first of the three sovereigns whom he served. Those relating to the reign of George V are more in the nature of stray memoranda which Sir Frederick did not live to revise or co-ordinate.

Ponsonby makes it clear that he regarded the comparatively brief reign of Edward VII as the golden age of British monarchy. It was indeed a strange epoch; a brief "Martin's summer" when nineteenth-century monarchism flared out, for the moment, into a blaze of posthumous brilliance that was to be swallowed up only too rapidly by the fast-gathering storm-clouds. But it was incomparable while it lasted. Ponsonby seems to have enjoyed every moment of it. In the first place, the personality of King Edward was much more congenial to him than that of Queen Victoria. He draws a shrewd comparison between mother and son. The King, he says, was "far more considerate and human" than his mother. "The Queen rarely considered the feelings of her Household and it never occurred to her to ascertain whether any wish of hers might cause inconvenience, whereas King Edward was always thinking of small acts of kindness". Ponsonby, it is clear, was never really at his ease with the great Queen. Few people were for that matter; but Ponsonby, despite the initial advantage of his birth, made, all unwittingly, a false start with his royal mistress. He was so injudicious as to report unfavourably (though quite truthfully) on the social status of the Queen's Indian "Munshi". It was an offence not easily forgiven. The young Equerry found himself in a frigid atmosphere. Little that he did was right. On one occasion his intervention (well-meant but perhaps a shade tactless) drew upon him the devastating retort: "The Queen has yet to learn that Capt. Ponsonby has anything to do with the Maids of Honour". It says much for his resilience that he ever held up his head again.

With King Edward matters were quite different. The King's temper was uncertain, and he was liable from time to time to moods of unreason that made things difficult for his entourage. But essentially they found him lovable and served him with affection as well as with respect. Looking back upon his reign, the reader of to-day is tempted to conclude that it must have been a period of almost unrelieved boredom for those near the person of the sovereign. All those "brilliant" functions; those portentous State visits to Paris, Rome, Berlin and indeed to half the capitals of Europe; everywhere the same warisome procedure; the same bouquets and conventional speeches; the same tedious railway journeys; the same getting up in

the middle of the night to appear in uniform on the platform of some obscure wayside station. Quite unendurable, or so one would have supposed. But apparently it was not. There was an infectious exhilaration about the great game of "Kings and Queens" from which no one among its players was wholly immune. Pageantry, as we all know, has an appeal to most people, but that does not account for everything. There was also a feeling that something great was being enacted on a truly great scale; something that, in its own mysterious way, was essential to the general happiness of mankind and to the appropriate fulfilment of human aspirations. Exactly what, most people would have been puzzled to say. No one, not even those in the central glare of the illuminations, was wholly blinded to realities. There was an uneasy feeling that something might be wrong somewhere. Ponsonby himself, wholeheartedly as he accepted and approved the system, had his doubts about the value of State visits. "To my mind", he wrote of King Edward's visit to Berlin in February, 1909, "the effect of this visit was nil". He got the impression that the great majority of Germans hated us. When King and Emperor were together, "the whole atmosphere. . . seemed charged with dangerous electricity". "Edward the Peace-Maker", then as always, did his best; but his efforts, much belauded at the time, produced results that were sadly impermanent. He died in 1910; four years later the peace that he was so assiduous in promoting was shattered into fragments. We still await its re-establishment. In the wider sense, monarchism, no less than democracy, must seek its justification elsewhere than in unqualified success. Perhaps in some fundamental human instinct that defies exact analysis; in the yearning, constantly suppressed but none the less insistent, for something to worship from a distance, some object of reverence far removed in might and majesty from our own insignificant selves.

Be that as it may, we in this country are deeply attached to the monarchical system. So long as that attachment remains unshaken (and may the day of its decline be far distant) we are bound to regard with respect and gratitude the work of such men as Sir Frederick Ponsonby who gave their lives to maintaining the system at the height of its efficiency and splendour.

The book has been somewhat prejudiced by the prior publication of certain extracts in the periodical press. An impression was thereby produced in some quarters that it was a mere mine of sensational stories and indiscreet "revelations". Such an impression has no justification. The volume contains a plain record of events, presented soberly and objectively and without frills or catchpenny devices of any description.

JOHN PULLEN

SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE

REGENCY PORTRAIT PAINTER. By DOUGLAS GOLDRING. Macdonald
21s.

LET no reader expect to find in this book any profound criticism of Lawrence's art in theory. There is little enough of any original weighing of his art as illustrated by his portraits; we may indeed learn something from the many quotations from those who watched the outpouring of the stream of his work, but Mr. Goldring is much better employed and well qualified by his knowledge, and his taste for the Regency period to give a full picture of it, in which Lawrence is considerably more than just a peg on which to hang a lively sketch of those days. The author's main sources of information are the biography by D. E. Williams (1831), *The Recollections of Sir Thomas Lawrence* by Elizabeth Croft, his lifelong friend, the sister of Sir Richard Croft, the unhappy obstetrician in whose hands Princess Charlotte died; and he has made unlimited use of that mine of social gossip, and more particularly of Royal Academy gossip, Joseph Farington's Diary. Farington was one of Lawrence's greatest friends, who, more continuously than J. J. Angerstein and his first patient banker, Coutts, or Sir Francis Baring, his second banker, tried to bring some order into the relations between Lawrence's large income but still larger expenditure on his family and on his enormous collection of drawings of old masters. His ignorance and carelessness of all money matters and his generosity were a worry to himself and his friends all his life.

Lawrence's father was in the service of the Customs at Bath when Thomas, his fourteenth child, was born. He took to inn-keeping, made a failure of that in Bath, and moved to Devizes, where he reigned for some years at the Black Bear, a fashionable posting-house on the road from London to the West, until another failure compelled him to retire. He must have been an odd inn-keeper, treating the guests on an equality with himself, declaiming Shakespeare and Milton to them, boring many of them, but showing that he really had some knowledge and taste; altogether an exuberant and preposterous showman. If anyone bade fair to ruin a child's character, it was such a father. He put his boy up on a table to recite to the great folk who stayed at the Black Bear, and when his precocious talent for drawing, mainly in crayon, discovered itself, he drew their portraits; his earliest fee was half a guinea. It soon increased. He was also a very beautiful child whom these great ladies loved to caress, yet he remained modest, charming and unselfish. His father gave him little chance of being selfish, since he put all the fees in his own pocket, as he did with

any money that came to his children. At the age of about eleven, he was taken to Oxford, where he was again exploited, and it became the fashion among the dons to have their portraits drawn by the child. All this time he had no instruction at all in drawing beyond what he could pick up for himself when taken by friends to see the pictures in neighbouring houses, Wilton, Corsham, and so on. When he arrived in London, he began the use of oils and attended lectures at the Royal Academy Schools.

How came it that this rapacious showman of a father kept the dutiful affection of the whole family and drove them to honourable success in their lives? It can only have been through the influence of their mother, but of her we hear very little. Perhaps very little is recorded of a self-effacing, hard-working woman. Mrs. Lawrence was a far better-bred person than her husband, to whom she was indeed faithful in the best sense through many trying years. She must have kept her beautiful Thomas modest and healthy-minded, affectionate to all his family and even fond of manly exercises. He learnt to ride and shoot before he came to London, and to box with another boy who remained a friend when he had become "Gentleman Jackson", the famous West of England prize-fighter. Lawrence used Jackson's magnificently developed body as his model for his Satan in his huge diploma picture for the Academy. Both parents may have encouraged what Mr. Goldring calls his inherited "Middle-class Morality" which survived beside the profligacy of the Regency society in which Lawrence moved so much both before and after the death of Hoppner and his own appointment at Court.

He was always attracted by young women, to whom he talked with an *empressment* which they may have misread. They were attracted by his good looks and his fame long before he became President of the R.A., but there is absolutely no substantiated or reasonable evidence for the malicious gossip which pursued him. Even Mrs. Woolff, the beautiful separated wife of the Danish Consul, and much loved friend of Lawrence's later years, is known to have been a virtuous woman, and their correspondence proves that theirs was an intellectual affection based on esteem. His one passionate love affair was with Sally Siddons. He, as a small child, met at Devizes her mother, the "Muse of Tragedy" and a most masterful woman. She was charmed by the child, and according to the author fell more in love with him, possibly unconsciously and mistaking maternal instinct, when they frequently met later in London and, possibly again unconsciously, she was jealous of her daughters. Here Lawrence showed weakness of purpose. He and Sally became happily engaged. Then the superficially more seductive Maria stole him from her more serious sister, and then died in a scene as theatrical as any Kemble or Siddons could wish. He re-

turned to his true love, Sally, and all the family rose up in arms and persuaded Sally to cast him off. Lawrence became nearly demented. Then Sally died, loving him, and he mourned for her for the rest of his life. We cannot know the tangle of emotions and cannot judge the actors. Nor need Mr. Goldring have attempted the psychological explanation that appears on his last pages.

In the later chapters we have accounts of Lawrence's tours abroad to Aix-la-Chapelle, Paris, Vienna and Italy, painting the portraits of the rulers, statesmen, soldiers and others of those days. They were "official" tours, and many of the pictures are hung in the capitals of Europe or in the Waterloo Chamber at Windsor. With other portraits a number of them is reproduced here.

It is a pleasant book, with some hero-worship. It is also a sign of the return of Lawrence to the estimation in which he was held in his life-time.

A GALAXY OF SCHOLARSHIP

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND MODERN STUDY. A GENERATION OF DISCOVERY AND RESEARCH. Essays by members of the Society for Old Testament Study. Edited by H. H. ROWLEY. Oxford at the Clarendon Press. 25s. net.

To celebrate the jubilee meeting of their Society (two a year—but none from 1940-1945) the Society for Old Testament Study has published its 4th volume of essays which gives in 11 chapters a record of what its sub-title calls a Generation of Discovery and Research. Professor Rowley has edited these and Professor T. H. Robinson sums up with a 12th chapter entitled "The Old Testament and the Modern World".

It would be invidious to single out any one particular chapter as an example of the whole book. Some may prefer Albright's two essays on Archaeology; others may fancy North's chapter on the Pentateuch, or Snaith's on the Historical books, Eissfeldt's on the Prophets, Johnson's on the Psalms or Baumgartner's on the Wisdom Literature, or Winton Thomas on Textual Criticism and so on. Each is first class and should be studied with attention; for all are necessary if the student wishes to keep up to date and not be left behind by lack of knowledge of modern research.

At the end of most of the chapters there are useful bibliographies, but alas the majority of the books mentioned are by German, French, Scandinavian and other foreign scholars, as is indicated by such names as Lods, Pedersen, Bentzen, Eichrodt, and Zimmerli to mention less than half a dozen, which shows that to be a serious student of the Old Testament one must have a knowledge of at least

the German language. It shows, too, of what value the Society of Old Testament Study can be to the increasing number of parsons, who are less highly educated than their predecessors, by bringing out such books as this.

To read the chapter-titles gives one an idea of what to expect, but to glance at the excellent subject index reveals an even wealthier source from which the reader may gain a vast amount of important information.

The authors are all British members of the Society, except three honorary foreign members. The book is like all Oxford books, produced in a worthy style. It contains 370 pages of valuable material plus four full indexes of subjects, authors, scripture references and semitic words (transliterated).

It would have been interesting to non-members if the 12 pages of Professor Henton Davies' up-to-date history of the Society had been included, as was done by another hand in Professor Wheeler Robinson's previous volume "Record and Revelation", published in 1938.

Other editions of separate books of the Old Testament have been published in recent years, including several new volumes from the Soncino Press—an excellent series of Jewish commentaries which have the great advantage of the Hebrew text and the American Jewish translation being printed side by side. The Commentaries are naturally written from a Jewish point of view and for Jews, and many Talmudical Rabbis are quoted, especially in the Pentateuch. The Revised text is strictly adhered to, as in our Authorized Version, and emendations though sometimes suggested, are not welcomed, the editors being content in obscure passages to elucidate them by offering a probable interpretation. Recent editions include Ezekiel, Samuel, Kings, Joshua and Judges, and the last volume, Chronicles, published in January, completes the Old Testament.

Professor Stevenson has brought out through the Glasgow University Oriental Society his promised critical notes on the Hebrew text of the Poem of Job (16s. net) as a supplement to his Schweich Lectures of 1943. Dislocations, omissions, interpolations, and scribal errors such as transposition of consonants, and repetition of letters are a constant source of trouble to commentators. Help may often be had by studying the metre and rhythm and accents and by consulting the ancient MSS; the emendations adopted by the author in his translation are interesting. It is a sad reflection that out of over 50 authorities, whom the author chiefly cites, all, except about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., are foreign and they mostly German. The only British Hebraists of this century quoted are Ball, Driver (father and son), Gray and McFadyen. Those with a knowledge of the language in which the Poem was written will find much in this book.

interest them, but it is bound to be "cavaire to the general." Had these Critical Notes, which are well printed in good clear type, been produced in a uniform size with the original Schweich Lectures, many readers would no doubt like to bind the two volumes together, but that is impossible now.

During the year Mr. Bleddyn Roberts has brought out a book called "The Old Testament Text and Versions" (21s.). This is a book for advanced students who wish to possess a knowledge of the textual criticism of the Old Testament. The author, who is Senior Lecturer in Biblical History and Literature at Bangor, takes for granted that the reader has rather more than an elementary acquaintance with such matters as vocalization, pointing, the consonantal text, so it is not as useful to those who are ignorant of such matters as a more elementary book would be.

A simpler book also published last year is "A Foreword to the Old Testament" by H. St. John Hart (10s. 6d.) until recently Dean of Queens' College, Cambridge. Mr. Hart writes, as he lectures, in a pleasing way which entices the reader to achieve the author's object, viz: to enable his readers to find out how we got the Old Testament.

Another Old Testament book published in the course of the year is Hymns of the Temple by Norman Snaith (7s. 6d.), non-academic and easy to be understood by the not too learned. The particular Psalms dealt with are 42-44, 46, 50 and 73, but there is a general introduction to the Psalter—its place in the Bible, its compilation, its poetry and recent development in its study.

Another 1951 book which should be mentioned here is *The Shorter Oxford Bible* (7s. 6d.) nearly half of which consists of extracts from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, most of which (except the latter) are from the Authorized Version translation. It contains the stories of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Moses, the former and the latter Prophets in chronological order, not quite half the Psalms, many passages from the Wisdom Literature, and finally the stories of Jonah, Maccabaeus and Daniel. The publishers claim that the book is not an anthology but a skilful edition of the Bible for general reading, abridged, arranged and provided with short introductions on a consistent plan. One of the objects of this publication is that it should be used in primary and secondary schools, and for this purpose a suggested syllabus has been drawn up.

The above short notices do not pretend to form a complete list of Old Testament books published during 1951. It should be mentioned here that the Society for Old Testament Study bring out every year an invaluable book list giving, with short reviews, all the principal books published during the previous year in this country and

abroad which deal with Archaeology, Epigraphy, History, Geography, Text and Version, Exegesis, Modern Translations, Literary Criticism, Law, Religion, Theology, Post-Biblical Judaism, Philology and Grammar as far as they relate to Old Testament studies. The Edition dealing with 1950 books on these subjects contained 80 pp. A few copies are obtainable by non-members of the Society at 4s. 6d. on application to the Rev. Professor G. Henton Davies, Melrose, Church Street, Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham.

A. D. POWER

BIBLIOGRAPHY

G. W. H. Lampe.—*The Seal of the Spirit*. A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers. London, Longmans. xiv—522 p. Price 35s.

An able historical study in early baptismal doctrine which has an immediate relevance to many questions of current importance.

J. E. L. Oulton, D.D.—*Holy Communion and Holy Spirit*. A Study in Doctrinal Relationship. London, S.P.C.K. 194 p. Price 15s.

The Regius Professor of Divinity at Dublin has recognized the importance of a fuller exposition of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and by a detailed study of the doctrine of the primitive Church has shown that to see the Holy Communion in the wider context of the whole work of the Spirit in the Church's life is to enhance its power.

J. W. C. Wand, D.D.—*What the Church of England Stands For*. London, Mowbrays. 131 p. Price 7s. 6d.

The Bishop of London has written a lucid and handy guide to the authority of the Church of England which will instruct those who ask on what grounds the Church claims to speak with authority on matters of the gravest importance.

W. R. Inge, K.C.V.O., F.B.A., D.D.—*The Faith of St. Paul*. Lecture delivered on the Charles Gore Memorial Foundation. 20 p. 2s. 6d.

In a valuable discussion of St. Paul's thought Dr. Inge lays stress on the difficulty of translating key words in the New Testament.

Walter Eichrodt—*Man in the Old Testament*. (Studies in Biblical Theology No. 4.) Translated by K. and R. Gregor Smith. London, Student Christian Movement Press. 84 p. Price 6s.

It is unnecessary to stress the far-reaching importance of the O.T. interpretation of man as in constant relation with the will of God. On this theme the author has written an arresting study.

H. H. Rowley.—*Submission in Suffering and other Essays on Eastern Thought*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press. viii—170 p. Price 12s. 6d.

In these essays an eminent Biblical scholar has carried his learning and experience into the field of Comparative Religion, bringing to those studies an understanding which avoids certain common pitfalls.

C. H. Dodd.—*Gospel and Law*. *The Relation of Faith and Ethics in Early Christianity*. (Bampton Lectures in America, No. 3.) Cambridge University Press. 83 p. Price 9s.

Learned and, at the same time, lucid and direct these lectures are no less historical for being pertinent and important for our present situation.

F. F. Bruce.—*The Acts of the Apostles*. The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary. London, The Tyndale Press, 39 Bedford Square, W.C.1. 490 p. Price 25s.

A major work on the Acts by the Head of the Department of Biblical History and Literature in the University of Sheffield. Invaluable to clergy and laymen.

The Church. Report of a Theological Commission on Faith and Order. Published on behalf of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. London, S.C.M. Press. 78 p. Price 3s. 6d.

This Report is the work of a Commission appointed by the Continuation Committee of Faith and Order in 1938. Dr. R. Newton Flew (Chairman of the Commission) explains in a Foreword the spirit and principle which inspired the discussions. A volume is promised containing "Statements" on the nature of the Church offered by the various communions. All this is preparatory to the World Conference shortly to take place at Lund.

Attitude to Africa. (A Penguin Special.) Penguin Books. 155 p. Price 2s.

This contains a useful survey of the main problems by a group of writers. Any small book on the problems of a great continent is necessarily selective. But in view of the ignorance of many this little work will be of great use. As the authors have said "It is in Africa that we may suffer our worst moral defeat or win our greatest moral victory".

Alan Richardson and Wolfgang Schweitzer (ed.).—*Biblical Authority for To-day*. A World Council of Churches Symposium on "the Biblical authority for the Churches' social and political message to-day". London, S.C.M. Press. 347 p. Price 18s.

The great issue of our time is the quest for some authoritative guidance in social and political matters. If the Churches are called upon for such guidance it is inevitable that they should look to the Bible as the only possible source of their common testimony in the world. Representative scholars from many denominations have contributed to this book which will do much to promote mutual understanding between Christians, and, it is hoped, a common witness in the world.

John Oman.—*A Dialogue with God and other sermons and addresses*. London, James Clarke. 161 p. Price 7s. 6d.

The authorship is an assurance of the interest which attaches to the sermons posthumously published.

G. B. Caird.—*The Truth of the Gospel*. (A Primer of Christianity, Part III.) Oxford University Press. 165 p. Price 5s.

A competent and lucid handbook suited to contemporary inquiry.

Emil Brunner.—*The Scandal of Christianity*. London, S.C.M. Press. 115 p. Price 8s. 6d.

An able outline of Christian teaching intended for the critical public.

Erik Routley—*I'll Praise My Maker*. Studies in English Classical Hymnody. London, Independent Press. 278 p. Price 15s.

Comment, devotional and historical, on the hymns which were inspired by the tradition of English Puritanism and Calvinism. Among the writers who receive most attention are Doddridge, Cowper and Newton.

Leonard Hodgson.—*The Doctrine of the Atonement*. Nisbet. Price 10s. 6d.

This important book embodies Dr. Hodgson's Hale lectures. A later full review will appear in this journal.

Ways of Worship. Report of a Theological Commission of Faith and Order. Edited by Peter Edwall, Eric Hayman, W. D. Maxwell. S.C.M. Press. 360 p. Price 21s.

This work is a significant example of a growing interest in liturgical values apparent in every communion. In an introductory preface Dr. Leonard Hodgson explains the function of this report in relation to Ecumenical discussions.

Rudolph Wittkower.—*Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*. London, The Warburg Institute. xii + 144 p. Price 35s.

An important contribution to the history and theory of architecture, including the design of the church.

F. C. Synge.—*Philippians and Colossians*. London, S.C.M. Press. 99 p.

Like other books in this series this little work furnishes the general reader with a brief, but reliable commentary in which up-to-date scholarship has been employed without undue emphasis.

J. A. Passmore.—*Ralph Cudworth*. An Interpretation. Cambridge. At the University Press. ix + 117 p. Price 15s.

Cudworth is shown to be a philosopher of exceptional penetration whose thought exercised great influence, not solely on the Cambridge Platonists.

Robert S. Bosher.—*The Making of the Restoration Settlement*. The influence of the Laudians 1649-1662. Foreword by Norman Sykes, D.D. London. Dacre Press: Adam and Charles Black. 309 p. Price 25s.

An able and important work on the settlement which established the unique character of the national Church—a triumph of High Anglicanism. Dr. Bosher shows the part played by the Anglicans in exile—a powerful underground group. No serious churchman can neglect this valuable book. It should be compared with Mr. Wormald's work on Clarendon which we review in this number.

Florence Higham.—*Lancelot Andrewes*. London. S.C.M. Press. 126 p. Price 7s. 6d.

A brief study of the great saint and scholar.

Sophocles.—*Ajax; The Women of Trachis*. A translation in Verse by Lennox James Morison, Hon. Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford. The Savile Press, Eton College. 104 p. Price 5s. 6d.

An accurate and elegant translation.

*Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat
in te.*

EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

Copyright in papers, reviews and correspondence is reserved. But applications for power to reproduce may be addressed to the Editor.

As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

THE FATE OF CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA HAS BEEN MUCH DEBATED. The Communist creed appears to have captured a great majority, including many Christians. A writer in the *International Review of Missions* has referred to "an intellectual vacuum" which Communism removed.

If this situation, confirmed by other observers, has emerged in China, the possibility of similar occurrences elsewhere cannot be dismissed. Can we say, for example, with assurance that there is no intellectual vacuum among the masses of our own country? What of the more intelligent themselves? Is a considered philosophy founded on strong convictions very general even in Christian circles? Or is there more commonly a sense of doubt and frustration? Is it certain that we are prepared for every attack? It is widely thought that we are unprepared. For even if we claim as Christians to be immune from Communism, there are few who would be ready to expound the basic truths of our own position. The Communist interpretation of history is not confined to one school of thought. If it is true that followers of Marx believe that man's only redemption lies in this world—in history itself, there are among us many who seem to share the Marxist opinion.

The position of a Christian who cannot explain with conviction and fervour the primary truths of his religion is very dangerous to-day. For not only is he ill-prepared for any deliberate attack such as the advance of Communism might entail, but he is exposed to a more immediate danger. This danger lies in his exposure to the enveloping dominance of a social order which with increasing momentum consolidates its stranglehold over every human interest. This civilisation to which every man must in a measure conform betrays no authentic relation to the life of the spirit. It is essentially tyrannical whatever professions of liberalism its votaries may make. In its every department it has trespassed far beyond the legitimate

sphere of collective action. It has become, in the words of a French writer, a veritable flight from God—an organised flight which in its sinister and terrifying advance transforms every branch of intellectual development.

Christians reject Communism on a number of grounds, and especially in the interest of spiritual freedom. But the threat to spiritual freedom is strong even in the West where the life of the spirit is walled-up by a formidable culture of which the very conditions are alien to the spirit. A man may still pray to God, but it is prayer in a prison.

If this brief account of the situation is in effect accurate—and it is supported by the recent observation of respectable commentators both here and abroad—the present need is clear. Those who hold the essential dogmas of the Christian Revelation with conviction and fervour must apply their whole attention to those whose mentally impoverished condition has deprived them of such benefits. Layman and priest alike are obliged to consider this responsibility. A merely conventional piety is an actual danger. Those who profess a religion which in essence is not theirs become enemies disguised.

In the urgency of this present need—the need of Christian apologists who can speak to the modern world—much that is published in this and other journals, however useful it may be found by those who are already well-informed, will seem irrelevant and even pedantic. Writers with the common touch are required. Attentive students of recent literature have said that the Church has yet to furnish an effective answer to scientific materialism which would penetrate the popular culture of the daily paper and the technical school.

“Has our revised apologetic discovered a fitting approach to the pagan masses?” This acute question is asked by Professor Basil Willey in his admirable *Christianity Past and Present*. Professor Willey, known as a gifted student of the profounder movements in literature, has brought to the exposition of the Christian faith a freshness and arresting clarity which will prove valuable. He is concerned with the magnitude of the Church’s task in the face of general indifference, with the situation of those who hesitate on intellectual grounds, with those, also, who remain in professed sympathy with

Christianity but apathetic. He is not going to ignore the full complexity of the problem. He begs churchmen to "make the immense imaginative effort of viewing ourselves as a Moslem would see us," and, indeed, as the multitude of educated unbelievers see us. In the circumstances Christianity is "restored to its primitive militancy." Primitive militancy—how few realise it ! Professor Willey's frank and lucid statement of personal views gives point to his book. It will be read by many who may never see a comparable work from a clerical pen and it will be valued by those churchmen, clerical and lay, who are not very well equipped for the duty of explaining on what foundations their belief rests.

"A fitting approach to the pagan masses," says Professor Willey. That approach can be made only by the instruction of those agencies who feed the majority with popular papers, radio, films and innumerable other means of propaganda.

CHRONICLE

THE RETURN TO REALISM

IN philosophy, the terms "realism" and "idealism" have precise, indeed technical, meanings. In politics, they are less precise. Nevertheless, they are useful as denoting two different attitudes both of which have influenced the course of events, the character of war and of peace, and the structure of society in our time.

We call Bismarck a "realist" because he considered every situation pragmatically without deferring to personal preferences or to abstract principles, and, having made his diagnosis, he would decide how the situation affected the interests of his country and then act in the manner that would serve those interests best. This manner of conducting affairs is often called *Realpolitik*.

Not that Bismarck was without ideas or ideals. He was a convinced royalist, a conservative, and a Christian. He also had a particular regard for England. But he would consider, for example, alliance with a foreign State on its pragmatic merits. He did not ask whether an ally was a monarchy or a republic. He asked whether it could be trusted to carry out its obligations under the terms of the alliance. He would have been as ready to serve the President of a German Republic as he served the King of Prussia and, later on, the German Emperor. He would have regarded the defence of Christianity as the business of the Churches, especially of his own Church, the Lutheran, and not of the Foreign Office or of the armed forces. To remain on good terms with Russia and to avoid a conflict with England were the two cardinal principles of his foreign policy because he regarded them as two conditions of German security, not because he respected the Russian autocracy and admired the British "way of life," as he called it.

We think of President Wilson as an "idealist" not merely because he had ideals, but because he had a conception of an ideal world to which he adjusted his foreign policy. He held that the separate interests of the different nations should be subordinated to a universal order of a certain kind. He began, even before the

final victory of allied arms, to devote all his efforts to the establishment of that order and became the principal promoter of the League of Nations and the system that came to be known as "collective security."

But he was by no means the only idealist among the leading statesmen of his time. Lenin was also an idealist and also had a conception, much more radical than President Wilson's, of a universal order. He, and the Communist Party, of which he was the leader, transformed the Tsarist Empire into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics with the clearly conceived idea that the Union would be the prototype of a universal Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. After his death, Stalin became the executor of this idea which he repeatedly proclaimed to the world.

Adolf Hitler was also an idealist with a conception of an ideal order which was incompatible both with the Wilsonian and the Leninist. As British idealism, which was supported by a powerful public opinion of strong pacifist tendency, exercised a restrictive influence on British armaments, and as German idealism, which was strongly militarist, forced an increase of German armaments, Hitler achieved the armed ascendancy which enabled him to attempt a transformation of the international order. The Second World War was the result.

Great Britain went to war for pragmatic reasons. So did the United States. But in the course of the war, Anglo-American idealism recovered its former ascendancy. The war-aims of the two Powers transcended their purely national interests and adumbrated a universal order which was essential Wilsonian. No treaty of peace was concluded with the principal enemy (the omission is now made good, seven years after). Germany was subjected to political control with the purpose of converting, or re-converting, her into a democratic republic. Democracy was not judged by any pragmatic criteria (in Germany it had been a failure and had made the rise of Hitler possible) but in accordance with the abstract principle that democracy is the only system of universal validity.

The Soviet Union emerged from the war with greater gains than any of the other victors. Even before the war had come to an end, the Union asserted its universal ideal and translated it into

reality as far as possible. This ideal remains incompatible with the Anglo-American ideal. The present conflict that divides the world is the result of this incompatibility.

The impact of Communism on the Atlantic Powers has been pragmatic. Not only their ideals, but their security are threatened. They are compelled to react pragmatically. Their attitude towards Communism as an idea has little bearing on the actual precautions they are taking in defence of their security. Their policy has come to be known as "containment." Its purpose is not to "contain" Communism as a doctrine, which is allowed to exist as freely on their territory as is compatible with their security, but as an *armed* "doctrine" (in the words of Edmund Burke). Its purely doctrinal character is regarded as of secondary importance. Of primary importance are the armed forces which, by invasions, incursions, insurrections, seditions, and strikes, threaten to destroy those positions—strategic, political, and commercial—upon which the security of the Atlantic Powers depends. The doctrine as such would give these Powers no concern.

In the countries of the Communist Coalition, the ideal and the real make an organic whole. There is complete concordance between theory and practice, between dogma and pragma. Dogma remains static. It is never renewed or reinforced but is guarded against change or deviation by constant reference to certain "classical" texts—the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Only one philosophy is allowed in the Communist countries—dialectical materialism. Its premisses are never questioned—it is, in this sense, uncritical—and its exercise is severely confined to exegesis. Since 1922, no new philosophical work or essay has appeared in Russia that is not the work of a dialectical materialist. But the effect of this static philosophy is dynamic because it gives action a clear meaning and a fixed, and, therefore, sustained purpose.

In western countries, on the other hand, realism has reasserted itself at the cost of idealism. The United Nations—the successor to the League of Nations—has become a superstructure which is retained chiefly for the sake of appearances but has none save a few incidental functions in the structure as a whole. If it were abolished overnight, the international situation would be but little affected.

The system of "collective security", which was revived after the war, has broken down. Formal concessions are made to it in the Security Council and the Assembly of the United Nations. Formally, it is the United Nations which are defending southern Korea against armed invasion. But in reality, it is the armed coalition, known as the Atlantic Powers, which is conducting the defence.

Disarmament, one of the principal aspirations of western idealism, is still being discussed, but the purpose of these discussions is also to save appearances and to placate public opinion, rather than to translate the ideal into reality. Armaments are determined by national interests. But the national interests of a given Power are, in effect, what the government of that Power decides. All Powers are agreed that security is a national interest but the Atlantic Powers are now agreed that security is the primary interest, whereas Communist Powers are agreed that universal conquest is primary. The Atlantic Powers have armed for security, the Communist Powers for conquest. No government spends more on armaments than is needed to serve the primary purpose. But armaments are relative, not absolute. A general reduction, if it could be effected equably (there are technical reasons why it cannot be) would change nothing, for the *relative* strengths of the Powers concerned would remain the same.

An ideal conception of a limited nature has been discussed for some two years in the *Council of Europe* at Strassburg. Its purpose is to promote the unity of Europe, or at least of western and southern Europe (central and eastern Europe being part of the Communist Coalition). The present British Government, like its predecessor in office, is unable to accept a system which would take the right to make war and to conclude peace out of the hands of the Queen and Parliament and entrust it to an international committee. Besides, Great Britain is an organic part of a world-wide Commonwealth and cannot subordinate her world-wide loyalties and interests to a local authority.

The union of States with different interests and institutions is an exceedingly difficult matter. A European union, if attainable at all, would be many years, perhaps a generation or more, in the making. The process would be interrupted by crises. Sources of

conflict, which at present are innocuous because they are not contiguous, would become dangerous through contiguity. To part company is as often conducive to peace as to unite, and it is highly questionable if a union of European states would, if seriously undertaken, indeed produce greater unity.

The menace of militant Communism has given an impulse to the idea of European union. But it has also made unity more dangerous, for, whereas union might be attempted during a long period of peace when nations can disagree with relative impunity, it cannot be attempted without great danger when the enemy is at the gates and is prepared to take immediate advantage of any conflict or crisis that may arise within the gates. The existing menace compels the Powers of western and southern Europe to *combine*. But combination is not the same thing as union. Combination can, and must, be rapid, whereas union cannot but be slow (that is, if it can be at all).

If we consider the conflict which divides the world from an idealistic point of view, we must conclude that the Communist challenge and the response of the Atlantic Powers has fortified the Communist ideal and has weakened the western ideal. The Communist ideal, being militant, thrives on war. The western ideal, being pacifist, thrives on peace. There are some idealists in the west who advocate *World Government*, as they call it. Such a *Government* could only be achieved, if at all, by a general war and the total defeat of the Communist coalition. It is understandable that this ideal enjoys very little support on either side of the Atlantic. The Communist ideal includes a *World Government*—a universal Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics, as Stalin has declared repeatedly and publicly. This ideal, also, is unattainable except through a general war—and the total defeat of the Atlantic Powers. But the Communists, more resolute and more realistic than their fellow idealists of the west, are fully aware of this. Indeed, the war they are waging now *is* a war for the total defeat of the Atlantic Powers without which the ultimate ideal of universal Communism is unattainable.

Are the events which have imposed upon the Atlantic Powers a return to realism an interlude, as many observers seem to think

(even the British Foreign Secretary speaks as though it were an interlude which could be brought to an end by negotiation)? Is the return but a temporary expedient to meet the immediate danger? Will there be a return to idealism later on?

Unless the signs are very deceptive, the interlude will be so prolonged that it will not bear that appellation without incongruity. It may become an epoch.

Two civilisations are at war and the militant character of the one makes it impossible for the two to exist together in peace. Communism itself does not exist *anywhere*, not even in Russia (as Stalin has repeatedly pointed out, Russia is not a Communist but a Socialist country). Communism is an ideal condition projected into the future by certain minds. It is all the more potent for that reason and is creating a new civilisation.

This civilisation, which was founded by Lenin in October 1917, is of European origin. All its ideas and principles are, without exception, European.

Together, the two European civilisations—the western, liberal, and the eastern, or Communist, are rapidly conquering the world. All other civilisations are submitting to either and adapting themselves accordingly. India will probably be Europeanised more rapidly and more thoroughly under Dr. Nehru than under any British Viceroy. But the two are mutually exclusive. The war that divides the world is a war between Europe and Europe.

A compromise is not only impossible, it is inconceivable. The division may be perpetuated—it may become permanent, or as permanent as anything can be in human affairs—but the two civilisations, although both are European, cannot intermingle as long as they are what they are. They may, for pragmatic reasons, conclude a truce which may continue indefinitely without being broken by a major war, but at present, no such truce is in sight, for the Russian revolution, reinforced as it has been by the Chinese and by extensive conquests in Europe, has still to deploy the fullness of its power. But a truce is not a peace.

Such a phenomenon as this conflict between two civilisations which together embrace the entire world, cannot be regarded as an interlude. We speak of the Napoleonic era, not of the Napoleonic

interlude. And the conflict between Napoleon and the European Powers was of brief duration and limited scope compared with the present conflict.

Unless the wholly unexpected intervene—a disruptive internal crisis within the Communist Coalition, for example—events must continue to impose realism on the Atlantic Powers. But even if we disregard these events for a moment, we can perceive a return to realism which has been induced from *within* and is not merely a response to the external challenge.

Even before the Second World War came to an end, there was a cumulative revival of idealistic literature—idealistic, that is, in the political sense of the term. When the war was over, the dams broke and the book-market was flooded with projects for universal peace. “The Anatomy of Peace”, by an American writer, Elmer Reeves, was published in 1945 and had a prodigious sale, and was honoured, in 1947, by being reprinted as a “Penguin.” Its recommendations amount to little more than this, that the nations must come together, pool their sovereignties, and establish a universal government by consent.

The whole of this idealistic literature (Mr. Reeves’ book is but one example amongst a great multitude) appears strangely remote to-day and is rapidly passing into oblivion.

The immediate post-war period was one of *terribles simplificateurs*, as Jacob Burckhardt called them more than sixty years ago. There was a widespread belief, fostered not only by politicians, but even by scientists, that there were simple and easy solutions for grievous problems that had baffled the wisdom of past ages. It was confidently assumed that in our scientific age the solutions would be found at last.

To-day, a more sober attitude has begun to show itself, an attitude based on the study of the enduring realities of human nature and confirmed, rather than aroused, by recent events.

In America, Mr. Kennan pleaded for the policy known as “containment”, a policy which is a makeshift and not a solution of “the Russian problem” but does not bar the way to a solution—if there *is* a solution. Mr. Kennan, whose book *American Diplomacy* has just been published in this country, is highly critical of idealistic

policies and attacks what he calls the "legalistic-moralistic approach" which has been so characteristic of American diplomacy.

Similar realism has been shown by General Eisenhower in his rare comments on foreign affairs. In an address which he gave at Columbia University two years ago, he questioned the right so frequently arrogated by political idealists, the right to impose upon the world a specific ideal. "There is no need" he said

"to remake the world outside the Soviet system in the likeness of the United States or of any other country . . . I suggest that we recognise that every culture developed in the world has been worked out by its possessors to meet the circumstances of their own environment."

It is not to be supposed that Mr. Kennan and General Eisenhower have no "ideals." The objection to the "legalistic—moralistic approach" is not illegal or immoral. On the contrary, it is an objection to the misuse of legality and morality.

It is not "democratic" (as that word is understood in the west) to be critical of "democracy". On the contrary, it is "undemocratic" to impose "democracy" on nations that do not want it.

Professor MacIlwain, of Harvard University, pleads for the primacy of the rule of law over all political systems. H. Morgenthau, of Chicago, is deeply critical of "democracy" in his book *Scientific Man versus Power Politics*, which was published in this country five years ago. A trenchant critic of "democracy" is Von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, whose *Liberty and Equality* has just appeared. He contends, as Lord Acton did, that equality is destructive of liberty and quotes an array of prophetic writers—Burckhardt, de Tocqueville, Donoso Cortes, and others—whose forebodings with regard to political idealism have been completely justified by events.

Professor Butterfield, in this country goes to the root of the matter. The political idealists tend to believe that man is his own master and can do anything. That is the reason why they propose such simple and easy solutions—after all, if man's capacities are unlimited, there is no problem he cannot solve simply and easily. But Professor Butterfield tells us in his recent book *Christianity and History* that

"It is essential not to have faith in human nature. Such faith is a recent heresy and a very disastrous one."

Realists, like Professor Butterfield, are distinguished by their awareness of man's limitations and by a deep distrust of his presumptuousness. Professor Butterfield writes of Prince Metternich, that he was "frightened by the human presumption that had become so evident".

And nowhere is the return to realism so trenchantly expounded, as by Morgenthau in the book already mentioned :

"The old *hybris* has reappeared in the new vestments of a scientific age and has been broken, as it has been ever since Icarus tried to reach the sun, by the very instruments which it had forged for the exaltation of man beyond the limits of his nature."

CHRONICLE

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY

As this issue of the *Church Quarterly Review* is due for publication early in April, it is not possible to forecast with any precise accuracy the details of the Agenda for the May Group of Sessions of Convocation ; but consideration of what was done at the January Sessions gives an indication of some of the matters which will probably be before the Convocation in May.

As a result of various reports and resolutions discussed in January, several new committees were appointed. Of these some, such as the small drafting committee set up to consider minor changes suggested in the Amended Lectionary, will not have to undertake any work at the present moment. This particular Committee is charged to report in two years' time, both on changes proposed and on the continued use of the Amended Lectionary. The Committee set up to deal with the complex subject of the Spiritual Discipline of the Laity is not expected to have its recommendations ready until the October Group of Sessions. When the Report (No. 674) on the Spiritual Discipline of the Laity was discussed in January, a special *ad hoc* Joint Committee was appointed to consider the rules contained in that report and to compare them with the short list of duties published some two years ago by the two Archbishops and also the duties set out in Resolution No. 37 of the Lambeth Conference of 1948. The task of this committee should not be a very lengthy one, since it is largely a question of conflating these three sets of rules ; but it is to be hoped that in the carrying out of their work the Committee will recognize the distinction which was mentioned by the Bishop of Exeter between a set of general principles to be observed by every loyal Christian and a set of specific duties laid by the Church of England upon its own members. It will not be easy to avoid too much vagueness and generality on the one hand and too great a particularity and rigidity on the other, so that the Committee's task, though it may not be lengthy, will probably nevertheless prove unexpectedly difficult.

In the Lower House the Rev. C. E. Douglas proposed (though he subsequently withdrew it) a motion expressing regret at the further delay involved, through the setting up of this committee, in the carrying out of the request from the House of Laity of the Church Assembly for the issue of an authoritative list of duties by the Convocations. It is greatly to be hoped that the House of Laity will recognize that this further delay, which is indeed greatly to be regretted, is due to the difficulty indicated above, and not to any lack of realization on the part of the Convocation of the importance of meeting the request made to them.

The Report, No. 675, of the Joint Committee upon the document entitled, "The Church, The Churches and The World Council of Churches," which was discussed at the last Group of Sessions, did not involve the establishment of any new committee on this matter, and the Convocations agreed that the statement contained in the World Council of Churches' document "was in general consistent with the doctrine of the Church of England," while they also considered that the Convocation report "clearly set forth the position of the Convocation with regard to important matters affecting the Church of England raised by the statement"; and this decision has been communicated to the World Council of Churches. On the other hand the resolutions concerning the report of the special Commission on Relations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland did require the setting up of a small drafting Committee to draw up specific recommendations, based upon this report, for discussion by the Convocations; and the committee has been instructed to prepare these resolutions for discussion at the May Group of Sessions. It does not follow that the Convocations will pass these resolutions in May. They may prefer to ask for a larger Joint Committee to consider the whole problem of policy raised by these suggested recommendations; but at least they will have specific, concrete proposals before them on which to base their discussions. In January both Houses directed that the Report on Relations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland should be circulated to all members of the Convocation and also that the small draft committee set up should have power to confer with the similar committee in the Convocation

of York, so that the Convocations might keep in step in this matter. There was some misunderstanding on the part of the Lower House as to the precise intention of the resolution setting up the drafting committee, and for this reason doubt was expressed as to whether the committee should be expected to complete its report by May ; but if it is understood that the committee will be doing nothing more than drafting specific recommendations for discussion by the Convocation and that this in no way prevents the Convocation, if it so wishes, from setting up a Joint Committee to examine the whole matter before passing the recommendations, the apprehensions expressed in some quarters of the Lower House would appear to be met. In addition the Convocations in January requested the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consult with the Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland about the Report, so that the Episcopal Church will be fully informed of any action which the Convocation proposes to take in this matter.

The only other Joint Committee set up at the January Sessions was that instructed to consider Clauses 2 and 3 of Canon 83, on the subject of clergymen engaging in gainful occupations outside their ministerial work. When Canon 81, "Of the Devotional Life of Ministers" was discussed in the Upper House, it was decided that the opening sentence of this Canon might be transferred to Canon 83 ; but the whole matter was referred to this committee for consideration. The field of inquiry to be covered by the committee is as yet not very clearly defined. It may be confined to the consideration of what should be done in regard to the wording of these two clauses, and the recommendation that the statutory law should be altered. But on the other hand the committee may decide to enter upon a full consideration of the many problems raised in connexion with the undertaking by clergymen of gainful occupations, the extension of the Ministry in the form of industrial chaplaincies, and the alleviation of the shortage of full-time clergymen by the Ordination of men for Sunday or part-time duty. If it adopts the latter course, it is likely to be a long time before the report is issued ; but if it confines itself to the consideration of the wording of the Canon and suggestions for the alteration of statutory law, its report may be issued more quickly. In any event, however,

it is almost certain that this committee will not conclude its work this year and obviously it will have nothing to lay before the Convocation in May.

UPPER HOUSE

It is not known at present what matters the Upper House will have to deal with in May. It is fairly certain that it will discuss the resolutions in connexion with Relations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland ; and it will also presumably give consideration to the motions passed in January by the Lower House in regard to the modern revival of spiritual healing. After the helpful debate in the Lower House on the motion proposed on this subject by the Dean of Salisbury, the Lower House passed a further motion asking that a Joint Committee might be set up to examine the problems and opportunities raised by this revival. In the course of the debate it was made clear that the purpose of this committee should be primarily to consider the theological, doctrinal and philosophical issues involved in connexion with both spiritual healing and the Christian attitude towards disease. The committee would, of course, also concern itself with those practical and pastoral matters which are of particular concern to parish priests and with the relation of spiritual healing to liturgical and other services. All these are matters which come properly within the constitutional authority of Convocation ; but it was made abundantly clear in the debate that the last thing the Lower House wishes to do is to hinder or to interfere with the valuable work which is being carried out by the Churches' Council of Healing, the Guild of St. Raphael, the Guild of Health, and other bodies already in existence. It is therefore to be hoped that the Upper House will give sympathetic consideration to this request for a Joint Committee.

So far as Canon Law is concerned, the Upper House in January completed its consideration of the various small amendments required in the Canons up to 59, to bring them into line with the decisions of the Convocation of York ; and the Lower House accepted these amendments in all Canons as far as 56, with the exception of three Canons which they referred back to the Canon

Law Steering Committee for further consideration and advice. If the Steering Committee meets before May, it is conceivable that they may put forward further recommendations concerning Canons 60 to 79, with a view to gaining uniformity in the versions agreed by the two Convocations ; but if not, the Upper House, which has completed its preliminary consideration of all the Canons as far as 86, will presumably continue its work on Canon Law Revision, by giving a first consideration to the Canons from 87 onwards, which deal with the lay officers of the Church of England. Canon 87 is entitled, "Of the Election of Churchwardens," Canon 88, "Of the Admission of Churchwardens to their office," Canon 89, "Of Sidesmen or Assistants to the Churchwardens." Canons 90-94 concern Lay Readers, and on these Canons certain comments have been received from the Readers' Board. Finally, in this Group, Canon 95 concerns Women Workers.

It is improbable that the Upper House will proceed beyond this point. Already it is a long way ahead of the Lower House, which has only considered Canons up to number 60. Moreover, the speed of Canon Law Revision now appears to depend primarily not on the Convocations at all, but on the House of Laity of the Church Assembly. In accordance with the promises made by the two Archbishops, all the new Canons, as soon as they have been agreed in a preliminary form by the two Convocations, are to be submitted for consideration and comment to the House of Laity. Twenty-four such Canons were so submitted in November, 1950, and a further thirteen are now ready and are being submitted this month. If the Convocations proceed too rapidly in their preliminary consideration, the House of Laity will probably find itself with a very large number of Canons awaiting consideration, before the Convocations can put them into their final form in the light of the suggestions offered by that House.

It is much to be hoped that in order to avoid this situation the House of Laity will have longer and more frequent meetings for the purpose of dealing with Canon Law Revision.

LOWER HOUSE

The Lower House will have a large volume of work on this subject awaiting it in May, since the Upper House has sent down all the

Canons from 67 to 86, and in addition there are certain outstanding points to be dealt with in regard to two of the earlier Canons. However, Canons 67-70 are almost purely legal and formal, since they concern the Oath of Allegiance, the Oaths of Obedience, the Declaration of Assent, and the Declaration against Simony. Canons 71-80 deal with the duties of various Orders and Officials within the Church of England, and Canons 81-83 with the Manner of Life of Ministers. Canons 84-86 are concerned with Deaconesses, and on these the Upper House in January adopted certain amendments submitted by the Order of Deaconesses. Finally, since the Lower House was unable in January to conclude the discussion of all the members' motions on its Agenda, there remain for discussion in May three motions. The first, by the Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Trent, asks the Upper House to consider the danger of lack of sufficient preparation and reverent approach to the Sacrament, which may arise in the holding of Midnight Communion, and to issue regulations. The second, which was introduced by the Dean of Exeter, but discussion of which was adjourned, requests "that a Joint Committee be appointed to draft a Form for Private Confession and Absolution, with a view to the authorization of this Form by Convocation." The third, proposed by the Bishop of Kingston-on-Thames, expresses a desire that Hospital Sunday should be revived, "as a day on which Christian people join in corporate prayer for those engaged in the Ministry of Healing, and also as a means of bringing home to Christian people the great opportunities for service in this Ministry," either as doctors, nurses or in other ways. It is, of course, probable that other motions may be sent in before the Agenda of the Lower House is drawn up ; but it is hoped that this survey of the material already existing for consideration in May may give some general indication of the sort of ground that is likely to be covered by the discussions of Convocation at this Group of Sessions.

A. F. SMETHURST

AN ADDRESS BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Given at the Service of Thanksgiving for
the Life and Example of his late
Majesty, King George VI.

*In God is my health and my glory : the rock of my might, and in
God is my trust (Psalm 62, vii.)*

GREAT moments in our national history, great occasions of national emotion need a period of time and the alternations of movement and repose, utterance and silence for their adequate observance and expression. All through these long days since the King died there has been a movement of the spirit among us all, unattainable without the stately and extended observances and the nation-wide restraints which have been its sacraments. With the passage of time, with the progress from the home and village church at Sandringham to the Lying-in-State in Westminster Hall, at the heart of London, and thence with the Royal progress to Windsor, the national emotion has passed from the shock of abrupt personal loss and sorrow (never for any Sovereign so personal, so deep and devoted as for our late King), to appraisal of the character by which he won our hearts and rendered his service so faithfully ; and on to thankfulness to Almighty God for the blessings bestowed upon the country and Commonwealth by his reign ; and so to a sense (if our ears are open to hear) that our King and his history, and our history and the days before us, and the Queen to lead us in them, all belong to God.

The Service at St. George's, Windsor, was the summary and completion of this progress. The nation, the Commonwealth, the world with measured tread and muffled drums and solemn hearts brought to the Chapel the mortal remains of the King, all that still belonged to the world, and stepped there away from the world in which the battle had been fought, into the profound and powerful peace of the House of God. There, in that shrine of our history, we felt upon us all that the King had been for us in history, taking his heavy burden and bearing it without a fault, leading his people through dark and perplexed days by the self-forgetting example

of his courage and sacrifice, and steadfast devotion to duty. But there in that shrine we passed beyond history. The trumpets of faith were resounding all about us, touching with their comfort human sorrow and translating time's utterances into eternal truth. "I am the Resurrection and the Life, saith the Lord." "In sure and certain hope of the Resurrection to eternal life." "The strife is o'er, the battle won."

So were committed to the ground in Christian hope the mortal remains of a faithful King, a faithful man, with the same faithful prayer for "this our brother" as for any man at his latter end. And already the boundaries of this world were broken, and we had passed out of the confines of the Chapel and of this world to the eternal Kingdom of God, by whom all history is judged and to whom every child of man must render his account.

The quiet confidence and peace of that final moment was ours by virtue of our Christian hope. It was ours because in simple faith the King had made his own the Psalmist's words: "In God is my health and my glory: the rock of my might, and in God is my trust." As now, here in St. Paul's, we look back once more, three words come to my mind—change, continuity and challenge.

There is an uneven rhythm in history: for long periods there is little change, and some particular social order and division of power seems to be established for ever; and then on a sudden it breaks up and is followed by a period of violent upheaval. In such a period we are living. It began in the time of King George the Fifth; it has been at its height during the years of the late King's reign; and the end is not in sight. The upheaval is not only in the international field, in economic order and in social history; it goes deep into the moral and cultural and religious roots of civilized man and of his way of life. In a word, whether on this side of the Iron Curtain or the other, the modern creed is one of secularism which reduces man to a mere secular and passing significance and at the same time makes him sole arbiter of his purpose and destiny.

And amid this remorseless period of change, the King has stood for the continuity of precious things which endure because their value is not of this world but from above. His death has made us all conscious again of what he has been doing for us. First, as Sovereign, by his dignity and duty, he has kept before us that we are one with our fathers in quality and spirit, inheriting a tradition, and ourselves responsible for it, which is stamped and sealed with great truths of man's well-being not made by man but received of God. The Monarchy has indeed been re-adapting itself to meet changing needs all through our history and King George continued the process of change begun by his father by which the Monarchy, which might in other hands have become outmoded, has in fact become the most potent and pregnant symbol and sacrament of

our nation's unity, its unity in itself, its unity with its past, its high responsibility for its future.

But the very changes in expression have only served to enhance the sense of continuity, of cohesion, of purposeful direction for which the Crown stands in our midst. And by his personal character and that of the Queen Mother and his family, the King was leading the nation through these days to stand firm to the ancient, revealed, unalterable truths of national dedication, moral duty and religious faith. Much can change and thereby bring advantage and freshness and widening of outlook and new points of growth. But there are the truths that change not ; truths of national unity, and health, of moral integrity, of religious faith. To these the King was ever faithful and by his faithfulness won a respect and trust for which, above all, we treasure his memory.

And must there not be a challenge to the nation here ? We are beset with difficulties which only integrity of character, obedience to duty, trust in one another, care for the country as inclusive of every sectional interest can overcome. We know that morality is slipping or unsure in many ways : in home discipline and training, in fidelity to the marriage bond, in honesty of dealing, in strictness of self-control, in faithful doing of one's duty.

We have been honouring, we honour with profound sincerity, the character of the King we have lost. The Queen captures us all by her clear shining grace and goodness, by her youth and readiness for gallant service, by her patent sincerity and devotion. Is that not a challenge to good citizens to be more active in their service, and indifferent citizens to lay aside their indifference and lack of conviction and spiritual effort, and bad spouses and parents to become faithful spouses and dutiful parents, and all the self-seekers and spiritual parasites to become workers for the common good and contributors to the common stock of spiritual power and obedience to truth ? Does not everything call to us—our memory of a good King, our devotion to a young Queen, our nation's greatness and her need—does not all this call us to a new, a united, a youthful reformation of manners and morals ? Will not the Press and the organs of publicity, so powerful in these days, will not public opinion as it passes from mind to mind and mouth to mouth lead us in this reformation—expelling the drab and the dreary, the sordid and the salacious, the sadistic and the sexy and the trivial and the trumpery, and the assumption that everyone's main end in life is for more money and clothes and amusement—not merely restraining all this element but replacing it, and replacing it not by the sentimental or the sermonic but by the open and honest and encouraging and uplifting ?

This is the sort of challenge : and it cannot be met without a return to the Christian Religion and the Christian Church. Here, too

let there be a reformation, as eager, as scriptural, as comprehensive, as creative of personal faith as the reformation under the first Elizabeth. I believe there is a movement towards it, a crying out for it ; but at the present a bit slow and shamefaced and hesitant. And the Church has too few clergy, after claiming no new recruits through two world wars, to answer all the opportunities. But if, indeed, there be such a reformation as we would see, the laity can lead it and will supply us in due time with enough clergy to be spiritual leaders and servants of our people.

But the reformation of manners and morals, of faith and purpose and hope, must begin and end and exist in God alone. We shall best honour our King, we shall best uphold our Queen, we shall best serve our nation if we make a new act of faith, obedience, discipleship to God, and will turn to Him in humility and humble duty. Here for the Nation is the watchword as it was for the King:

“ In God is my health and my glory : the rock of my might,
and in God is my trust.”

MODERN APPROACHES TO THE DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY

By the VEN. G. W. MURRAY

THERE is a general presumption that the sphere of science is confined to observable facts. But delicate and accurate instruments have enabled this observation to be carried far beyond the range of the unaided senses. There are, for example, infra-red and ultra-violet rays which the human eye cannot detect ; there are super-sonic waves to which the human ear cannot respond. Thus there is about and around us a world of experience outside the range of our sensuous perception. But that is not all. We have adjusted our lives to a world of appearances. At one time men lived on an earth which they believed to be flat. It was with the greatest difficulty that they came to accept the earth as spherical. In fact, even to-day, it might be difficult to persuade the average man that neither in this world nor in space is the straight line of Euclid physically possible. When the Blessed Damozel of Rossetti's poem looked down from the golden balcony of Heaven through the void she saw the earth "spin like a fretful midge." Had she known her Einstein she would have seen a hump or curvature in space-time. This four-dimensional space would be expanding at an increasing velocity. Whirling constellations of star-dust, with blazing suns and their satellites would vanish from the picture as they reached the velocity of light. Others would come to birth from radiation distributed through the universe ; radiation, according to some of our latest astronomers, actually springing into being from nowhere. Here is material for the imagination undreamed of by the Hebrew poet who exclaimed : "When I consider the heavens even the works of Thy fingers : the moon and the stars which Thou hast ordained." The universe, measured in millions of light-years, is not more wonderful than the atoms where protons, neutrons, and electrons weave intricate rhythms ; symbols of energy, whose

individual position and action defy determination. Of such stuff are our bodies composed, and if one of us were subject to the observation of some minute being possessing ultra-microscopic sight, a spectacle not unlike our universe would meet his gaze. The fixed, the solid, the calculable have assumed the vesture of a dream. The theoretical physicist of to-day presents no picture capable of sensuous perception ; he deals in symbols and combines them in an intricate puzzle of mathematical relationships. Observable facts have been left far behind. The symbol is but a skeleton, and, like Ezekiel, the scientist stands on the brink of the " Valley of Dry Bones." " Son of Man can these bones live ? " is again the question that is asked. The answer lies with the religious thinker. " O Lord, Thou knowest." In the vision of the prophet the Spirit of God descended. The dry bones came to life—a very great army.

In the first chapter of Genesis we read "God created the heavens and the earth." Here our belief is stated that the Universe—all of it—exists through the action of God. We do not identify the Created with the Creator but both are connected as closely as is thought with the thinker. All things are instinct with the Divine, and by His action on them they grow or evolve. Life is drawn from them as from an egg. God has provided the potentialities of life, and by the brooding of His Spirit He draws that life into being. He raises its potentialities till His own Image becomes reflected. With the appearance of that Image there comes the response of Creation to the Creator. Man as a living soul has arrived. Thus through the action of God a stage has been reached where vision of the Divine and a growing knowledge of the Divine Will is possible. The " Image of God " can not be mechanistic or merely instinctive in action. Man can plan, man can will ; man can create. He can act as the child of God, seeking to mould his life and actions according to the Divine purpose, or, having surfeited his appetite with the intoxicating fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, can partake himself to a far country to establish Kingdoms of the World according to his own fashioning.

I am suggesting a line of thought which seeks to avoid the dualism between spirit and matter. Matter, as we have seen, has ceased to be regarded as inert and solid. It is an indefinable pheno-

menon—call it energy, call it X—its ultimate constitution is beyond human knowledge. We Christians claim it is of God. With belief in an evolutionary process we have no quarrel, except when that process is divorced from Divine action. That man is made of the dust is Biblical enough. But dust also is of God, and is as much a mystery as the universe itself.

There is, however, another form of dualism—that between Good and Evil. An ancient conception, the Abyss, is common in the mythology of nearly all countries. In the Hebrew version God is described as spreading forth the earth above the waters of the Abyss. Over these waters the Spirit of God brooded. According to the Priestly Code the devastation of the Flood was due not only to the “windows of heaven” being opened, but through the “fountains of the Great Deep ” bursting forth. Great monsters inhabit these regions. Rebellion against God is not confined to man. Other created beings also gifted with the liberty of choice had opposed God’s Will. Lucifer and his companions, once angels in the regions of light, had fallen into the darkness of the Pit or Abyss. In this old cosmology the earth was sandwiched like a great disc between upper regions of light and air, and the lower regions of the Abyss. Both regions were the abode of spirits. In the upper they were beneficent, and between these and the lower order there was a great gulf fixed. In early Church literature considerable space is given to stories of Christ’s descent into the Abyss to preach to the “spirits in prison.”

In Freud’s conception of the Unconscious we have a striking parallel with the Abyss. Briefly, Freud shows that the infant during the first years of his life begins a period of adjusting himself to the requirements of his social environment. The process is not simple. Instinctive impulses and primordial urges are his first experiences. In their nature they are impersonal, and for this reason Freud has called this aspect of the mind the Id. Through contact with the world, during the early days of life, part of the Id is marked off from the rest. The main function of this part is to make contact with the outer world, including the human environment. This is called the Ego, and gives the sense of personality. All of it is not in consciousness. Important parts of it are bedded in the unconscious.

There is early established a critical attitude of the Ego towards the rest of the Id. The Ego accepts part of the demands of the Id for gratification and rejects others. Finally the super-Ego establishes itself as the unconscious guardian of the Ego. It comes into being in response to the influence of parents in the first years of life, and owes much of its strength to the emotional tie between parents and child. This summary is necessarily brief and incomplete. It aims at showing how the growing infant instinctively builds resistances against forces which would be inimical in later life to him as a member of society. A similar process is carried out in our bodies against certain harmful germs. Both are performed unconsciously. The mental process telescopes a development spread over thousands of years into the brief space of about five. It is essential for parents to understand how critical is this period of development. Well-meant efforts to check harshly certain passing phases, which offend adult standards of taste, may lead to an emotional crisis and result in a mental fixation at this particular phase, with a consequent diversion of mental energy in preserving throughout later life an unconscious resistance to the prohibited impulse. Unexplainable fears hover in the mind. Unexplainable because they lurk in the region of the Unconscious, where it borders on dark territory of the Abyss. Such possession is frequently referred to in the New Testament. In one remarkable scene the invading spirit pleads with our Lord that it may not be sent back to the Abyss.

To balance the picture at this point, I shall pass to an aspect of the subject dealt with by St. Paul, particularly in I Cor. xv. Here he distinguishes between *σῶμα ψυχικόν* and *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. What precisely these terms meant to St. Paul it is not easy to state with assurance, but he probably would have agreed that by "natural body" he did not mean a body composed of *ψυχή*, but a body adapted to the life of *ψυχή*. That is a body adapted to our present state of existence. By analogy a "spiritual body" would be a body adapted to the life of *πνεῦμα*. The *πνεῦμα* stands for those higher capacities which transcend the life of the *ψυχή*. These capacities, in view of our future existence, we should be cultivating here and now, by our co-operation with the Divine Will. An ascending

spiritual scale is indicated. Christ, having risen from the dead, has left a trail of life-giving power through the stages or mansions in our heavenward journey of progress. This power redeems us from inroads of those potent influences which war against our upward striving. In our ascent we shall meet Him and know Him more intimately as stage succeeds to stage.

Here we have a new aspect of the Unconscious. We have seen that human life, if it is to develop in harmony with human society, must establish barriers against influences through the lower levels of the unconscious. If the views of St. Paul have been correctly interpreted, we are being fitted for our future life by the unconscious formation of a linking medium between the life of the $\psi\chi\eta$ and the life of the $\piνε\upsilon\mu\alpha$. Such linking of ourselves with a higher life is accomplished by the formation of the Christ-life within us, for He Himself by passing from the stage of this world through the heavenly places can transmit to us the possibility and the power of a like resurrection.

I have called the spiritual body an unconscious growth. The various religious practices such as private and public prayer and worship, the sacramental offices of the Church and suchlike, are the Divinely appointed atmosphere in which it grows and flourishes, but all these, like the *charismata* without the *agape*, may profit nothing. Religious practices regarded as ends in themselves result finally in the hypocrisy of the Pharisee. The growth of the Spiritual Body is manifested in character. This character is not a conscious creation. The poseur may deceive many—worst of all he may succeed in self-deception, because he has grown self-centred and is concerned only with his own reputation. The growth of our higher spiritual life depends on the cultivation within ourselves of the mind that was in Christ Jesus without any ulterior motive. In our Lord's parable both righteous and unrighteous were equally amazed—"Lord, when saw we Thee an hungred or athirst?"

Our natural bodies are part of the world around us. They act upon it, and it reacts on them. Between each there is a constant interchange. No part of our body retains its separate particles. Only in its organisation of the material of this incoming and receding tide is the permanence of individuality found. The activities

of physical life and its intricate processes are carried on almost entirely unconsciously, yet there is a remarkable discrimination in the choice of those elements in our environment which are beneficial and those which are harmful. Were it not so our span of life would indeed be brief. In like manner, as we have seen, the conditions of moral development, particularly during infancy, are affected. But additional activity to secure spiritual growth is demanded in maturity. This is the conscious acceptance of a right ordering of life. Life must be filled. If the house remains swept and garnished, and at the same time empty, it will invite enemy occupation. To put within us the Life of Christ provides an atmosphere inimicable to the life of evil, and enables the creation of a spiritual body as the vehicle of our activity in the life to come.

How may we interpret that higher life ? A Scriptural comparison is the sowing and growth of a seed. From this we learn much. May I supplement it by another drawn from radio. Sound is conveyed by waves of air vibrating at various frequencies. The delicate mechanism of the ear responds in sympathy with these vibrations, and the sensation of hearing is evoked. Using a high frequency electric current, electro-magnetic waves may be radiated and modulated so that they carry a super-sonic version of sound. These waves are not subject to the many limitations of distance and speed affecting sound waves. They travel at the speed of light and pass freely through material objects. Thus we have a familiar example of sensuous phenomena being transmuted into an ultra-sensuous form, which still carries the essentials of the sensuous pattern.

When the servant of Elisha saw the horses and chariots of fire encircle the prophet, when our Lord told of the angels who watch over the sleeping infants, we have but two examples from many in Holy Scripture of a surrounding spiritual life outside the range of the human senses. Moreover careful investigations which have been carried out over a number of years by the Psychical Research Society establish beyond reasonable doubt that there are persons who are sensitive to stimuli of an ultra-normal type, as though they responded sympathetically to influences from some other order of existence. Artists, musicians and poets as well as mystics

have frequently admitted to a form of possession. There are grounds for believing that all these contacts are not beneficial. The uncanny influence of Hitler, and his ability to evoke mass hysteria by his oratory have caused many sober-minded people to regard him as having been possessed by a spirit of evil.

Let us now attempt to formulate some conclusions. By co-operation with the power of the Divine we form a spiritual body beyond sense perception. The quality of that body will be governed by the quality of our present life. The activity of that body is not necessarily to be regarded as being outside the Universe. The Universe is God's Universe, so life in it cannot be regarded as apart from Him. Quickened beyond human imagining the spiritual body, the vehicle of the *πνεῦμα*, has possibilities beyond our powers to assess. On the analogies we have offered, we might hazard the opinion that the spiritual body will be free from such human disabilities as weariness. Heat and cold would not affect it. Also there would be an interpenetration of spiritual bodies, like the colours revealed in the spectra of a ray of light. This would suggest an absence of those cleavages which at present divide societies and individuals. Our knowledge one of another would probably be immediate ; the hypocrite would disappear, because the thoughts of all hearts would be revealed. As our Lord has taught, the essential values of life based on love would be more vitally necessary in such an existence. There is no reason to suppose that those arts which enrich life here will not be experienced in a higher form hereafter. It is probable that our memories of past experiences here will be transformed in our future life. These memories have meaning only in our present environment, and are linked with phases of our mental development. Some of them no doubt we cherish here because of their happy associations but the only permanent value of experience is its incorporation as an element in character building. The sculptor chips a piece of marble, each blow is directed towards his final purpose. A faulty stroke has to be covered by some expedient which may alter to some degree his eventual satisfaction. But the individual strokes are forgotten in the final result. The work, however, bears the individuality of the artist and will immediately be recognized as such by a discerning eye. It is possible that recognition hereafter will be similarly conditioned.

As our Lord shared in full our human life, it may not be presumptuous to interpret His growth in favour with God and man, and His being made perfect through suffering as indications of the growth of a spiritual body. Interpreted thus the perfection of that spiritual body could so affect the earthly body that its dissolution in the tomb would present no insuperable difficulty. The post-resurrection appearances were made to those who were sympathetically responsive to the influence of His Spiritual Body. Moffatt translates a significant passage (Eph. iv. 10): "He who descended is He who ascended above all the heavens to fill the universe." Here for us a series of stages through a Universe already permeated with the presence of Christ is indicated. The same idea is found in St. John xiv, 2: "In my Father's house are many mansions . . . I go to prepare a place for you." That progress lies in the development of character is shown in II Cor. iii, 18: "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." Our spiritual bodies must fall far short of the Spiritual Body of our Lord. In our next stage upwards, with wider scope and with new and increased capacities, we shall experience wonders in God's Creation here denied to us. As there are degrees of physical fitness here, no doubt there will be degrees of spiritual fitness hereafter. "Unto him that hath it shall be given." Beyond this stage other stages await us, and the rule of love suggests that progress will largely depend on mutual aid in filling up those parts that are lacking.

Finally we must face the difficult question of those who have failed to build a spiritual body fitted for the life of the pneuma. We have admitted that there are stages in our progression, the same would apply to regression. The choice here is between God and the world. It is evident that there are degrees of worldliness. Selfishness is the soul-destroying disease of the worldling, and selfishness is rarely absolute. To slip back into the Abyss would seem to be the fate of those unfitted for the higher life. Dives was not entirely selfish. He was concerned for the fate of his brothers. He also recognized God as the source of salvation. These redeeming features would suggest that he was at least in the position to face life again in the sphere of human activity. This raises the

question of re-incarnation. It is the widespread belief in many religions, and appears also in Jewish theology. In New Testament times we find the belief that Elijah would reappear. Our Lord did not contradict this belief. And it is recorded that He said of John the Baptist—"If ye will this is Elias which was for to come." The suggestion here, if the saying is to be taken literally, is of a re-incarnation from a higher sphere to a lower. The general objection that failure to remember past incidents is fatal to any belief in re-incarnation, as I have argued earlier, does not seem conclusive. As most of us know, memory is very fickle, and complete loss of memory is a recognized psychological condition. There are significant parallels between John and Elijah. Both were children of the desert, both were confronted by weak kings married to dissolute women. Both experienced a spiritual struggle when they felt that God had forsaken them.

There remains the question of those who have so positively associated themselves with the spirit of evil that they have come to regard evil as good. Such it seems have put themselves outside the redeeming power of God for they have lost the desire to repent. In the vocabulary of psychic-research we find reference to earth-bound spirits. If we accept this definition it would indicate that the fate of such is bound up with the destiny of the lower order. The unquenchable fire prepared for the Devil and his angels is the end frequently foretold in the Bible. In II Peter we read—"The elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burnt up." This fire is generally regarded as metaphorical, but Mr. Fred Hoyle, who does not associate himself with Christian beliefs, has stated in a recent lecture, "The sun will become so hot that the oceans will boil and life will become extinct." In the vast spaces of the universe the passing of the earth would be less than the splutter of a burning match dropped in the ocean. For those who have attained the life of the spirit it could have no effect.

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE CONTINENTAL REFORMATION—II

By ERICH ROTH

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Continued from January-March issue

1. THE key and the clue to Luther's evangelical theology is *not* the doctrine of justification, as one might suppose ; rather it is *Christology*, from which the doctrine of justification follows. The beginning and the end of Luther's theology is Jesus Christ, "the same yesterday and to-day and for ever."²¹ Our Lord Jesus Christ is the door—and the only door—to a real knowledge of God. But what about the beauties of nature, of God's creation ? Is not God also in them ? Yes, of course, Luther would say, as Creator of the creatures God is indeed in every tree and bush, in every brook and every mountain, in every flower and every butterfly.

But as far as our ability to recognize him is concerned he is veiled and hidden and concealed. The things of nature and history are, so to speak, God's "mask."²² In these things we cannot see God's face openly revealed, but only (like Moses in Exodus xxxiii, 23) God's back, *posteriora Dei*.²³ The creation mediates no knowledge of God, though it does mediate hints of God. "There is a double knowledge of God," Luther points out, "general and particular. All men have the general knowledge, namely, that there is a God, that he creates heaven and earth, that he is just, that he punishes the wicked. But what God thinketh of us, what his will is towards us, what he will give or what he will do to the end we may

²¹ Hebrews xiii, 8.

²² *Ideo universa creatura est eius larva*—WA 40. 1,174.

²³ WA. 1, *Disput.* Heidelb. Th. 19 ff.

be delivered from sin and death . . . (which is the true knowledge of God indeed), this they know not. As it may be that I know some man by sight, whom indeed I know not thoroughly because I understand not what affection he beareth towards me."²⁴ These hints of God are at any rate sufficient to make the heathen and all men (according to Romans i and ii) without excuse before God. They cannot say that they did not know of the existence of a God or of the works of his law.

Yet just as a poet has called our eyes the transparent places of our body, so Luther regards Jesus Christ as the place where God's divinity, his will and his heart became transparent. "Christ," he says, "is the only means and the glass by which we see God, that is to say, we know his will."²⁵ Having this insight, Luther rejects the view of the standard theologian of the Roman Catholic Church, Thomas Aquinas, who in his *Summa* includes a large amount of teaching on the knowledge of God which is without any reference to the revelation in Christ, but with reference to the methods of the pre-Christian philosopher Aristotle instead. Such an over-estimation of the abilities of fallen man in understanding things divine, Luther calls a *theologia gloriae*, a theology which praises the creature ; Luther sets over against it a *theologia crucis*,²⁶ which praises the Creator.²⁷ Luther claims that he has obtained this view in the New Testament, and by the way it may be noticed that to-day such a sober New Testament scholar as Oscar Cullman approves of this renunciation of a natural revelation as being true to the New Testament.²⁸

A *systematic theology*, if it is to be written according to the insight of Luther, must in speaking about God begin with Jesus Christ and with nothing else. It must not begin with a natural theology, with a primal revelation, which is cut loose from Christ ;

²⁴ cf. P. Watson, *op. cit.* p. 73. Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

²⁵ Watson, *op. cit.* p.75

²⁶ WA. 1,613 f.

²⁷ cf. also John Baillie, *Our Knowledge of God*, Oxford, 1939, p. 193.

²⁸ O. Cullmann, *Christus u. die Zeit*, Zurich, 1948, pp. 160 ff.

it must not even begin, as Karl Barth's magnificent work does, with the doctrine of the Word of God. Christology is the source, from which Luther's whole theology flows forth in wonderful limpidity. This may be illustrated by some further points.

2. First, with regard to *Scripture*. Since Christ is the revelation *par excellence*, one must see Christ wherever we are concerned with saving revelation. For it is in Christ that the event of revelation is particularized. Since, then, Scripture is God's revelation, Christ must be the true key by which Scripture is to be understood, for it is he who is the Fulfiller of this revelation. "Take Christ out of the Scriptures," says Luther, "and what will you find remaining in them?"²⁹ "In the whole Scripture," Luther holds, "there is nothing else but Christ, either in plain words or in involved words."³⁰ And that is true of the Old Testament as well, to which our Lord himself appeals: "Search the Scriptures . . . these are they which bear witness of me." (John v. 39). That is, as one must clearly admit, for our reason an altogether paradoxical truth. So, too, that other saying of Jesus—"Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day: and he saw it, and was glad" (John viii, 56)—is also a paradox. If one asks, then, how Christ can be in the Scriptures, Luther gives a very illuminating answer: as the divinity and the power of God are embedded in the vessel of Christ's flesh-and-blood body so the same divinity and power of God are embedded in Scripture, a vessel made of letters composed of paper and printers' ink.³¹ If one wants to understand the revelation in Scripture without infringement upon its rights, one must project upon the whole Scriptures the divinity as it confronts us, personified, in Christ.³²

3. The facts of the case are the same when we come to the *spoken Kerygma and Gospel*. For according to St. Paul the Gospel is also the revelation of God; *δύναμις θεοῦ* "the power of God unto salvation" (Rom. i, 16). So much is the Gospel this "power

²⁹ *The Bondage of the Will*, tr. by H. Cole, London, 1931, p. 26

³⁰ WA. 11/223; Watson *op. cit.* p. 149.

³¹ WA. 3/515, 32.

³² WA. 3/403, 38.

of God unto salvation," that, as Paul says, Christ sent him not to baptize, but *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* (I. Cor. i, 17). And this "power of God unto salvation" in the kerygmatic Gospel is according to Luther nothing other than the divinity of Christ. And the vehicle or vessel of this preached gospel, namely, the human voice of the preacher, its accent and tone, corresponds precisely to the vessel of the manhood of Christ.³³ Therefore the saving Word of God, the *Logos*, is the *whole* presence of Christ, and is not inferior to the Sacraments.

When therefore Professor Lortz suggests that what Luther teaches as an evangelical is also in Thomism, one may perhaps remind him of the definitive statement of the Council of Trent, which reserves to the Sacraments all power to promote holiness or salvation, and refuses to take account of the fact that both Holy Scripture and the Gospel orally preached are revelation, that is, "power of God unto salvation." The Tridentine definition is : *per sacramenta omnis vera iustitia vel incipit vel coepta augetur vel amissa reparatur*.³⁴

4. In regard to the *Sacraments*, they are for Luther not another, but precisely the same revelation-event as takes place in Christ in his flesh and blood, in Holy Scripture, and in oral preaching. And again the sacramental vessel corresponds to the manhood of Christ, namely water in baptism and bread and wine in the Supper, which extend the event to the point of visibility. So wherever there is revelation, Christ is always present in his entirety. His two natures, God and man, are inseparable, as the Chalcedonian formula (of which Luther had a high opinion) insists.

A *transubstantiation* is not necessary in the case of any of the vessels within which Christ is contained as Son of God ; neither for his manhood, nor for the bread and wine, nor for the water of baptism, nor for Scripture nor for the humanly preached Word ; nor, one must add, for the blessed Virgin Mary. Luther calls the cult of the mother of Jesus as developed in the Roman Church, from the affirmation of her absolute sinlessness to her assumption,

³³ WA. 23/193, 29 ff. 2/715, 26.

³⁴ Denzinger *Enchiridion* 843a.

precisely a transubstantiation.³⁵ The presence of the Son of God, who did not reckon himself too good to sit at table with publicans and sinners, is adapted very well to vessels which are unchanged by it. They are an integral part of his humiliation (*exinanitio*). And one receives Christ's real flesh and blood according to Luther's striking formula, "in, with, and under" the elements.

One simply cannot understand it when Professor Lortz presents Luther as having spiritualized the Sacraments.³⁶ That could only be the case were one to carry to its conclusion the nonsense of calling our Lord Jesus Christ in his entirety a "spiritual manifestation." Rather did Luther purge the Roman Catholic Sacraments of their magical impression, as though the grace of God were at the priest's disposal *ex opere operato*, that is to say, as though the priest, simply by carrying through mechanically a sacramental office, could dispense in guaranteed fashion as much or as little grace as he pleased. The priest, as the steward of God's mysteries, is not master over them; he is a servant and assistant. One should not forget St. Paul's formulation of the position in I Cor. iv, 1: "Let a man so account of us as (*hyperetas*—servants) ministers of Christ, and—the same thing—stewards of the mysteries of God."

Along with this evangelical purification, Luther extended the sacramental event of revelation by relating it to Scripture and the preached gospel. The charge of one-sidedness, which one brings so happily against Luther, does not touch him here at any rate; it does touch the Roman Church. Yet it is not always easy to grasp this extension of the sacramental event of revelation in Luther's thought. That is because he takes over from St. Augustine the formula "Word and Sacrament." This formula is rather misleading, because it sets Word and Sacrament over against each other, and does not express the fact that the sacramental event of revelation takes place also within the spoken Word of God and the Holy Scriptures. I have had occasion to investigate this question closely, and I find that though Luther uses the traditional formula, he gives it a quite different content. If this content be extracted, as for

³⁵ WA. 6,/510.

³⁶ *op. cit.* 1/, p. 230.

instance in Augustine's definition which Luther also used, *accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum*,³⁷ you then have a definition in completely new terms ; for Luther meant by *verbum* in the narrower sense the promise of the Gospel, that is Christ himself ; and by Augustine's term *sacramentum* Luther meant precisely *revelation*.³⁸

In the construction and arrangement of an Evangelical Dogmatic, the sacraments should not be dealt with somewhere at the end. That is the scheme of Thomas Aquinas, not of Luther. As the sacraments are revelation, an epiphany of God,³⁹ they belong most closely to Jesus Christ. In the same way the doctrine of the Word of God and of Holy Scripture must be treated in the context of Christology.

The attempt is made to deny, in Luther the thinker, all suggestions of order and system. His theological ideas are said to be only *disiecta membra*. I confess that I once thought like this, until I grasped from Luther's earliest lectures the inner unity of his theology.⁴⁰ Since then I have regarded Luther, to put it bluntly, as perhaps the worst systematizer in philosophy, but the best systematizer in theology. Luther's theological ideas are nothing but rays flowing out from the one sun, Jesus Christ. And whichever be the ray with which you begin, you will reach the sun just as surely, for it holds all the rays together in one point.

5. It is true that Luther first learnt the distinction between *Reason* and *Revelation* as a disciple of Ockham's Nominalism. Yet as a Reformer he contested most of the Ockhamite positions very strongly, and he would hardly have admitted this distinction in the way he did, had he not found it in a new form in St. Paul. *Duo cum faciunt idem non est idem*. The contradiction which stems from the Cross of Christ between reason and revelation is somewhat different in constitution, perhaps, from that of Ockham which rests on a philosophical basis.

³⁷ *In Joann.* tract. 80, 3, Migne 35/1846.

³⁸ Cf. Erich Roth, *Sakrament nach Luther*, Berlin 1951.

³⁹ WA. 42/626, 32.

⁴⁰ Cf. the integration of Corpus Christi, *species panis in sacramento*, *verbum evangelii vocale*, *Scriptura Sancta* : WA. 3/404, 38.

As Scripture underlines so clearly, our reason has turned against God at the Fall, in our succumbing to the temptation : *eritis sicut Dei* (Gen. iii), and wants to be like God. Since then it is no longer on God's side, and if it is to be brought on to God's side, it must be recreated. St. Paul puts this point in the sentence that "if any man is ἐν χριστῷ. he is a *καὶνὴ κτίσις* (II. Cor. v, 17). Without the revelation, we are, with all our reason, simply the dead folk of Isaiah ix, stumbling in the darkness. Our reason points us along a path quite different from revelation. For the goals which it offers to us are good standing, money, influence, power, honour, and fame. We are to climb higher and higher in order to stand on the summit like little gods.

Luther, in a memorable phrase, says : Because we men do not wish to be men at all, but want to play an established role as gods and seek to climb into heaven, God therefore sent his Son down in the other direction from heaven. that he might make out of dissatisfied gods *veros homines*.⁴¹

What is involved for these *veros homines* we are less likely to read in the pages of a Thomist *theologia naturalis*, than on the face of the crucified Lord, who representatively mirrors man's position before God. And this position of men in the sight of God, as we see it at Golgotha, has this appearance : condemned to death and damnation, racked by pains and torment, the head covered in blood and the sweat of death, the face brusied, and the jerking tongue withered like a potsherd.⁴² *Ecce Homo* ! Whoever finds the ravaged face of Christ on the Cross to be repelling and horrible should not forget that it is not the ugliness of God's Son we see there, but man's ugliness, yours and mine.

According to Luther it is here that one is gripped by the paradox of God's dealings, which put to shame all reason and logic ; instead of letting this richly deserved punishment fall on men, and damning them, God gives his Son, as it were a piece of himself, to be there on the pillory of the Cross as a transgressor cursed by men.

⁴¹ WA. 5,/128.

⁴² WA. 5/638.

The great Reformation experience of Luther was to apprehend *this* action of God as His righteousness by which He makes men righteous, i.e., grants to them justification. Here lies the difference between the Reformation understanding of the *iustitia Dei* and the pre-Reformation understanding which comes to expression in the *Reformatio Sigismundi* mentioned last time, with its lament over the lack of righteousness in the world. The pre-Reformation concern moves rather in the context of Law. Luther's Reformation concern moves in the context of Gospel. For Luther, the *iustitia Dei* which rescues the guilty sinner coalesces with the love of God.

It is from this standpoint that one must view Luther's doctrine of predestination. Luther in his inner development had much misgiving on this question, particularly concerning his own election. And the comfort he was finally granted was the cross of Christ as the true manifestation of God's justice which is love. It is God under this aspect who alone is revealed to us. One must not worry about the question of predestination without also thinking of the cross—they must both be taken together. God, in Luther's phrase, is "a glowing oven, full of love."

Certainly his Law is not abrogated in this love. There is, however, all the way through, a coalescence of *Law and Gospel*, but only in the Cross of Christ, where the Law is also perfectly fulfilled in the highest degree. And Luther maintained that only those who are included within the event of Golgotha are called to establish outwardly that righteousness and order which was missed so desperately by the pre-Reformation writers. What was achieved in public affairs at the Reformation under Luther's leadership was simply a putting into practice of this contention. The point of departure, where the foundations are laid bare, is all-decisive. But a theologian does not get to the foundation merely by acquiring the necessary theological knowledge ; he gets there only if he goes out from the Cross of Christ to do battle with Satan. Luther expressed this in an excellent phrase in his *Operationes in Psalmos : Vivendo, immo moriendo et damnando fit theologus, non intelligendo, legendo aut speculando*.⁴³ That is Luther's *theologia crucis*, as he learnt it from St. Paul.

⁴³ WA. 5./163.

6. From this Evangelical *theologia crucis* proceeds Luther's doctrine of *justification by faith*. First we must clarify the notion of *sin*. If indeed the dying Christ represents before God man's picture, then the fact of sin must be taken at a deeper level than is the case with the Roman Catholic definition, in so far as it is concerned to reckon only with actual sins, sinful deeds, and above all where it claims to distinguish between mortal and venial sins. Since the Fall, sin, according to Luther, penetrates much further into our being than this. Sinful deeds are already the outpouring of this being ; the fruits of sin, not its root.

Man cannot lift himself by his own collar out of this forlorn condition, this swamp. God must undertake the whole, yes the whole, work of salvation. (By the way, Luther's doctrine of *universal priesthood*, as found in the New Testament, is founded ultimately on this fact, that all men, high and low, religious and secular, stand in precisely the same need of this saving help). And whoever emerges from the swamp has part in a new life. It is this new life which Luther expresses by the term *faith*.

The arguments advanced by opponents of Luther's *justificatio sola fide* labour under the handicap that they have not pressed on to a satisfactory understanding of what Luther meant by the notion of Faith.⁴⁴ Faith, with Luther, is no merely intellectual matter, such as it is when we say "I believe" with the sense "I am of the opinion." Faith, in Luther's understanding of the matter (and he knows himself to be one with St. Paul in this), is a new integration of life. Faith is that which makes the new creature—the Christian—alive. To use a vivid illustration, faith is like the umbilical cord which conveys to us, from Christ, a new eternal life.

This new life of faith is the opposite of Quietism, which Luther has sometimes been supposed to intend. Faith is activity in the highest degree ; in Luther's phrase "a living, powerful, mighty and active thing." It is the "workmaster" who urges to fulfil the commands.⁴⁵ "Faith," Luther says, "is a living and mighty thing . . . It does not float on the heart like a goose on the water

⁴⁴ Cf. Luther's own remark WA. 6,/94, 7.

⁴⁵ WA. 6,/275.

... faith, the work of the Holy Spirit, creates a different spirit and different mind and makes a quite new man."⁴⁶ Love is the efflux of faith because "faith is the doer and love the deed."

It is essential to note that the essence and power of the faith which moves mountains is the substance and power of Christ, not of men. Faith belongs always on Christ's side, and is not within our power of disposal. Luther, therefore, when he speaks precisely abstracts faith as it were from man, and says : *fides . . . fidit*⁴⁷. *fides orat*. Faith is the life-line which Christ throws to us to bind us to himself. Justification *sola fide* strictly speaking therefore means justification *solo Christo*. In St. Paul's words, "I live ; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me : and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God." (Gal. ii, 20).

When Luther, referring to St. Augustine, says, in connexion with the Last Supper, *crede et manducasti*, he means simply this : if you have Christ, you have already received the Supper.⁴⁸

7. This faith will be granted anew each day, and newly won each day. And it is of no small importance to rule out here the egoism of sanctity. It is one of the main objects in Luther's theology to uncover egoism wherever it lies concealed, even in the most refined elements of Christian willing and striving. The devil is so crafty that many who pray do not notice how egocentric rather than theocentric their prayers are.⁴⁹ We plead very readily in prayer—in our hearts, at any rate, if not with our lips—not for salvation as such, but for *my* salvation ; we want deliverance from all evils and misfortunes, in order that we may live in happiness and please ourselves, and never notice that in so doing we are seeking our own glory and honour, not the glory and honour of God. "Cut out all reference to 'mine,'" Luther says in respect

⁴⁶ WA. 42./452, 17.

⁴⁷ WA. 7./54 f.

⁴⁸ It is rather a pity to find, in a work as well thought out as that of Lortz, a not inconsiderable howler. Lortz takes Luther's remark as a proof that Luther's much-maligned subjectivity breaks through here, and does not notice that Luther is in fact referring to St. Augustine (*op. cit.* i, p. 230. Cf. Migne 38, 615).

⁴⁹ Cf. Watson, *op. cit.* p. 39 f.

of salvation in his Lecture on Romans, "and you will be saved."

Philip Watson has picked out the distinctive feature of Luther's theology, by using as a title for his excellent book *Let God be God*. Luther has often been called a "Copernicus in the realm of religion," because he brought back the true sun to be the midpoint of the universe. And it was Calvin who expounded this emphasis on the glory of God in special fashion.

When the Reformers thus gave to man what belongs to men, and to God what belongs to God, they rectified Christian Ethics as well. The category of human merit was ruled out, as a motive for conduct, for the sake of the glory of God. In the Roman Catholic scheme the Christian rises towards sanctification by a complicated process of co-operation between divine grace bestowed by God and meritorious human endeavour, and thus attains justification. In the understanding of the Reformers, the Christian comes to sanctification already from the starting point of justification, without any merit. The Christian does not live as a Christian in the process of coming to Christ. He lives as a Christian because he has already come to Christ. He does not collect merit in order to achieve blessedness. Without any merit he is already, eschatologically, in blessedness.

Because of this it is necessary for him, through the Holy Spirit, to bring his sinful dispositions under daily discipline; to see, and to confess, where he has failed. This process Luther, with the New Testament, calls *repentance*. It is the specific fundamental attitude of the Christian in his daily life.

Repentance was the lever with which Luther entered upon the Reformation.

Herewith we have returned to the events of the Reformation, the picture of which we want to round off. The outer occasion which caused this movement was the proclamation of indulgence in two German ecclesiastical provinces. Behind this stood a rather peculiar and corrupt finance business of the Curia. The 23 years-old Albert, a descendant of the court of Brandenburg, had been elected as arch- and prince bishop, not only for one province but for two. The Curia tried to sell him the pallium for this cumulation at the highest possible price. The bargaining was conducted with quite

theological reasoning ; e.g., the representative of the Roman Datary demanded 12,000 ducats for the second arch-diocese, and gave the reason that there were also 12 Apostles. The representative of the prince-bishop, however, immediately replied : " But only seven mortal sins." The result was a slight approximation of the Apostles to the mortal sins. In order to get the whole rather fantastic amount, the prince-bishop was allowed to promulgate a Peter's indulgence in his dioceses. Half of the gain, however, was also to go to Rome.

The Roman Catholic Church taught that through the trade of indulgence money became a means of redemption instead of the works of satisfaction done by way of penance. This even implied that works of satisfaction which had not been done on earth must be recovered in purgatory. This indulgence was thought to be a constitutive part of the sacrament of penance.

As during his time in the monastery Luther had reached a deep understanding of Christian life, he was very disturbed by this corruption in the life of the Church. When he posted up his Ninety-five Theses against the indulgence trade the die was cast. Even so these Theses were but drops out of an enormous theological reservoir which Luther had gathered. Luther had not regarded them as meant for the common people but as a customary Latin disputation at the University. Nevertheless these Theses spread through Germany like wildfire, heralding and setting free the great movement of Reformation.

At first the Curia tried to master the situation with kindness, but when this proved to be no good, severe measures were taken. Unexpectedly, however, politics now began to play a part in the situation and, through this, opposition to Luther was lessened. Because a new German Emperor was to be elected it was necessary for the Curia to seek the friendship of the Elector of Saxony, who happened to be overlord of Luther's province and was his protector and supporter. This completely changed the situation, so much so that it was even whispered that Luther might become a bishop. This meant nothing to Luther because his sole interest was the sincere speaking and doing of the Word of God. Neither flattery nor the offer of higher positions could move him. Neither was he

affected by threatening which sought to humiliate him. He announced that he was not seeking fame or dishonour and therefore could not stop. Because of Luther's determination and refusal to yield, the accusation of heresy was taken up again and resulted in his receiving a Bull threatening him with excommunication. This, however, Luther burned ceremoniously in the presence of professors and students at Wittenburg University.

After that, Luther was summoned before the new Emperor Charles V and the representatives of the Reich at the great Diet of Worms in 1521. There he remained quite firm and refused to withdraw. Because of this the Worms Edict was composed by the papal Nuntius, and according to it Luther was put under the *Reichsacht*, and all his written works were ordered to be burned. The over-lord of Luther's county planned to save him from the danger of death. He collected a number of knights, and these, disguised as robbers, brought Luther safely to the Wartburg. Because of this the most critical situation was overcome.

From now on the movement of Reformation inspired other countries and became worldwide. It is impressive to notice how Luther was drawn on to the stage of high world-politics against his will, and how he was forced to defend himself against much opposition and how he grew and matured in wisdom, strength and comprehension. Throughout all Germany there was only one topic of thought and conversation—Luther. Each class drew towards him, thinking that through him would come about the realization of their own aims and ambitions. In this we can see again the link between the pre-Reformation movements and the reforms of this time.

There were the political nationalistic endeavours, furthered most of all by the knight Hutten, the type of a passionate journalist. Luther had played no part in these matters. Although he demanded the independence of the German Church from Rome, yet the new nationalist spirit did not greatly interest him. It is true he speaks of his "dear Germans," and he is glad that in Germany, in contrast to Southern Europe, Yes is Yes and No is No. Yet it was out of this true love that he also told the Germans the hard truth with regard to drunkenness and other favourite virtues. For Luther

the great thing was the teaching of the Gospel, which is above nationality.

Further there were the humanists, who welcomed him, especially after his brave attitude at the Leipzig Disputation in 1519. Luther had always recognized the importance of the classical languages and he could use Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Together with Melancthon he had brought about a reform in the University of Wittenberg and put into practice what he had learned of humanism. Yet he could not agree with the humanists that the outward expression of the corruption of the Church was all that mattered. The humanists were horrified by Luther's *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae*, but even so Luther was unable to do otherwise than to return *ad fontes* in this matter. So at last it came to a break between Luther and the "King of the Humanists"; Luther found his way *de servo arbitrio*, Erasmus *de libero arbitrio*.

With reference to social reform Luther dealt with the "Gravamina of the German Nation" in his *To the Christian Nobility* and through this he gained the hearts of the common people. Even so, when the grievance of the farmers broke out into open revolution, Luther wrote passionately "against the bands of farmers who were behaving no better than robbers and murderers." Through this Luther lost his great popularity. He was not concerned, however, for he always acted according to his understanding of the Gospel, which was no small thing to do. On the social scale great reforms were brought about through Luther. In the parishes he established banks for the poor and hospitals for the sick. He condemned luxury and the importation of unnecessary goods, and most of all the development of devouring financial interests. Luther knew no party, for he acknowledged but one master: Jesus Christ.

It was a peculiar and unique way which Luther followed. The world around him was stirred by political interest and personal aim. Although Luther himself was forced into the machinery of high politics, yet he relied neither on the strength of the Empire nor on the weakness of the Pope; God was his only source of power.⁵⁰ While Luther was staying at Wartburg he was advised by his

⁵⁰ Cf. Hermann Dorries, *Gottesgehorsam und Menschengehorsam bei Luther*. *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 1942.

over-lord not to appear at Wittenberg, because he, the Elector, could not protect him. To this Luther replied that the over-lord need not trouble himself, because he was under the protection of a higher Lord, and that in fact, with the Word of God, he could protect his earthly over-lord better than the latter could protect him. This is typical of Luther's character.⁵¹ Despite the needs and dangers Luther always asked what was right, and did not consider the harm which might befall him. Ranke says of this attitude, that it is certainly not politically clever but it is great.

Here I have to end. To deal in a real sense with the Reformers is not a question of denominationalism. That I call myself a Lutheran would be far from pleasing to Luther. His whole allegiance was to Jesus Christ as met in God's Word. And perhaps to grow in understanding of Holy Scripture would be the best way to overcome the separating walls between the Christian denominations. From this point of view Luther may keep his function as an interpreter.

One of his most intimate friends bore witness to Luther's part, saying (with an allusion to a classical sentence) : *Ille se in sacris literis profecisse sciat, cui Lutherus vehementer placebit.*

⁵¹ I would draw attention to Roland H. Bainton's recent book, *Here I Stand* (New York, 1950).

WILLIAM FORBES: FIRST BISHOP OF EDINBURGH¹

THE SPIRIT OF ANGLICANISM

By SHERWIN BAILEY

IN the summer of 1633 Charles I paid his first royal visit to Scotland, and was crowned in the abbey church of Holyrood. This visit had important consequences for the Scottish Church, for by a charter of erection and endowment dated 29 September in the same year, the King established a new diocese of Edinburgh. This see was to consist of the former archdeaconry of Lothian in the diocese of St. Andrews; its bishop was to be a suffragan of the primate, and was to give him special assistance in ecclesiastical matters, taking precedence among the Scottish bishops immediately after the two archbishops.

To this new bishopric the eminent Aberdeen divine, Doctor William Forbes, was appointed, and he was consecrated in the chapel royal at Holyrood at the beginning of February 1634. Undoubtedly his elevation was due in part to the impression made upon Charles by a sermon preached before the King in Edinburgh on the occasion of the royal visit. Nothing is more characteristic of Forbes's theological outlook and temper of mind than this discourse upon John xiv, 27. Contrasting the peace which Christ had left to his Church with the dissensions then prevailing among Christians, he condemned the dogmatism of his contemporaries in such matters as predestination and the manner of the Lord's presence in the Eucharist, and exposed the ignorant prejudice which despised rites and ceremonies sanctioned by the usage of the

¹ The Inaugural Address delivered to the Edinburgh Forbes Society on 2 May, 1951

universal Church, and especially a Communion Office derived from the ancient liturgies. His counsels of moderation, however, fell for the most part upon deaf ears, yet they remain typical of the spirit of Anglicanism as it was beginning to emerge from the controversies of the time, and are full of relevance to our own situation. But before discussing them in more detail, something must be said about the new bishop's life.

William Forbes was born in 1585, the son of a burghess of Aberdeen, Thomas Forbes, and was educated there at the grammar school. Proceeding to Marischal College, he graduated M.A. in 1601, and soon after was appointed to the chair of logic. This he resigned in 1606 in order to pursue his studies on the Continent. After residing for some time in Poland, he visited several universities in Germany and Holland, and made friends with scholars like Grotius and Scaliger. On his return he went to Oxford, where he was invited to become Professor of Hebrew, but ill-health decided him against accepting this offer, and in 1611 he travelled north again. Having been ordained by Bishop Blackburn of Aberdeen, he ministered first at Alford and then at Monymusk until, in 1616, he was recalled to his native city as minister of the church of St. Nicholas. In the year following he was made Doctor of Divinity, and in 1618 attended the Assembly at Perth, where he was selected to defend the lawfulness of kneeling at the Communion. At this time also he engaged in a formal disputation with Andrew Aitie, the Principal of Marischal College, on the subject of prayer for the dead. Two years later, on Aitie's resignation, he himself succeeded to the Principalship.

Hitherto Forbes's lot had been wholly congenial, but in 1621, reluctantly obeying the call of duty, he exchanged his pleasant ministry in Aberdeen for one in Edinburgh, which proved a sore trial to him and seriously impaired his health. It was considered expedient to place in the capital, which had for long furnished leaders for the Presbyterian party, ministers of known ability and approved church principles, but Forbes found himself faced with a difficult task, and was frequently involved in controversy with the disaffected opponents of the Episcopalians. He insisted on the observance of the Articles of Perth, and taught that episcopacy

was of divine ordinance ; further, he maintained that some of the matters in dispute with the Romanists, and particularly that of justification, could be reconciled with reformed doctrine. Things finally came to a head early in 1624. On 23 March the citizens came together, according to their custom, to speak their minds upon church affairs, and objections were made against Forbes's teaching. He was forced to rebuke his parishioners with some severity, but fortunately had the support of his fellow ministers, who contended that the people had no right to inquire into their doctrine, and the matter ended with an investigation into the disorders which had ensued, and the punishment of the offenders by a committee of the privy council.² Because of these troubles, which affected his health and necessitated the employment of sterner methods than were congenial to one of his peace-loving nature, he resigned his Edinburgh charge in 1626 and returned to Aberdeen, where he resumed his old ministry to the great satisfaction of all.

Eight years later Forbes again moved to the capital, which had now become his cathedral city. This time his stay was short. On 5 March 1634, he addressed a letter to the Edinburgh presbytery enjoining them to further the cause of peace in the Church by their conformity to its acts, and, in particular, to preach on Good Friday, to celebrate the Communion on Easter Day, to receive the sacrament themselves upon their knees as an example to their flocks, and to minister the elements to each communicant separately with their own hands.³ Soon afterwards he was attacked by an illness which baffled the physicians, but he was able to celebrate the Communion at Easter in his cathedral church of St. Giles, although it was said that

. . . he could not, without help, putt the cup to his awin head, and being so sick, after he had served two tables, he went out of the kirk, behoved to take bed, but apprehended not that death was approaching⁴

² For an account of the affair from the Presbyterian side, see D. Calderwood, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Soc. ed.), vii, pp. 596 ff.

³ For the letter, see J. Row, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Soc. ed.), pp. 372-373.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 371.

On the following Saturday, 12 April, "after takeing some physick, sitting in his own chair," he died suddenly ; he was forty-nine years of age, and had enjoyed the dignity of the episcopate for only two months.

Such, in brief outline, was the life of William Forbes, first bishop of Edinburgh, whom Spalding describes as

... a matchless man of learning, languages, utterance, and delivery, ane peerless preacher, of ane grave and godly conversation.⁵

This commendation was certainly no empty form of words, for of Forbes's character all except the extremists among his opponents spoke in terms of the highest praise—and even they had nothing of which to accuse him, apart from his tenacity in maintaining opinions which they disliked, and the exasperation which their persistent obstinacy provoked. Burnet relates how Charles I declared that in Forbes "he had found out a bishop that deserved that a see should be made for him," and says :

He was a grave and eminent divine ; my father that knew him long, and being of counsel for him in his law matters had occasion to know him well, has often told me that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven, and he was never alone with him, but he felt within himself a commentary upon these words of the Apostle, "Did not our hearts burn within us while He yet talked with us, and opened to us the Scriptures ?" He preached with a zeal and vehemence that made him often forget all the measures of time ; two or three hours was no extraordinary thing for him ; those sermons wasted his strength so fast, and his ascetical course of life was such, that he supplied it so scantily that he died within a year after his promotion ; so he only appeared there long enough to be known, but not long enough to do what might have been otherwise expected from so great a prelate.⁶

⁵ J. Spalding, *Memorials of the Troubles* (Spalding Club ed.), i, p. 24.

⁶ G. Burnet, *The Life of William Bedell, D.D.*, (London, 1685), Preface (pp. xix-xxi). In the same author's *History of his own Times*, i, p. 38, there is a later account of Forbes which is clearly written in a less impartial spirit. Burnet allows the bishop to have been "very learned and pious," but exaggerates in referring to his preaching : "he had a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time," and after mentioning that "his way of life and devotion was thought monastic, and his learning lay in antiquity," states that "he was a very simple man and knew little of the world : so he fell into several errors in conduct, but died soon after, suspected of Popery . . ." We are not told what these "errors in conduct" were, though Burnet may have had in mind Forbes's relations with his parishioners during the time of his ministry in Edinburgh.

Thomas Sydserf, who was Dean of Edinburgh during Forbes's episcopate, concludes his *Life* of the bishop by describing him as

. . . a man of truly apostolic character, very well versed in catholic antiquity, who was second to none of the Fathers from the time of the Apostles in doctrine, holiness, humility, moderation, gravity, constant attention to prayer and fasting, both publicly and in private ; in doing good works, caring assiduously for the poor, frequently visiting and consoling the sick, and displaying every kind of Christian virtue.⁷

Such tributes leave no doubt that in the candid and impartial estimation of his contemporaries he was regarded as a man of singular devotion and elevation of mind, and as a conspicuous ornament of the Church. Even Row, who denounces him as " tyrannicall and imperious " ⁸ because of his letter to the Edinburgh presbytery concerning the due observance of Easter, has nothing to bring against his personal character.

Of Forbes's learning the highest opinion was entertained : in the view of Sir Thomas Urquhart, he was

. . . so able a scholar, that since the days of *Scotus Subtilis* there was never any that did profess either divinity or philosophy in Scotland, that in either of those faculties did parallel him.⁹

Yet he left to posterity comparatively little proof of his erudition, a fact which Sydserf ascribes to his preference for study rather than for writing.¹⁰ He is said to have annotated copiously the works of Cardinal Bellarmine, and Doctor Robert Baron, Professor of Divinity at Marischal College, into whose hands these *Animadversions* passed on the bishop's death, considered them superior to any other answers to the great Roman theologian, and intended to publish them. They disappeared, however, and it is thought that they may have been taken by the Covenanters with the rest of Baron's papers

⁷ For the Latin original, see Forbes's *Considerationes Modestae* . . . , ii, p. 21 (first numbering), in the Lib. of Anglo-Cath. Theol. ed., to which all subsequent refs. will be made.

⁸ J. Row, *The Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Soc. ed.), p. 374.

⁹ Quoted in J. Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs* (Spalding Club ed.), iii, p. 241 n.

¹⁰ *Consid. Modest.*, ii, p. 20.

Only one of Forbes's works has survived, and this bears the formidable title : *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Controversiarum de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum, Christo Mediatore, et Eucharistia* ; it consists of material from his divinity lectures at Marischal College, and was first published posthumously in London in 1658.¹¹ It is upon this work that his stature as a theologian and his importance as an Anglican¹² thinker must be assessed.

It should be noted, in the first place, that *Considerationes Modestae* was clearly left by its author in an unfinished state. The conclusion of the last book on Justification is imperfect, and the style throughout is rough—in fact, when he issued a second edition from Frankfort-on-Main in 1707, J. Fabricius took considerable liberties in order to improve the language, and at the same time softened some of the strong condemnations passed by Forbes upon the Lutherans. Many features in the *Considerationes* suggest that we have simply Forbes's lecture notes, sometimes worked over and polished but often left in their original condition. The book is arranged in numbered sections, with full marginal references ; lengthy verbatim or translated quotations often succeed one another with little or no comment ; and sometimes an author's name appears without any citation of his opinions, though the passage is generally indicated in the side-notes, and was probably read out during the lecture. These points need to be borne in mind when estimating Forbes's work, which is in no sense a complete treatise on theology, but only a critical examination of various important matters then in controversy.

The temper in which Forbes approached the disputes of his time is sufficiently clear, not only from his general title (*Considera-*

¹¹ *Consid. Modest.* was originally written in Latin, but in making quotations I have used the English translation by G. H. Forbes in the edition already mentioned.

¹² Although Forbes was a Scottish churchman, his outlook and method of thought show very close affinities with those of the Jacobean and Caroline divines of the Church of England, and his approach to theological and ecclesiastical questions is unmistakably Anglican ; hence he ought to be considered among those who contributed to the development of Anglicanism.

tiones modestae et pacificae), but also from the sectional headings ; the "considerations" of Justification and of Purgatory are termed *aequa et placida*, and that of the Eucharist, *aequa et pacifica*. His chief concern—and it was one remarkable enough at this period—was to give Romanist and Protestant a fair hearing, and, having set out their respective arguments, to attempt to moderate between them. He was at great pains to distinguish the essentials upon which both agreed from the non-essentials upon which they differed and to indicate, wherever he could, the basis upon which he considered that reconciliation might be sought. The controversy he so greatly deplored was often, in his view, a mere logomachy which could easily be avoided :

Where we agree about things, it is fruitless to contend about words ; yet, even in the very terms we employ, let us rather follow the Fathers than a party of moderns.¹³

Indeed, he felt that many on both sides deliberately sought occasion to attack each other, or to fan the flames of contention :

Alas! how greatly does the insane passion for contradicting carry headlong men, who, in other respects, are neither unlearned nor want the fear of God.¹⁴

He deprecated the methods to which disputants commonly had recourse,¹⁵ and although not attempting, in the partial spirit of some protagonists, to defend the Protestants on every point, charged the Romanists with unfair tactics and want of consistency :

We do not deny that various, incorrect, crude, and sometimes contrary, opinions and expressions concerning the formal cause of our justification are to be found in the writings of many Protestants, which, though some labour very much to excuse, yet we, to whom truth and the peace of the Church is much dearer than the authority of a handful of men, especially of moderns, do not excuse, much less defend, lest we foster contentions both unfair and useless. Romanists indeed studiously extract and curiously reckon up these opinions from the writings of differing Protestants, but certainly not always candidly, nor with good faith. They should remember, however, that there are some discordant opinions on this subject in the works of their own writers also . . .¹⁶

¹³ *Consid. Modest.*, i, p. 3 ; cf. i, pp. 33, 37, 89, etc.

¹⁴ *ibid*, i, p. 333.

¹⁵ *ibid*, i, p. 93.

¹⁶ *ibid*, i, p. 99.

So typical of the spirit and vocation of Anglicanism is this eirenical zeal and moderation of outlook, that Forbes may justly be claimed as one of the pioneers of the *via media*. Although he only alludes expressly to them in passing,¹⁷ he always founds his inquiries upon those principles of scripture, tradition, and reason which are properly regarded as the basis of what may be called the Anglican theological method. His "considerations" show a profound biblical understanding, and abound in references to the early Fathers of the Church, though his scholarship and wide reading are displayed most markedly in extensive quotations from the Reformers, the controversialists of the sixteenth century, and contemporary writers. Forbes is especially notable in being the first Scottish theologian to appeal consistently to the authority of the Anglican divines, and the names of Andrewes, White, Ussher, Field, Bilson, Montague, Prideaux, and Jackson (among others) occur regularly in his works. Their opinions, and those of the rest, are cited, contrasted, and criticized in the manner typical of the Aberdeen Doctors,¹⁸ and after a comprehensive survey of the evidence relating to the subject under discussion, the conclusions are stated and, if possible, ground is indicated upon which reconciliation might be attempted. Altogether, Forbes's *Considerationes Modestae* stands as an impressive example of the Anglican appeal to sound learning; he himself censures

. . . the wonted mode of many contentious writers of this age, to condemn straightway as false, nay as impious, many things which they themselves have never rightly examined, or have not received from their teachers, in men even the most learned and the most holy, whom very often truth itself forces to dissent from rigid and pertinacious zealots; for never is there anything more unjust than an ignorant man.¹⁹

¹⁷ see, e.g., *ibid*, i, p. 149.

¹⁸ Forbes was closely associated with the Aberdeen Doctors. Garden, in his *Vita Joh. Forbesii*, mentions that they did not in a perfunctory way give their students "some Belgian or Genevese system" or make "such commentaries as philosophers used to do on Aristotle" but instructed them "by their own learned discourses, with full references to the literature on the subject"; see D. Macmillan, *The Aberdeen Doctors*, p. 51.

¹⁹ *Consid. Modest.*, i, p. 199.

To illustrate Forbes's method of treating the controversies of his day, we may examine, in his own words, a few of the conclusions he reaches in regard to Justification and the problems connected therewith, after considering at length the various arguments advanced by Romanists and Protestants. Faith, he says,

. . . is both the soul's *eye*, by which alone we *behold* Christ, and the justice and salvation offered gratis in Him ; and at the same time, it is its *hand*, by which, although not solely, yet in a singular manner, not only along with the other acts, but also above the other acts, we *seize*, *receive*, and *apprehend* (Him and His gifts) ; and from which all other works, whatever virtue they may have . . . they have it all, not on account of the worth or dignity of faith itself, but on account of its object, viz. Christ . . . For as faith without works is nothing, is dead, so also on the other hand, works without faith are nothing, are dead . . . And not in the beginning only of justification or salvation, but also in its perpetual progress, does faith act the principal part . . . ²⁰

As to whether we are justified by faith alone, Forbes observes :

Since it is nowhere expressly said in Holy Scripture . . . that " we are justified by faith alone " ; and since the Fathers, who certainly have often used this expression, never understood it in the sense in which it is universally taken now-a-days by Protestants ; and since the explanations and conciliations which have been lately devised are altogether futile ; and since, finally, very learned men of both parties have accounted, and even now account, this question to be by no means necessary ; we therefore, being led by the desire of truth and of the unity of the Church to agree with them, deem it right that it be no longer pertinaciously contended for

wherefore it is neither true nor charitable to assert, as do the more rigid Protestants, that the Romanist opinion, " faith alone does not justify," is either " diametrically repugnant to Holy Scripture, and the pious Fathers," or affords " a just cause for seceding from the Roman Church."²¹

In the matter of assurance of faith and final perseverance Forbes has wise counsel to offer :

I. Let all faithful pastors come to the relief of weak and trembling consciences which have often to contend with grave and anxious doubt . . . especially when death is at hand ; and let such be sedulously admon-

²⁰ *ibid*, i, pp. 43-45.

²¹ *ibid*, i, p. 89.

ished, to oppose strongly the exceeding comfortable promises of the Gospel to such doubts, and to pray earnestly that their faith and assurance may be increased . . .

II. Nor on the other hand should that certainty of the highest degree, or the full assurance of divine faith, be too importunately urged nor be exacted from the faithful as absolutely necessary . . . 1, lest trembling consciences should thence tremble still more ; 2, and lest even the filial fear of God be banished from the souls of the holy, or at least lessened in them ; and the carnal security be fostered, and the desire of acting uprightly be relaxed.

He concludes in characteristic strain :

Lastly, let the Theologians of both parties refrain from a too curious and nice disputation about the degree and measure of this certainty, but more especially from all rash and audacious definition coupled with a condemnation of those who dissent from them.²²

Before leaving the treatise on Justification, two more passages may be given—both concerning good works :

. . . no one indeed of the just should too much boast of any good work, as if it could endure the all-strict judgment of God ; it is enough, that it can endure God's judgment as tempered with grace and mercy on account of Christ : nor, however, which is the other extreme, equally to be avoided by us, should we be so ungrateful and unjust to the grace of Christ, as to assert that nothing whatever can here be performed by us through its strength, which is not in some way defiled with sin. The blessed have held a middle course.²³

Let it suffice us, therefore, to say that there is some kind of merit or worth of good works, (which are the only expressions which the holy Fathers loved to use,) which wholly comes from the divine grace and condescension ; but let us abstain from asserting and defending the merit of condignity properly and exactly so called, *i.e.* from the recent and new comment of certain Schoolmen. For . . . those who would undertake the tenacious defence of new and false opinions bring upon themselves many difficulties, which they cannot overcome without a manifest contradiction.²⁴

These specimens of Forbes's thought on the subject of Justification are valuable as indications of the spirit in which he approached the controversy, and of his desire to moderate between

²² *ibid*, i, pp. 269-271.

²³ *ibid*, i, p. 407.

²⁴ *ibid*, i, p. 499.

the parties in dispute and to seek a basis, if not for reconciliation, at least for mutual tolerance. He did not conceive it his part to put forward new interpretations or theories, but rather, to show what was true and what false in those already under debate, and to set the discussion in a true perspective. It was his sanguine conviction that if only Romanists and Protestants would abandon their polemics and would examine temperately the points at issue between them, a large measure of agreement could be attained, and tranquillity could be restored to the Church.

In the same spirit he examined other questions. Here, for example, is the conclusion of his treatise on Purgatory :

To remove or at least to diminish this controversy, let the Romanists neither hold themselves as an article of faith, nor obtrude as such upon others, their opinion about a punitive purgatory, since . . . it is grounded on no sure foundations either in Scripture or in the Fathers of the first centuries, or in the ancient Councils. Protestants on the other hand, who disapprove of this opinion, and indeed rightly and deservedly, ought not, however, to condemn it as open heresy or impiety. But let neither party pertinaciously oppose the opinion, which is general among the Greeks and is held even by some learned men in the Latin Church, of an expiatory purgatory (which alone deserves the name of purgatory properly speaking) in which without Gehennal pains, the souls of the holy, whose condition is as it were intermediate, in heaven indeed, but in a place of heaven known to God alone, enjoying the vision and fellowship of the manhood of Christ and of the holy angels more and more until the day of clear vision of God, perfect themselves in the love of God by fervent and longing sighs . . . For it is by no means devoid of a considerable degree of probability. But let not the custom of praying and offering for the dead, which is most ancient, and thoroughly received in the universal Church of Christ almost from the very times of the Apostles, be any longer rejected by Protestants as being unlawful or at least useless. Let them reverence the judgment of the Ancient Church, and recognize a practice confirmed by the unbroken series of so many centuries, and in future religiously use both in public and in private this rite, though not as absolutely necessary or commanded by the divine law, yet as lawful, and also useful, and always approved by the Church universal ; —that so the peace so long eagerly desired by all truly learned and pious people may at length return to the Christian world. Which may God the Most Highest grant.²⁵

²⁵ *ibid*, ii, pp. 139-141.

We cannot now embark upon any more extensive review of Forbes's "considerations," but to end this brief survey, two short passages may be quoted for their own interest. Dealing with the theory that the Virgin Mary was "by special privilege of God always exempt from all actual sin,"²⁶ he says :

That the Blessed Virgin was exempt from every heinous actual sin, and also that she fell into fewer venial sins than any other of the saints, we certainly piously believe ; but we dare not free her from all actual sin whatever, since we have neither any certain and clear warrant of Scripture, nor the concurrent consent of the Early Church : nay we affirm that the Roman Church is too bold in that she now decides it, and orders it to be believed, as being certain and of faith.²⁷

And in regard to the objections advanced against reservation of the Eucharist, he mentions the antiquity of the practice, but points out that "the true and lawful use of this sacrament consists in eating and drinking,"²⁸ and proposes as follows :

Take away the abuse of the modern Roman Church in reserving the once consecrated host in *ciboria* to be carried about in a theatrical pomp ; as a thing which, not less apart from communion as in the communion itself, or in relation to it, is the true and substantial Body of Christ . . . and this controversy may be removed, without condemning the practice of the ancient Church with regard to reservation, which then obtained.²⁹

Those who seek to do justice to both sides in any controversy, and to promote peace and understanding between the protagonists ; who expose shallow and partial arguments, condemn over-confident dogmatism, and hold aloof from parties and factions ; these not uncommonly find themselves the objects of general misrepresentation and even abuse. This, to some extent, was the fate of William Forbes. Neither Romanists nor their opponents seem to have given any heed to his attempts to compose their differences and to bring about a reconciliation, while the Presbyterian extremists on his own side (and he did not disdain the name of Protestant) looked with the greatest suspicion and dislike upon what they considered his dangerous tenderness towards Rome. This is how his endeavours at moderation appeared to some of his contemporaries :

²⁶ *ibid*, i, p. 347.

²⁷ *ibid*, i, p. 351.

²⁸ *ibid*, ii, p. 539.

²⁹ *ibid*, ii, p. 543.

If this man had left in legacie a Confession of his faith, ye would have seen a strange miscellanie, farrago, and hotch-potch of Poperie, Arminianisme, Lutheranisme, and what not. Maxwell, Sydserf, and Mitchell, was never heard to utter any unsound heterodoxe doctrine (except in relation to prelacie and the ceremonies) till Forbes came to Edinburgh. But then it was taught, — The Pope is not antichrist ; — a Papist living and dying such may be saved ; — Christ descended locallie to hell ; — Christ died for all, intentionallie to redeem all ; — there is Universall grace ; — the Saints may fall from grace finallie and totallie ; — Christ is reallie present in the sacrament ; — *Verbum, audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus* ; so they would neither (as yit) speak out Consubstantiation nor Transubstantiation ; — *In honorem Sacerdotii*, why not a minister meddle with seculare effairs, (or) be on Parliament, Court, Councill, Session, Exchequer, Commission, etc. ? — Ministers' doctrine should not be examined by (the) people, but seing they watch for their soulls as they that must give account, the people should beleieve what they preach to them : All thir doctrines, and many more, we heard with our ears uttered in that most eminent watch-towre of this Kirk.³¹

It has been suggested³¹ that Forbes may have allowed himself to extenuate some of the errors of Rome in a laudable desire to promote reconciliation between that communion and his own, but there is no certain ground upon which to sustain such a charge. There is no doubt, however, that his eirenical disposition led him into an unfounded optimism concerning the prospects for reunion, and that, judging others by himself, he attributed to both Romanists and Protestants a conciliatory temper and a readiness to come to terms, such as neither side would have esteemed creditable to its convictions. It should also be remembered that to Forbes the adjustment of the differences between Romanists and moderate Protestants would not have seemed so impossible as it does today. During the last three centuries there has been a progressive hardening in doctrine and outlook on the part of Rome—and perhaps anyone less fair-minded and peace-loving than Forbes would already have seen signs sufficient to discourage the sanguine hopes he was disposed to entertain. He does not appear, for instance, to have appreciated the full significance of the Council of Trent, while his respect for Calvin and for certain features in Calvin's theology may

³⁰ Row, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-372.

³¹ by G. Grub, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii, p. 351.

have led him to misapprehend the implications of Melvillian Calvinism in his own land. Alexander Knox observes that

William Forbes wrote his Dissertations, and Herbert Thorndike his *Weights and Measures*, with the prospect of effecting such a measure (i.e., reunion with Rome), on terms not wholly inconsistent with their Church of England (i.e., Anglican) feelings. This, however, was visionary : it was, in truth, the fruit of despair ; and, perhaps, cherished by insidious assurances from Roman Catholic emissaries.³²

But so far as Forbes is concerned, this opinion must be qualified. His *Considerationes Modestae* reveal no inclination to compromise with Rome at the expense of the principles of the Anglican Reformation, regretful though he was that there had been a departure from the standard of the Prayer Book of 1549. Nor were his counsels of moderation “ the fruit of despair,” for he believed firmly, though perhaps on insufficient grounds, that if adopted they were capable of restoring peace to the Church—and had the determination of the various matters in dispute been left to men of learning and good-will like himself, this conviction might not have proved altogether unfounded. Yet it must be admitted, on the other hand, that when viewed in the context of the controversies of the time, his proposals have a certain air of unreality ; it may, in fact, be doubted whether he entirely appreciated the magnitude of the issues thrown up by the Reformation struggle.

In attempting to estimate the importance of William Forbes, the limited scope of his *Considerationes Modestae* must not be overlooked. He does not deal with such matters as the Church, the Ministry, or Baptism, a discussion of any one of which would have been illuminating. But his life, and his one extant work, furnish us with ample material upon which to make a fair judgment. The ecclesiastical troubles into which Scotland was plunged within a very few years of his death might suggest that he had failed entirely in his purpose of composing the differences between Christians, and we can be thankful that he was at least spared the distress which the bitter conflict within the Scottish Church would have caused him. Yet his abiding importance rests, not upon the success or the failure of his endeavours for reunion, but upon the principles which

³² *Remains* (London, 1844), i, p. 62.

he advocated, or to which he bore witness in his writings. In his attempts to moderate between extremes and to test everything by its consonance with scripture, tradition, and reason ; in his opposition to dogmatism and his reliance upon sound and impartial scholarship ; and above all, in his never-ceasing labours to bring all Christian men to be of one mind in Jesus Christ ; William Forbes is revealed as a great Anglican and a notable disciple of him who pronounced all peace-makers blessed. Profound in learning, exemplary in piety, and assiduous in his ministry, he was indeed a bishop who "deserved that a see should be made for him." It could be wished that he had been raised up to rule the Church in happier times, yet amidst the controversies of his day he points to a way more excellent than that of contention and strife:

May God grant that avoiding every extreme we may all seek in love for pious truth, which very often lies in the *via media*.³³

³³ *Consid. Modest.*, ii, p. 507

CHALCEDON AND THE PAPACY

By J. S. MacARTHUR

THE Council of Chalcedon, which ranks as the fourth General Council of the Church, and which met on the 8th of October, 451, is best remembered for its famous Definition, which set forth the two natures doctrine of the person of Christ that had been rejected by the Latrocinium or Robber Council of Ephesus in 449. The Latrocinium had reinstated the Monophysite heretic Eutyches and deposed Flavian of Constantinople, who had been mainly responsible for the condemnation of Eutyches in 448. Such violence had been used at the Latrocinium that Flavian died shortly afterwards from the injuries that he had received, and the authority of the see of Rome had been flouted. Leo of Rome had been summoned to attend the Latrocinium at very short notice, but had refused the invitation, partly on the ground that such a journey would have been unprecedented for the Bishop of Rome, and partly because the threatening situation at home, with Attila at the gates of the city, demanded his presence there. What would have happened had Leo himself gone to Ephesus? That is an interesting speculation. Had he been accorded the same treatment as his legates received the prestige of the papacy would have been even more gravely compromised than it actually was, but it is at least conceivable that he would have been more successful than his representatives in taking command of the situation. Julius of Puteoli, the only member of the legation with episcopal rank, would have found it hard to preside over a council of Greek-speaking bishops, but he was not even allowed to read before the council Leo's letter to Flavian, better known as the Tome of Leo.

Hilary, another member of the Roman legation, managed to make his escape to Rome, bearing with him an appeal from Flavian. Two more of the Bishops who had been condemned at the Latro-

cinium, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Eusebius of Dorylaeum, sent appeals to Leo, the latter also succeeding in escaping to Rome. Protests from Leo to the Emperor Theodosius demanding a General Council to set things right were unavailing, for Theodosius, who was under the thumb of his chamberlain Chrysaphius, Eutyches' godson, confirmed the decisions of the Latrocinium.

For the moment it did not appear as though anything could be done, but it was not long before an opportunity for intervention presented itself. Though the Latrocinium had flouted the authority of Leo, it had stopped short of excommunicating him, and, in conformity with established custom, Anatolius, who had been appointed to succeed the deposed Flavian at Constantinople, wrote to Leo desiring his recognition. Leo replied that he was ready to recognize Anatolius if he accepted Cyril of Alexandria's letter to Nestorius and his own letter to Flavian. Failing that, Leo demanded a General Council.

But the sudden death of Theodosius brought about a rapid change in the whole situation. Chrysaphius, the chamberlain, was put to death at the orders of Pulcheria the sister of Theodosius. She then married the senator Marcian, thus providing the empire with a new emperor. Marcian's letter to Leo announcing his accession was couched in very deferential terms, addressing him as the holder of the *principatum in episcopatu divinae fidei*. He also agreed to the holding of a council to settle personal and doctrinal questions according to the directions of Leo (*te auctore*), and in this he was supported by Pulcheria. Not only so, but Anatolius accepted Leo's conditions of recognition, the body of Flavian was brought back to Constantinople, and the deposed bishops were restored to their sees.

All this was very much to Leo's liking, and yet perhaps not quite all, for the situation had changed so radically that in his opinion there was no longer any need for a council. Accordingly on the 9th of June, 451, he wrote to Marcian announcing that he was sending a legation to rectify the situation created by the events of 449, and that there was no further need for a General Council. But, in spite of Marcian's deference to the See of Rome, Leo had less control of affairs in Constantinople than he imagined. To the

Emperor's insistence on holding a General Council Leo submitted with a good grace, demanding, however, that Paschasinus, his principal legate, should preside, and saying that neither circumstances nor precedent would allow him to be present in person.

When the council met, Lucentius, another of Leo's legates, asked for the exclusion of Dioscorus, accusing him of having dared to hold a synod (the Latrocinium) without the authority of the Apostolic See, a thing which had never taken place nor could take place. That of course was in direct contradiction of fact, for, though Leo had not summoned the Latrocinium, he had not protested against it, and had countenanced it by sending his representatives. The contradiction is so glaring that Roman Catholic apologists have explained the words of Lucentius by saying that he was really accusing Dioscorus of taking the presidency of the council upon himself and conducting the proceedings without due regard to the authority of Leo. A more obvious interpretation of Lucentius's accusation would see in it an attempt to turn the indignation roused by the Latrocinium to the advantage of the claims of the See of Rome.

Batiffol (*Le Siege Apostolique*, p. 534) sees in the Council of Chalcedon the climax of the principate of the Apostolic See in the East. Certainly the position of the see of Rome was very different there from what it had been at Ephesus two years earlier, but, as we have seen, Leo would have been happier had he been allowed to settle things without a council, and can it be said that the conditions on which he agreed to it were observed ?

The council was summoned to meet at Nicaea on the 1st of September, 451. Upwards of 520 bishops gathered there, all of them from the Eastern Empire, with the exception of the Roman legates, and two from Africa. The Emperor had promised to be present at the council, but he kept it waiting for some time. This was the moment, according to Duchesne (*Histoire Ancienne de l'Eglise*, iii. p. 528) that Dioscorus chose to do what he had not dared to do at the Latrocinium, namely, to excommunicate Leo on his own initiative, hoping thus to reverse the roles of accuser and accused, and to place in the dock those who claimed to direct the affairs of the council. The manoeuvre failed, and not even all of

the Egyptian bishops who had accompanied Dioscoros to the council supported him.

The Roman legates had not gone to Nicaea, but had remained at Constantinople awaiting the Emperor. His military duties made it difficult for him to attend at Nicaea, and as he feared disturbance if the council met in the capital he bade the bishops move to Chalcedon, where he could attend more easily.

Accordingly the council assembled on the 8th of October, 451 at Chalcedon in the basilica of St. Euphemia, but it was not the Roman legates who presided. The Emperor had seen to it that his representatives should direct the proceedings. On this Batiffol remarks (*Le Siege Apostolique*, p. 537) that it was not unprecedented, at least in the East, that imperial assessors should attend a council. This, however, was rather different, for the Emperor's representatives were chosen from the very highest official circles, and their function was not to observe, but to direct the proceedings. Nevertheless he thinks that as the legates accepted the position without protest they did not consider that their rights had been infringed. More likely they considered it imprudent to make a protest which ran a strong risk of being ineffective and of compromising their authority more gravely than a tactful acceptance of the situation. After all, they were only following the same policy as Leo himself had done when he submitted to the Emperor's determination to hold a council, nor were they at the same disadvantage as their predecessors at the Latrocinium, since one of their number, Julian of Cos, was well versed in Greek.

At the first meeting the legates were successful in having Dioscoros of Alexandria removed from his place of honour in the chancel to the nave, where he took his place as one under accusation, but the representatives of the Emperor insisted that he should not be deposed without discussion. A stormy debate followed in the course of which Juvenal of Jerusalem, seeing how the wind had shifted, crossed the floor of the basilica and took up his position on the same side as the Roman legates. He was followed by the Illyrian bishops, with the exception of Atticus, metropolitan of Nicopolis, who pleaded illness. Four of the Egyptian bishops separated themselves from Dioscoros and took their places with

his adversaries. The session finished by candlelight, the imperial dignitaries then adjourning the proceedings and giving their opinion that Dioscorus, Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Seleucia should be deposed.

Two days later, on the 10th of October, the council met again, the six censured bishops absenting themselves¹. The Emperor's representatives reminded the council of the advice that they had given that the absent bishops should be deposed, and then presented a request in the name of the Emperor that the council should formulate a definition of the faith. The council did not see the necessity for this, the Roman legates least of all, but they held their peace. It was Cecropius of Sebastopolis who voiced the feelings of the rest by saying :—

“ As regards Eutyches, a ruling (*typos*) has been given by the most holy Archbishop of Rome. We follow him. We have signed his letter.”

This was acclaimed by the rest, and the creed of the Council of Nicaea (N) was read and after it the Constantinopolitan Creed (C), which here makes its first appearance with that title. There followed the reading of Cyril's two letters to Nestorius and to John of Antioch and the Tome of Leo to Flavian, to which its author had added in the previous year a collection of patristic testimonies, which included a number of passages from the works of Cyril, for Leo was well aware of the weight that Cyril's words still carried in the East. Nevertheless he was careful to disown the famous Cyrilline formula, “ The incarnate nature of God the Word is one,” and the no less notorious anathemas were passed over in silence. Some of the bishops, however, found this official agreement between Leo and Cyril a little difficult to understand. The Palestinian and Illyrian bishops in particular asked to have things explained to them. One of the latter, Atticus, now recovered from his diplomatic indisposition, made a tactless reference to the twelve anathemas, but the council turned a deaf ear to him. It was agreed to suspend the sittings of the council for five days, and Anatolius was charged to give the bishops such further explanations as might be required and to proceed with the doctrinal task.

Three days later, however, on the 13th of October, another session was held to proceed against Dioscorus. This time the Em-

1. Footnote on page 209.

peror's representatives were not present, and the Roman legates were in control. Several charges were brought against Dioscorus, some by his own clergy, who alleged abuses in his episcopal administration, but he would not appear, giving one excuse after another. Paschasinus therefore passed sentence of deposition on him in his absence. In the count against him Paschasinus first mentioned his usurpation of authority in reinstating Eutyches before the Latrocinium, then the affront offered to the Pope by the refusal to read his letters. The Pope had indeed been prepared to show consideration to any members of the Latrocinium who gave evidence of having come to a better frame of mind, but so far from doing this Dioscorus had once more insulted the Holy See by excommunicating the Pope and had shown contempt for the council by his refusal to answer the serious charges made against him.

At the fourth session, which took place on the 17th of October, the Emperor's representatives renewed their request for a doctrinal definition. It was not forthcoming, so the bishops were asked to declare individually and expressly their adherence to the Tome of Leo. When they had done this they demanded the return of the five bishops who had been charged along with Dioscorus. The magistrates rather reluctantly submitted the petition to the Emperor, who remitted it to the council, which hastened to admit the five on their acceptance of the Tome of Leo and the deposition of Dioscorus.

Meanwhile a group of bishops under the direction of Anatolius of Constantinople had been at work preparing a formula, which was presented at the fifth session of the council on the 22nd of October. The text of this formula has not survived. It was accepted by a majority of the bishops, but the Roman legates and some of the Eastern bishops protested, apparently because it did not state that Christ was "in two natures," for the Pope attached great importance to that expression. The legates took such a serious view of this that they demanded their passports to return to Italy, whither the council itself would have to be transferred. The magistrates then proposed the appointment of a committee to modify the formula, and to this the Emperor agreed. This time the Roman legates were on the committee, which met in secret session and prepared the famous

Chalcedonian Definition, which was solemnly promulgated by the council on the 25th of October.

The Emperor himself was present and addressed the Council, first in Latin and then in Greek. It was the culminating point of the proceedings and in the opinion of Duchesne represented a two-fold capitulation of the council, to the government and to the Pope, for the council had not wanted to produce a definition, and one in precise terms had been dragged from it, which accepted the Roman formula, "one Person in two natures."

But the proceedings of the council were not yet at an end. On the 31st of October, in the absence of the Roman legates, there was passed the 28th canon, according to which :—

"The Fathers rightly granted privileges to the throne of old Rome, because it was the royal city, And the One Hundred and Fifty most religious Bishops, actuated by the same consideration, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome. justly judging that the city which is honoured with the Sovereignty and the Senate, and enjoys equal privileges with the old imperial Rome, should in ecclesiastical matters also be magnified as she is, and rank next after her ; so that, in the Pontic, the Asian, and the Thracian dioceses, the metropolitans only and such bishops also of the Dioceses aforesaid as are among the barbarians, should be ordained by the aforesaid most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople."

An ancient epitome of the canon might make it appear that it went even farther, for it stated that :—

"The bishop of New Rome shall enjoy the same honour as the bishop of Old Rome, on account of the removal of the Empire." But Evagrius, without going into detail, merely says that finally it was decided that the see of Constantinople should rank next after that of Rome.

The canon seems to have recognized a *de facto* primacy of Constantinople in the East which had existed at least since the council of 381 though its appeal to the third canon of that council may not have been quite ingenuous, for the Constantinopolitan canon only laid down that the bishop of Constantinople should have the prerogative of honour after the bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome, without assigning to him a primacy in the East corresponding to that of the bishop of Rome in the West.

Paschasinus therefore protested on the following day (the 1st of November) against the taking of such action by the council in the absence of the Roman legates. To this Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople, replied that they had refused an invitation to be present. Lucentius supported Paschasinus by saying that the Apostolic See must not be humiliated in the presence of the legates, and demanding the annulment of the offending canon or that the protest of the legates should be attached to the acts of the council.

Leo was ill pleased when he heard about the 28th canon and was little disposed to listen to the advice of Julian of Cos, who suggested that it was an occasion for compromise. He protested in strong terms to the Emperor, to Pulcheria, and to Anatolius. The canon, he maintained, threatened the decisions of the council of Nicaea, which had established the rights of the different churches, notably those of Alexandria and Antioch. But it would have been impolitic to disclose too openly the real reasons for his anxiety, namely, that any extension of the power of the patriarch of Constantinople might be dangerous since that power could so easily come to be exercised by a prelate who was nothing more than a tool of the government. Besides that, there was the suggestion in the canon that the ecclesiastical rank of a bishop depended on the political importance of his see, whereas for Leo the primacy of Rome was derived, not from its position as the imperial city, but from its Apostolic foundation as the *cathedra Petri*.

A serious breach threatened to take place between Rome and Constantinople. The Emperor did his best to heal it by trying to minimize the importance of the offending canon and by persuading Anatolius to do the same. Anatolius complied to the extent of disclaiming any personal responsibility for the canon or any personal ambition that could be served by it. Leo would have been better pleased by a fuller and franker disavowal of the canon by Anatolius, and the conflict, only partially resolved, was but one of the many which led up to the final rupture of 1054.

There can be no doubt that the position of the papacy was stronger after Chalcedon than before it. Leo had played an important part in bringing order out of the chaos created by the Latrocinium. His Christology had triumphed, not only over the Monophysitism

of Eutyches but also over the less suspect Christological teaching of Cyril of Alexandria. Yet the fact remains that Leo would have been better pleased had he been allowed to settle matters without the holding of a General Council, and that he had to be content with a much less direct control of its proceedings than he had demanded, and his position was consolidated rather by a diplomatic establishment of precedents than by successful appeal to a recognized acknowledgement of his primacy.

¹ Evagrius inverts the order of the second and third sessions, probably because the third session, not being presided over by the imperial dignitaries did not appear in the original records.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUEST—III

PHILOSOPHY AS ANALOGY

By GREVILLE NORBURN

I.

IT used to be said that philosophy was the child of wonder. So Plato held in the *Theaetetus*; and even Kant, unconsciously remembering the nineteenth psalm, confessed that nothing impressed him more than "the starry heavens above and the moral law within".

But nowadays we are all more or less the children of Descartes, and look elsewhere for the origin. Nowadays we make philosophy, not the child of wonder, but the child of doubt. So Marcel Gabriel likens the philosopher to a man suddenly attacked by a fever; he will not lie still, but keeps tossing about in his mind until he can find the comfortable position which ever seems to elude him.¹ And Professor Price, posing the question *Is Clarity Enough?*, ascribes the itch to philosophize to that intellectual *malaise* which can find no rest until it has settled its doubts, differences and perplexities, and has produced some sort of rational scheme in which all types of human experience, physical, spiritual and whatever else there may be, can be systematically arranged.²

So be it. But—this granted—it is not to be thought for a moment that this pressing need to alleviate doubt, reconcile differences and achieve intellectual wholeness, is a mere academical affair, a pastime to be indulged in from the easy comfort of the arm-chair. Far from it; it is far more existential and has more to do with real life and real situations than that.

¹ See his *Mystery of Being* Vol. I, p. 7.

² *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*. 1945.

The reader will remember how it was precisely in his misfortune and despair that the Lady Philosophy came to visit Boethius. [And as she addressed him, he noticed that her garment was torn by the hands of *violent* men. But still clearly to be seen on the lowest edge was the embroidered letter *Π*; on the topmost edge the letter *Θ*; and connecting the two were steps.]³ So Boethius, in a symbol, tells us that the urge to think things out—which is what philosophy is—arises out of practical living, with its shocks and struggles, its crises and choices, its disappointments and tragedies. Philosophy is born in the sad hour of men's perplexity, not of their idle curiosity; in the hard school of experience, where appearances do not always correspond to fact, nor hopes to reality. At such moments the mind is led upwards, as by steps, to inquire into the causes of things, to ask the why and wherefore; and ultimately to weigh again such perennial questions as freedom and responsibility, the nature and purpose of life, the existence of God and the hope of immortality. So *πραξις* leads to *θεωρία* and thought is begotten of action.

Yet thinking is also *for the sake* of action. The philosopher must descend the steps again in order that thought, having done its healing work, may enable the thinker to go on his way rejoicing, reconciled once again to himself, to his world and to his fortune; a wiser, if a chastened, man. So *θεωρία* leads back to *πραξις*, and the circle is complete.

Perhaps it was because of its practical origin and no less practical end that Kant gave it out as his opinion that the interest of reason as a whole was not fully served or made complete until it had found some answer to three essentially practical questions which, taken together, seem to provide all that a man needs to worry about. The questions were these: What can I know? What ought I to do? And what may I hope? Certainly in the preface to that great critique in which he claimed to have settled once for all the first of those three great questions, he asserted most positively that philosophy is nothing if it ends only there. It is perhaps worth remembering that he chose as its motto the Latin

³ See *Consolations of Philosophy* I, 1.

line *nil actum reputans si quid superesset agendum*—thinking naught done if aught remained to do. So the philosopher, if he is in earnest, must try to see life steadily and to see it whole. No part of life must be left out of account. The philosopher must cast his net wide, considering every aspect of human experience and assaying to articulate them all into an organic whole where each receives its due explanation. Thus the genuine philosophical quest aims at what the Germans call a *weltanschauung*, defined by Professor Hodges as “a complex of ideas and sentiments, comprising (a) beliefs and convictions about the nature of life and the world, (b) emotional habits and tendencies based upon these, and (c) a system of purposes, preferences and principles governing action and giving life unity and meaning.”⁴ Genuine philosophy, in short, is the quest for a reasonable and coherent way of life, the pursuit of truth for the sake of some form of blessedness.⁵ If the road is difficult and few seem to make the effort, that is not to be wondered at. “All excellent things”, said Spinoza, “are as difficult as they are rare”.

Supposing, then, nothing daunted, we decide to make this pilgrimage, like Christian on his way to the Celestial City, we shall find ourselves accosted by certain plausible gentlemen who would fain dissuade us from the effort. Among the first to do so will doubtless be a certain anti-metaphysical person of the name of Professor Ayer, a Logical Positivist. To-day he may be only a shadow of his former self, but he will still greet us somewhat brusquely, informing us straight out that our proposed journey is meaningless and that our hopes are nonsense; positively there is no Celestial City. Instead he will now make us the “proposal”—speaking less dogmatically than he used to—that we should philosophize together in the certainty that “no statement which refers to a ‘reality’ transcending the limits of all possible sense-experience can possibly have any literal significance”.⁶ And he will say quite plainly and unmistakably that our time would be better employed if we confined our attention exclusively to the meaning of sentences and a critique of the natural sciences.

⁴ See his book *Introduction to Dilthey* p. 160.

⁵ Already defined as Reconciliation to self, world and fortune.

⁶ *Language, Truth and Reality*, p. 17.

In our own encounter last year with Professor Ayer,⁷ we agreed wholeheartedly that we certainly *ought* to be very careful about words and sentences. We recognized the besetting danger of being deceived by language and of creating fictitious entities out of mere phrases. We even admitted, being pressed, that nowadays nobody can write good philosophy without showing what are the empirical controls for any metaphysical synthesis he may happen to have a mind to; though we did get in a caution, I hope, that empirical experiences are not to be dogmatically confined to the sensory sort alone. But we began to look somewhat dubiously down our nose as soon as it became clear to us that our Professor Ayer's positivistic proposal logically cancelled out the very proposer himself, since by its own canon it were nonsense to believe in the existence of anything that could not be empirically verified by observation or experiment, and we could think of no such means whereby to verify what the inestimable Kant would have called, in his inimitable way, the proposer's "transcendental unity of apperception". In fact, we parted with a certain amount of impatience, averring that Professor Ayer not only asserted as true a principle which, by its own rule, condemned itself as nonsense, which indeed liquidated the very subject which asserted it; but proposed a principle which would also abolish the enduring world in which both science and commonsense cannot but believe, and made nonsense of those objective ethical judgements without which we simply could not find our way about the practical affairs of life. As we parted, we flung at his head some words of Professor Barnes we had heard on the wireless to the effect that the Logical Positivist, were he to be consistent, could not take one step out of his study without falling into some action or statement which on his own principle, he should condemn as absurd or nonsensical. Out of earshot, we muttered under our breath that nobody, be he Mr. Ayer or anybody else, ought in so "high-priori" a manner to lay down general conditions, logical, empirical or whatever else, before particular statements might be deemed to qualify for mean-

⁷ Reported in this Journal for July 1950.

ing and significance. As Mr. Stuart Hampshire has lately said:⁸ "After the experiment of the last thirty years, there is no excuse for not knowing that one cannot in this way set limits to the varieties of significant discourse"—which perhaps is only another way of saying that every sort of statement has its own sort of logic.

Upon composing ourselves after this somewhat disturbing encounter, we were again setting ourselves to proceed on our way when we were met by a courteous—if somewhat petulant—gentleman of the name of Mr. Collingwood, a philosophical historian. He spoke to us so forcibly that we were compelled to give him our undivided attention. Here apparently was one who spoke the traditional language of metaphysics. He began by telling us roundly that we had done well to part from that anti-metaphysical philosopher who had so recently been trying to seduce us with the preaching of the Ayerian heresy. He himself, he said, could scarcely bring himself to speak politely when he thought of his contentions. Indeed, he so far forgot himself as to state that it was resentment, not reason, which prompted his anti-metaphysical bias, and that his allegedly philosophical statements were a mass of inconsistencies and confusions. He assured us, for his part, that the old ideas of God, cause, cosmos, law, soul, freedom and immortality were still among the legitimate preoccupations of the true philosopher, that these were in fact among the absolute presuppositions upon which our European civilization and our European scientific method had been built up, that we shall surrender them at our peril, and that those who say they are nonsense simply because they cannot be empirically verified—to speak as kindly as possible—just do not know what they are talking about. No absolute presuppositions can be verified in this way; they are indispensable none the less since they provide the necessary framework in which right questions can be asked and right answers obtained.

All this we accepted with pleasure. But when we began to cross-question our learned and candid friend, we began very soon to acquire the unpleasant suspicion that, although his conversation

⁸ See *Philosophy* July 1951.

was most plausible, logical and persuasive, yet secretly all the time our new friend was as anti-metaphysical as the positivist he had so roundly castigated. This suspicion became quite confirmed, alas, when our Professor began to explain that the metaphysical ideas he had mentioned, being *a priori*, were (most of them) absolutely necessary and unavoidable in order to make sense of human experience, that we must hold on to them and insist upon presupposing them in all our thinking. But—and here came the shock—we must *not* ask *why* they should be accepted; we must not ask *if they were true or not*. Such a request, he said, would be entirely to misunderstand both the nature of truth and the function of absolute presuppositions in general. For absolute presuppositions are not like relative presuppositions (which can be tested empirically), and are not answers to questions which can be proved true or false by observation or experiment. They are more of the nature of heuristic principles—"catalytic agents", I think he said—which enable science to ask its proper questions and so get on with its job. But because they refer to the world *as a whole*, and not to its parts, they are beyond our powers of verification, and therefore cannot be brought under the canon of truth or falsity. The real business of metaphysics, he said, is not to try and justify these basic ideas as true, but simply to ask what they are, and then to record them as accurately as we can; so that metaphysics becomes, not the science of being, nor even the science of being *quoad nos*, but simply the science of absolute presuppositions, the history of the Varieties of Epistemological Experience, the history of philosophy, in fact.

All this alarmed us so much that we asked Mr. Collingwood to give us an example just to make sure that we did not misunderstand. He complied very willingly. Take the idea of God, he said. Now this is a perfectly splendid idea. It has, for one thing, enabled modern science to get under weigh by teaching men to take it for granted that Nature is an intelligible system made, so to speak, all of one piece by a sensible and intelligent Deity. Moreover, it enables men to "make sense" of other forms of human experience, moral, religious and aesthetic. We might say of it, as we say of all absolute presuppositions that it is pre-

justified by the fact that it has enabled us to ask the right scientific questions, and post-justified by the way it opens up other fields of experience and points the way to fresh discoveries. It has all these excellent uses; but, of course, it is only a human methodological idea, a device for making us wise, a "regulative idea", as Kant used to say. And everybody knows (with Kant's famous hundred dollars in mind but not in pocket) that you cannot conclude from a mere idea, however flawless, to an existent reality corresponding to it. Good ideas are not necessarily true ideas; and a transcendental God by no means signifies a transcendent God.

The same is true, he added, of all the other grand ideas which purport to describe the world *as a whole*; system, cause, law, cosmos. All these alike are necessary to make sense of experience. They may be unverifiable, but they are inescapable. We cannot but assume them; we cannot even *think* without them. But we must not expect to judge them by the standards of truth or falsity. That is beyond our powers. They may cohere with the demands of reason; but we cannot say that they correspond to anything outside our human ways of thinking. For the world as a whole is never an object of our experience, nor part of what Kant called "the given".

As we listened to our learned friend, we felt our courage quite oozing away. We felt certain that this was a sheer betrayal of the Lady Philosophy; but his arguments, at first, seemed so unanswerable. We remembered, too, that his arguments fitted in so well with the teaching of our beloved Kant when he warned us about the illegitimacy of projecting our *a priori* ideas beyond the sphere of the empirically given field of sense-experience. And, in despair, we began to think that philosophy, as a search for truth, was perhaps after all but a chimera, and that we had better be less quixotic and content ourselves simply with the study of the adventures of ideas. That no doubt would have its compensations, because it is always pleasant, when challenged to say what we think about any particular question, to dodge the issue by quoting what somebody *else* has said about it.

But after remaining in a state of suspended animation for some considerable time, we began to think that here was the *reductio ad absurdum* of idealism. If this was how the movement which started with Descartes ended, then there was only one thing to do with it. Thought which has become sceptical about itself cannot be vanquished by thinking it through, since the very instrument by which this could be done is at war with itself. The only thing to do with such a scepticism is to break with it. (Cf. Kierkegaard. *Concluding Unscientific Postscript* p. 292.) We decided to take courage and challenge the basic assumption upon which this unhappy result seemed to depend. Why was it that we had to assume that these great and admittedly profitable ideas, like God, cause, cosmos, etc., were but creatures of the mind and in no sense theorems concerning reality? Why was it that we had to assume that here the rational was all-but-certainly unreal? Why assume that thought, when made consistent with itself, only illuminated our psychology and that necessary implications of reason express no similar implications in reality? Only, it seemed to us, if we made the stupid if frequent mistake of thinking as unreal whatever cannot be thought of as existing in space—a mistake which Plato particularly warned us against (cf. *Timaeus* 52B). (What had Kant shown except that God could not be a phenomenon—which only heathen idolaters have believed anyway?). We decided that if the philosopher was going to arrive at any world-view whatever, he must be equipped with his own particular ontological kind of faith; namely, that good thinking *can and does* bring us knowledge of reality, be that reality sensible or super-sensible.

So, with many a compliment paid to the cogency of his logic and the unerring conclusion to which he had pressed his Cartesian idealism, we excused ourselves to our friend, making the mental note that *our* epistemology, such as it was, should avoid in future the assumption which lay at the root of all this subjectivism; namely, that when the mind knows, it knows only its own states. On the contrary, we decided to take Plato for our master, not Descartes; and wager that a thought cannot be a mere thought, but must be a thought of something, and of something real (cf.

Parmenides 132B). Lotze, we remembered, once spoke of "the confidence of reason in itself" as the faith which lies at the root of all knowledge. We resolved at any rate to make this our "proposal".⁹

II.

We had not gone far along the road, thinking over our two previous conversations, when it soon came into our mind that it was fast becoming a matter of urgency to learn what sort of language we ought to use if our pilgrimage was not going to be quite vain. For we bethought ourselves that no small part of our troubles so far had really been about what some call semantics, that is to say, about the meaning of words and of what they signify. For words are tricky things. Primarily they refer always to the sense realm, and particularly to the visible realm; and only with the greatest difficulty—and that figuratively—can some of them be made to be significant of whatever there may be that is unobservable or super-sensible.

We were in agreement with Mr. Collingwood that a literal science of being, pure and undefiled, was a philosophical mirage. An ontology of that sort is impossible; for we cannot know what reality is "in itself". Such knowledge as we possess of it is by no stretch of the imagination a mental photograph of the ontal. We know reality only in so far as it stands in relation to our minds, and there is no getting away from the fact that our minds are *human*. To this extent, as Plato said in the *Theaetetus*, man has to "put up with" being the measure of things. In what sense, then, can we say that he is the measure of things? In what sense can we speak, sensibly and meaningfully, about whatever is unobservable yet believed to be none the less really real? What language does metaphysics use? My answer is: analogical language.

We should like to show this by displaying a traditional example of the way metaphysics uses language. When the philosophical theologian, for instance, contemplates the order and connexion of the world as a whole, there arises in his mind the

⁹ This is a summary of another previous article in this Journal for October 1950.

irresistible conviction that, although all nature is obviously a going-concern (*esse is operari*), yet it is quite as obviously not a self-going-concern. He may or may not try to prove this conviction. But once the conviction has arisen, the theologian is faced immediately with the problem of language—the problem, in fact, of giving “the right name” to that which makes nature go—or to speak better, to that Being upon which the world absolutely depends. When the theologian says the existence of the world is a derived existence, dependent all the time upon a divine intelligence, he believes himself to be making a significant statement, even if he cannot reduce it to clear and distinct ideas. He does not mean that the notion of a divine intelligence should be taken in a direct and literal way. For he knows full well that it is just impossible to say what a divine intelligence means in and for itself. Human beings have no idea what constitutes a divine intelligence; they know intelligence only as it is manifested in the species *homo sapiens*. Consequently, when he speaks about a divine intelligence, the theologian is manifestly using words indirectly and obliquely. He does not predicate intelligence of God in exactly the same sense as he predicates it of creatures. The terms are not *univocal*. Yet he does not use the word in entirely different senses. The terms are not *equivocal*. (If there were, by the way, “an infinite qualitative difference”, as Kierkegaard asserts, between God and his creatures, then there could be no significant discourse about God whatever, and a statement such that the world depended upon a divine intelligence could have no significance at all.) The statement in question, then, is neither univocal nor equivocal, but *analogical*. What is happening is that the theologian is taking the notion of intelligence as it is observed in human beings, and re-using it in his discourse as a model, likeness or paradigm to help us to understand what an unobservable divine intelligence must be like—*quoad nos*. He purges the notion (*via negativa*) of what it specifically connotes in creatures, e.g., their corporality; and then applies it (*via affirmativa*) so as to make some positive, if indirect, contribution to our ability to think its divine analogate.

I do not propose to enter here into the thorny question as to whether this process of purification empties the analogate of all

content. If pressed too far, it probably does. But then our only course is not to speak at all—the analogate becomes ineffable. Still less am I here pronouncing upon the truth or falsity of the idea as a whole. All I wish to indicate is simply the means whereby the theologian reaches his end. His purpose is to make a significant statement about the world as he sees it; namely that it behaves as a dependent being. Such a statement forces him to make a complementary assertion; namely that that upon which it depends is a “necessary” Being. But in order to say what he means by this later, preferring speech to silence, he takes some notion well known to ordinary human experience (e.g. intelligence) and then applies it, by way of analogy, to that which in the nature of the case can be less directly experienced. In other words, he speaks not literally, but figuratively, not according to the letter but according to the spirit, picturing the remote in the likeness of what is near and characterizing the unfamiliar by the aid of the familiar. His speech is *analogia entis*, with emphasis now upon one, now upon the other of those two words.

Now it seems to me that we use this sort of analogical language and this analogical method, not only in order to speak of any super-sensible being or beings which may happen to transcend our space-time world; we use it in order to speak meaningfully about many unobservable things which happen to confront us within the world of space-time experience. For our whole discourse about unobservables, whether they are things in heaven or things on earth is—with the exception of mathematics—analogue through and through. Both in practice and theory, we are always interpreting the behaviour of what is less accessible by the likeness it is presumed to bear to the relatively more accessible. Let us think of some examples.

We contemplate other persons. We know we cannot enter directly into their thoughts and feelings. But we do not hesitate to interpret their minds, assuming that they work more or less as ours do; that is to say, we act on the assumption that their thoughts, decisions and emotions bear some analogy to our own. And when they respond as we surmised they would, we say that we have interpreted their minds truly. Or again, we regard our canine pet as he warms himself by the fire. We do not know what

it is to be a dog. Yet his subjectivity, we believe, is not wholly a mystery to us—there is no infinite qualitative difference between us. Observing his outward behaviour as all the evidence we have, we think of what it must be like to be a dog, using as paradigm what subjecthood means to us when purged (say) of the ability to conceptualize. We do not predicate consciousness of our dog and of ourselves univocally. But neither do we predicate it equivocally. Our knowledge is analogical; and though vague and dim, not (we believe) wholly amiss or false.

These examples are taken from the realm of living things. But the same is true of the non-living. We observe a twig swept along by the current, or a bow tensed to discharge its arrow. What is presented to our eyes is relative position and change of state—facts capable, no doubt, of being described (adequately enough for some purposes) in the bloodless categories of mathematical formulae. Nothing is offered to *sense* which could possibly give to such phrases as “swept along by the current”, or to such words as “tension”, “strain”, “energy”, “force”, the significance they bear in ordinary speech. It is we ourselves who supply this significance by reading into the merely sensible phenomena some analogue, however tenuous, of what we ourselves inwardly experience in pushing and pulling things about. Yet this significance is not, I think, projected into or super-imposed upon wholly alien or disparate matter.¹⁰ Within their limits, the analogies bear some relation to the truth of things. The fact that things look as they do seems to me good evidence for believing that they *are* not altogether different from the way they look.

Even the notions of Cause and Substance are of this analogical character. I know that logicians and mathematicians have long been trying to expunge these terms from our scientific vocabulary. They are still very much with us, however; and will, I feel sure, always remain so long as science continues to be experimental as distinct from mathematical. For example, in so far as the natural sciences must assume the truth of the old principle *ex nihilo nihil fit*, so long will they assume that for everything that begins to be, there is a cause or sufficient reason why it should be

¹⁰ Cf. Tennant, *Philosophical Theology*, Vol. I, p. 246.

so and not otherwise. Moreover, when we say that a thing called X stands in relation to another thing called Y as cause is to effect we cannot avoid imputing to X, however remotely, some sort of initiative analogous to our own when we choose to do one thing rather than another. And as to substance, the belief for which realism stands; namely, that we spend our lives in contact with a world of substances and things which continue to exist in some definite form in spite of their internal changes and external relations, which act upon us and upon each other—that is a venture of faith which all experience goes to confirm. But it is a venture prompted none the less by a more direct and intimate knowledge of ourselves which we use as analogy or paradigm. It is the inward experience of what it is to be an enduring self which fosters and encourages the faith that substances and things continue a life-history of their own, even when nobody is there to see them.

Let nobody now leap to his feet in order to dismiss these analogies as wholly subjective and anthropomorphic. Of course our analogies are subjective and anthropomorphic. The thinker, whether scientific or common, can never cease to be an *ἄνθρωπος*; nor can thought even being without a subject. To label them as anthropomorphic and subjective is by no means to impugn their relevance or validity. They are certainly not “read-off”; they are “read-in”. But the significant thing is that nature is tolerant of them; nay more, conforms to them. They may be only human devices; but they are often uncommonly useful for making us wise in the sense that they enable us so to understand our world as to be able to live on good terms with it. In so far as they show themselves valid for this purpose, then just so far does nature show herself to be suited, adapted or pre-adapted to our human need to understand her. If (as is the case) truth consists in a relationship between two things—realities over against us of whatever kind, and judgements about them which are valid of them, then we may say that, in so far as our analogies are valid, they are also *veridical*; that is, they speak the truth as much as human thought and language are capable of it, giving us principles of understanding wherewith to interpret nature as accurately as our vital needs demand, and which enable us to live successfully with that in which

we live and move and have our being. These principles of understanding (or “analogies of experience”, as Kant called them) may rightly be called *analogies of being*, with emphasis now upon one, now upon the other term. They are neither literal copies nor photographs of the ontal; nor are they simple anthropomorphisms or pure symbols without foundation *in rebus*. They are neither found, nor made, alone; neither imposed by thought on things, nor impressed by things on thought, alone. Rather are they “functions” of both subject and object in that dual *rapport*, that two-way giving and taking between self and not-self, which we call experience. They signify *ad modum recipientis* how being behaves when construed in human language.

So we have come to a resting-place on our pilgrimage. We have learned the name of that basic language which will enable us to pass along the road. For if our discourse about such common-or-garden unobservables as a man’s character, a dog’s “mind”, the tension of a spring, or even the behaviour of an electron is analogical through and through, then *a fortiori* must our discourse about the self, the world and God—and all the other metaphysical themes there are—be indefeasibly analogical. And we have made another discovery. The ambition to get all our ideas “clear and distinct” is a laudable one, but it should not be overdone or pursued where it does not apply; for it can be pursued only at the cost of making our thinking more and more abstract and mathematical. And while mathematics gives us a maximum degree of literal certainty, it yields only a minimum of significance and meaning. A world reduced wholly to clear and distinct ideas would be but a poor world, inhabited only by bloodless quantities and algebraic ghosts. There are truths according to the letter; and truths according to the spirit. Perhaps our most significant ideas are always figurative, or as von Hügel said, “deep but dim”.

III.

We were now beginning to feel confident that we could now set about the task of using our new-found metaphysical language and of making some progress towards our goal—that of a “world-view” which would satisfy our reason, experience and will. But,

alas, we found ourselves to our dismay held up by a throng of people, all speaking at once, and each one trying to catch our ear to persuade us that he and he alone knew where wisdom should be found and where was the place of understanding. There was nothing to do but to stop our ears against the clamour, seek some solitude, and think out this amazing thing of why there should be so many different "world-views" and so much conflict and contradiction between them all.

As we mused upon this matter we remembered certain wise words spoken by a learned theologian when engaged upon the task of expounding the doctrine of the blessed Trinity. "Philosophy", he said, "is essentially a questioning activity, an attempt to understand the given universe of experience, an attempt to discover how particular things fit in with one another, and asks why the whole should exist at all and in the way it does exist. In its development, the philosophical quest gives birth to particular philosophies and philosophical systems. Each such system comes to birth through some element in the totality of our experience being regarded as of supreme significance for the interpretation of the whole. This element becomes, so to speak, the "key-feature" of the universe, and the adherents of each philosophy are seeking with the aid of its key-feature, to unlock the door which will give us insight into the nature of things".¹¹

As we thought over these words, we recalled a similar passage written this time by a philosopher. In her book entitled *The Nature of Metaphysical Thinking* Professor Emmet said this:¹² "Like religious judgements, the basic metaphysical judgements are of the nature of total assertions. If you ask from whence are these basic judgements derived, I should suggest that they are derived predominantly from some particular type of experience—e.g., intellectual, aesthetic or moral, which seemed to provide a clue in terms of which a *weltanschauung* or philosophical attitude could be developed. The theory must then be developed according to the canons of consistency and comprehensiveness; but the basic impetus to the creation of that particular interpretive theory

¹¹ See L. Hodgson *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 21.

¹² p. 194 *op. cit.*

comes from a particular kind of experience which gives rise to a certain judgement of importance . . . What the metaphysician does is to construct a theoretic model drawn from analogy from some form of intellectual or spiritual relationship which he judges to be especially significant or important”.

Now upon reflection this seemed a very sensible answer to the problem raised in our mind by the discordant clamour of the various alternative world-views. For whatever the special key-analogy which happened to be selected as revelatory of the whole, it would be bound to vary from man to man. To the man himself there might be a certain amount of inevitability about the choice; it might be so self-evidently significant to him as hardly to be questioned at all; he might greet it with the same “Of course” with which we all greet a fresh logical discovery. (Perhaps, in this sense, philosophy really is the child of wonder, after all). Nevertheless that one man’s meat is another man’s poison is as true in philosophy as anywhere else. And what is of surpassing significance to one may not be so to another. So that if the key-analogies vary, how much more should we expect the systems which grow round them to vary?

But before we accepted this answer as a true account, we thought we should like to test it. And this we did by recalling some of the great system-makers of the past. Take Plato. Did he not find his particular key-feature in the perception of the beauty of form as typified in the discipline and elegance of mathematics? And Aristotle, was he not moved to make his teleological interpretation of the universe by seeing in the processes of biological development a revelation of the whole? Did not Spinoza, the greatest of the stoics, write his metaphysics around the peculiar sense of peace which comes from accepting the inevitable? And what of Kant? Was it not the experience of moral obligation which alone seemed to bring him into contact with the really real?¹³ And Hegel:

¹³ Compare *Nature of Metaphysical Thinking*, p. 198.

There is nothing but Idea
 It is hard to make it clear
 It existed from the start
 Like a horse before a cart.
 It knew all things whatsoever
 But at first it wasn't clever.
 So it had to pass through ages
 Experimenting with sages
 And with all the other things
 Such as cabbages and kings.
 For its knowledge was potential,
 And through period penitential
 It passes on to full completion
 By a process of accretion.¹⁴

Behind this wonderful Hegelian scheme, there surely stands some such key-analogy as the gradual development of the child to maturity; from blank consciousness, through consciousness of others to full self-consciousness.

Marx, to take another obvious example, saw in the grim economic struggle the master-key which unlocks the whole mystery of history. And as for that strange prophet Friedrich Nietzsche, *the* fact which dwarfed all else was the momentous fact of "the death of God".¹⁵ Perhaps the Christian faith is the most striking example of all. For Christian thought has always maintained that a particular sequence of historic events, taking place roughly at the outset of our era, is the place of understanding, the supreme clue, the revelation in the light of which everything in heaven and earth is to be understood.

It seemed, then, that the explanation given by our theologian and our philosopher had been verified; and we hesitated no longer to give it our consent. But it came as something as a shock to have to do so. For it meant that straightaway we had conceded a good deal to relativity. For it now seemed clear that in all philosophizing, whatever goal it reached, the "personal equation" was bound to enter in, according as one special field of experience rather than another was selected as revelatory of the whole of

¹⁴ I regret I cannot remember the source of this marvellous doggerel.

¹⁵ See my article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1945.

things. And this was bound to mean that there was a certain amount of arbitrariness about the selection, so that some degree of bias and partiality is inevitable. Perhaps this was the reason, not only for the number of different "world-views" that exist, but also why none of them can ever be demonstrated conclusively so as to compel the assent of every reasonable man. Perhaps every metaphysical synthesis, like a work of art, can only *ask* for agreement, not *force* it.

However, when all was said and done, we thought that this concession to relativity was not something at which to be unduly perturbed. For every philosopher, thinking from his own perspective as he inevitably does, has nevertheless one overriding obligation; namely the obligation to truth. Thus his unavoidable perspectivism may be corrected more or less by absolute loyalty to the rules of honesty, veracity, comprehensiveness and rationality. He must also be absolutely scrupulous with facts, neither distorting them nor conveniently forgetting them. And he must be alive to the subtle distinctions of worth and value. In particular, he must be able to show that his particular point of view, determined as it is by his private judgement of what is significant and important, is able to explain other fields of experience by reference to it—and that without the easy method of explaining them away. Thus the philosopher, if he is to make a good philosopher, must be critical, *and that especially of his own partiality*. He may never be able to get above his bias, but he has an obligation not to remain beneath it.

So then, dear reader, let us persevere on our quest. There is no need to despair. If *all* philosophies are bound to be partial, some are patently less so than others. If every world-view is determined by the respective key-analogy or key-analogies from which it gets its start, yet some world-views are better than others because more of the landscape can be seen from their particular vantage point. The way lies open before us, if only we have courage. Let us go in search of our key-analogies, which, like a lantern, may lighten our way to the goal we seek.

POST-SCRIPT: OR THINGS TO BE REMEMBERED FOR THE JOURNEY.

1. *Truth and Error.*

This is the step on which the philosopher must fall down or else o'er-leap. Truth does not reside simply in the *coherence* of our ideas, as idealists make out; though at any particular time, it may be the only test we can get for the moment. Truth is a relationship between thought and reality, between objects of whatever kind and critical judgements about them which are valid of them. The *correspondence-theory* of truth is the one we must work with, in so far as it stands for some concomitant variation and systematic proportion between changes in the pattern of the external field and changes in the pattern of our mental experience. And the more we move out of the realm of "things", where it does not so much matter, into the realm of "persons", the more desirable does the correspondence-theory of truth become. We may perhaps be satisfied if our thinking about things is coherent. But when we deal with persons what we want to know is not whether our thoughts cohere, but whether they correspond. If we judge that a person loves or hates us, what we want to know is not whether our judgements fit in with our preconceived ideas about him, but whether in fact he does love or hate us.

2. *Method.*

There is no single, grand, universal method, prescription or proposal for "screening" all philosophical questions. We ought to be content to make things as clear as we can, even if clarity is not enough. In particular, we ought not to lay down *in advance* any sort of rule, canon, principle, (empirical, logical or otherwise) by which to pre-judge problems as real problems or pseudo-problems. Let us take each as they come, remembering Dr. Waismann's *dictum* that every sort of statement has its own sort of logic, and without any oracular decrees as to what logical properties a statement must have before it can be regarded as significant.

3. *Experience.*

The importance of those forms of experience which can be verified by observation and experiment should not be allowed to dwarf other sorts of experience which cannot. In particular, categories which are valid in one field of experience are not necessarily valid in another. Morals, for instance, cannot be explained scientifically, in spite of Hume's pious hope of doing so. "Ought" is never the same as "is".

4. *Man.*

Since the philosopher ought to correct his own perspective by a critical obligation to truth, no world-view can be critical which nullifies the fact of obligation.

5. *Religion.*

Life is a mystery; and any *simpliste* view of it can be ruled out. In particular, a philosophy which refuses to consider specifically religious insights is as defective as a religion which refuses to consider inconvenient facts. Religious insight may open up a field of experience which otherwise would be closed or by-passed. Religion may offer the very key-feature which opens the way to a better philosophy, better in the sense of being more reasonable and more profitable than any other. In any case, its claims should be critically investigated.

CONVOCATION OF YORK

THE general election made it necessary for the Convocation of York to hold an extra group of sessions in the absence of the Archbishop who was touring Australia and the Far East. The opening meeting had to be called for an afternoon, and the Sung Eucharist which normally opens the first sessions of a new Convocation was postponed to the second day.

UPPER HOUSE

Apart from the Loyal Address to the Throne, the business of the Upper House consisted entirely of formal elections.

FULL SYNOD

The first business was the presentation of the new Prolocutor and the re-appointment of the Synodal Secretary, after which the Bishop of Durham, acting as President in place of the Archbishop, gave a report on the work of the committee making a new translation of the Bible.

DISCIPLINE OF THE LAITY

The House of Laymen in the Church Assembly has long been pressing the Convocations to issue an official list of the minimum duties of Church members as suggested in the Assembly report 836. The Bishop of Carlisle, acting on behalf of the Bishop of Blackburn, presented the report of the joint committee. The Bishop of Sheffield criticised it on the ground that Christianity always makes a maximum demand and can know nothing of a minimum option. The report was received in Full Synod, but the resolutions and the suggested rule of life were committed to the separate Houses for debate.

THE CHURCH OVERSEAS

The Synod agreed to a resolution proposed by the Bishop of Warrington commending to the Church in the Province, "as a basis for study, prayer and action," the book *New Horizons*.

CANON LAW

A considerable advance was made in the discussion of the proposed Canons. Canon G. W. O. Addleshaw proposed a number of amendments in the Canons dealing with Readers, Deaconesses and Women Workers, all designed to bring the Canons into line with regulations of the Convocations and of the Lambeth Conference, and most of them suggested by the respective organisations.

These were all accepted by both Houses. In addition the Synod agreed, with a few minor changes, to the whole of the section on "Things Appertaining to Churches" comprising Canons 96 to 111.

LOWER HOUSE

Having dealt with its formal business of re-electing the Bishop of Lancaster as Prolocutor and having agreed to the text of the Loyal Address, the Lower House went on to discuss an important report on the Proctorial Representation of the Clergy. Almost all the recommendations of the report are for modifications of the new Canon 127. The chief point at issue is the number of *ex-officio* members of the House, a matter which, in respect of archdeacons, gave rise to a minority report. The report was received; but the discussion of the suggested amendments to the Canon was postponed to the next group of sessions.

LEAD ON CHURCH ROOFS

The rapid increase in the number of thefts of lead from church roofs was the subject of a motion by Canon J. Lowndes. He asked that parochial church councils should be urged to survey the lead and to insure it against theft. In the debate attention was drawn to the need for punishing those who received the stolen lead and thus encouraged even boys to steal.

REVIEWS

BAPTISM AND THE HOLY SPIRIT

THE SEAL OF THE SPIRIT. By G. W. H. LAMPE, M.C., M.A. Longmans. 35s.

A WORK on the relation of Baptism, Confirmation and the Gift of the Holy Spirit, of this type and on this scale, was long overdue. A deadlock had resulted from the last two attempts to consider this set of problems, the former in the time of Mason, Puller and Wirgman, and the latter and more recent crop of brief studies which, so far from being complete, led the uninitiated reader sometimes to suspect that he could hear the somewhat monotonous grinding of favourite axes. Sometimes too, it is the tendency of the Anglican Church to choose its line first and to seek a theological justification afterwards. Mr. Lampe's work is of the type and scale which ensures that this is not likely to be the case this time.

The task which Mr. Lampe has set himself in this book is a herculean one : nothing less than a study of the relationship between Baptism, Confirmation and the Holy Spirit in the New Testament and the Fathers. It involves problems of New Testament, Liturgical, Doctrinal and Patristic scholarship of no mean order, and it is indeed refreshing to find an Anglican scholar who is a *Janus quadri-frons*.

Mr. Lampe has done his work with great thoroughness, learning and discernment. That he should convince us all on all points was hardly to be expected, and certainly does not detract from the value of the book as a whole.

His main thesis is that there is a common, many-sided pattern of the theology and practice of Christian Initiation discernible in the New Testament in which the gift of the Holy Spirit is steadily and consistently associated with water-baptism. During the second century this pattern became steadily more complex, cut unconsciously from its New Testament moorings and eventually broke partly under the weight of its over valuation. Its essential unity as a doctrinal and liturgical whole became lost, and the whole of Christendom has lost a vital and central New Testament emphasis in the process. The Western doctrine of Confirmation, of which the Anglican tradition is a notable heir, is one attempt, valid and sensible in itself, to tidy up the loose ends. Care must, however, be taken not to treat it either as in itself the primitive pattern or as

a necessary condition for a genuinely catholic doctrine and pattern of Christian Initiation. It might perhaps be better described as defensible and valuable than as obligatory.

The work opens with a full discussion of the New Testament evidence for Baptism and the Gift of the Spirit. The stage is set by a consideration of the Baptism of John the Baptist. Here Mr. Lampe favours the prophetic 'oath or symbol rather than the later Jewish practice of proselyte Baptism as the real source of Johannine Baptism. Surely the two are not really incompatible. The influence of prophetic symbolism (never in any case, so far as we know, connected with actual water baptism) may well be the ultimate rather than the immediate source. The suggestion that Jews in good standing should regard themselves as proselytes in face of the great and terrible day of the Lord seems most significant and depends upon the parallel of proselyte Baptism. Do we really know anything about the call of John the Baptist as appears to be implied on page 21? and should not John i, 8, be added to the references in footnote 3 on page 22? The Baptism of Jesus is interpreted as a symbolical summing-up of his Mission as Son and Servant of God. In line with much recent critical study the author takes Christian Baptism as a continuation of and incorporation into this. All this is well urged, but the relation between the Baptism and the Ascension suggested on pages 42-3 may appear to some readers to be too finely drawn.

With the consideration of the place of Confirmation in the Apostolic Age, however, we reach more controversial ground. Mr. Lampe rightly starts from the fact that in the Acts of the Apostles the gift of the Holy Spirit is normally associated with Christian Baptism. He appears, however, to seek to strain every nerve to explain away Acts viii, 14-24, which is treated in some quarters as the classical proof-text for Apostolic Confirmation. Many scholars would agree that the circumstances here are exceptional, though such an admission is far from denying the possibility of an application to the future. In setting the stage for his discussion Mr. Lampe calls attention to two features of the Lucan writings. The first point concerns the undoubted missionary significance of the Acts of the Apostles. Its sub-title might almost be "How we brought the good news from Jerusalem to Rome." Yet we might perhaps query the extent to which this interest has seriously affected the factual side of the narrative. I am personally reminded of a similar argument that because Ignatius was set upon martyrdom his evidence about bishops need not be taken too seriously. Nor could the judgement that St. Luke possessed a somewhat undeveloped *ruach* conception of the Spirit be accepted without qualification. Phrases like "The Spirit of Jesus suffered us not," and "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us," do not altogether support, and

if the absence of the developed Pauline theology of the Spirit be in question, Mr. Lampe himself notes at a later stage in his argument that Pauline thought is so much a peak that we might almost have to suspect it as a norm. There are difficulties in plenty in the New Testament approach to Confirmation. Some would not be prepared to use the argument from silence quite so thoroughly as Mr. Lampe does, and might from time to time be prepared to interpret the evidence of the New Testament (and in some cases the Fathers too) with regard to Baptism as covering a whole series of Initiatory rites. I could not personally set aside the evidence for Rabbinic parallels so completely as Mr. Lampe does, though I notice that on page 93 he is perfectly prepared to use the argument on at least one point of detail. In particular, however, I am far from happy about the treatment of Acts viii, 14-22 itself. It is probable that it must be seen in the light of the "missionary" situation of the period (*cp.* Acts i, 8 : "Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and Samaria and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.") This may help to explain why this incident, as well as the Cornelius episode, is pin-pointed by St. Luke. But it is difficult to resist the normal and obvious conclusion that it represents a conferring of the Holy Spirit through the laying-on of hands by the Apostles to people who had already been baptized. It is hard to be really satisfied with the theory that it represents little more than an extension of the right hand of fellowship to new and surprising partners in the great enterprise. It is not without its significance that in fact the Samaritans do not in the sequel play any stated, still less any significant part in the furtherance of the Gospel. If Mr. Lampe still insists upon seeing the joy of verse 8 as clear evidence that the Holy Spirit has already been given, it is worth while to remember how far short of demonstration this interesting suggestion really falls. Possibly some distinction such as that between partial and fuller presence might well be required here. While we may agree that the case is an exceptional one, it may still form an adequate precedent for all that. If the incident is so interpreted, we may well suspect that the conclusion, "there is no room for any other full sacrament of the Gospel in addition to Baptism and the Eucharist," is rather too absolute.

In his treatment of the Patristic evidence Mr. Lampe comes fully into his own, with rich lexicographical evidence at his disposal and ample ability to interpret it.

Here is a field which he has made particularly his own. It is a refreshing change from earlier treatments to have the material treated as a whole and worked into a definite pattern. His case is here clearly drawn and convincingly argued. His theory is all the more likely to be true because of its simplicity. Nor does he fall into the very natural error of regarding the Western Catholic

solution as negligible because it is not primitive. It was a genuine and brave attempt to recapture something of a lost sense of unity and primitive wholeness. His attempt to set the stage for the second century is clearly put, well argued and avoiding the principal errors into which corresponding treatments by Walter Bauer, Harnack and F. C. Burkitt all appear to fall. He certainly realizes that all New Testament religion is not Pauline, and that to take Paul as our norm is to exaggerate the "startling slump" between the New Testament and the later centuries to which many have called exaggerated attention. The slump so-called already occurs within the pages of the New Testament itself. There is some fear that with all his careful qualifications here Mr. Lampe may still have stated the difference too sharply. Granted that the second century was one of the centuries of the Common Man, this very fact is capable of being interpreted as making for conservatism rather than for innovation, and to enhance the probability of a more continuous and orderly development between the Bible and the later Church than has sometimes been supposed. Nor am I really satisfied with the suggestion that Gnostic or semi-Gnostic ideas and images could have infiltrated into the Christian in the manner which Mr. Lampe suggests. Admitted that there existed a kind of Christian penumbra between orthodoxy and heresy during the whole of this period, there is equal and perhaps greater evidence for the view that the Christian Church represented an organism which might react much like the healthy human body with regard to germs. The evidence of Clement of Alexandria should be used with great caution in view of the fact that, as Lebreton has decisively shown, Clement was a notorious fellow-traveller, and it is always unjust to regard fellow-travellers as typical of the Church as a whole.

Perhaps the best part of the work is formed by the concluding chapters, in which various aspects of the term "seal" are treated topically and as it were lexicographically. They are models of careful exegesis and raise no controversial issues.

Throughout the work Mr. Lampe has in mind the modern approach to problems of reunion in so far as these concern the theology and practice of Christian reunion. Much of this application is well and interestingly done, but some of us would be grateful for a greater degree of tentativeness in this part of the work. No doubt Mr. Lampe believes himself to have reached true and positive results. I for one would readily admit much of his reasoning and many of his conclusions. But application is rather a different matter. Even those situations in modern times which appear to resemble most strikingly patristic precedent have an awkward habit if pressed further not to be quite so completely on all fours. We must beware even of any impression of a triumphant *Q.E.D.*

In this book there is certainly much food for thought, a perfect gold-mine for the researcher, material essential to be considered by the whole Church in her quest for the rediscovery of unity in love and truth. If further consideration of some of the issues raised is still required, we are all in a much better position to assess the evidence and to weigh the probabilities before its publication.

It is a pity that the publishers (whom God reward for accepting so learned and weighty a volume for publication) had to price the work so highly.

H. E. W. TURNER

AN ASCETICAL CLASSIC

WRITINGS FROM THE PHILOKALIA ON PRAYER OF THE HEART. Trans by E. KADLOUBOVSKY and G. E. H. PALMER. Faber and Faber Ltd. 1951. 30s.

MANY who are students of Orthodox theology and spirituality have for long desired a translation into English of the well-known collection of ascetical writings of the Fathers known as the Philokalia, or at least of typical and representative excerpts from that considerable collection, which takes up a complete additional (but somewhat rare) volume of Migne. Here to a real extent is the answer in this book. It is important, however, to realize at once that it is not a direct translation of the original Greek, but of the Russian, which in turn is translated from the Slavonic, and only then from the Greek. It is indeed at fourth hand ; yet we have to go no further than our own fourth-hand Prayer Book Psalter to see that such a series of new linguistic versions can enrich without basically distorting the original.

The translators are aware of this difficulty, but claim that the richness and flexibility of Russian is adequate for the translation and that the community of spirit of the translators assured fidelity to the original. This may well be so, but it is permissible to suggest that in treatises of the character that make up the Philokalia, almost everything depends for signification on the use of keywords, *vous nýpsis*, *πλάνη*, *πραξις*, *θεωρία*, and many others. They have their own *aura*, their own richness of associated meaning and indeed unless that richness is understood, can hardly bear translation. On the whole (but not, however, without exception) the references to the Greek text are scholarly and fully explanatory.

As we are told in the anonymous Foreword, the Philokalia was compiled in the eighteenth century by Macarius of Corinth and Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain (of Athos), and a facsimile is given of the 1782 Venetian Edition. Not long after, it was translated into Slavonic by the Monk Paissy Velichkovsky and became

the starting-point of the rebirth of spiritual monasticism in Russia, and the practice of the Jesus Prayer, which to this day (except in the Holy Mountain itself) is now more a Russian possession than a Greek.

This translation is made up of the contributions of ten ascetical writers from the Greek collection. Of these five, (of whom St. Simeon, the New Theologian, is the most widely-known) are from the 14th century and represent the general Palamite tradition. Of the other five, one is of the fifth century and two of the sixth, while two have the supreme distinction and glory of the monk, that it is not known when they lived, nor in one case, where.

To some extent the sub-title, "On Prayer of the Heart" is misleading. The teaching of all these athletes of God is directed through the means provided by the disciplined life to the gaining of the vision of God (*θεωρία*) which is perfected in *θέωσις* or "partaking of the divine nature." In some of the earlier treatises (for example that of Hesychius of Jerusalem) the Jesus Prayer is not explicitly treated. One might say, perhaps, with more justification that this book is concerned with *νήψις*, holy sobriety, awareness, the "waking from the dream of life," that is the distinguishing mark *τῶν γερῶν νηπτικῶν* of the original title of the Philokalia, and that every Orthodox priest prays for immediately after the hallowing of the Holy Gifts. It is a study in holy sobriety, but a divine consensus of teaching, covering over a millenium of linked tradition and practice.

As to method in its many expositions in this book, there is much of value, even of challenge, to western ways of thought. The first we may note is concerned with the practice of the Jesus Prayer, "Jesus Christ, son of the living God, have mercy upon me," which is modelled on the cry of the blind man by the wayside in the Gospels. The repetition of this prayer under clearly indicated physical and spiritual conditions constitutes the very ancient method of continual awareness of the presence of God, of "praying without ceasing". Beginning normally with actual lingual enunciation, it is to merge into mental prayer, and as St. Simeon, the New Theologian, puts it, the mental centre is to be transferred to the heart regarded even physically, but in this case not merely physically, as the centre of being in each human personality. St. John Chrysostom, St. Photius, St. Gregory Palamas, to mention three spiritual and intellectual giants, both lived on the Jesus Prayer, having first learnt its use and penetrated into its spiritual secrets, by a period of seclusion, silence and solitary monastic discipline. But even more important is the general attitude of the ascetic and hesychiast to control of the mind and the general method of prayer. It is frequently reiterated in this book that the fight against the human passions must be waged by a voluntary "sentinelling" of the *mind*, the banishing of imaginations, the images of the imagination, by

the continual exercise of *νήψις*. The imagination is not to be used (as it tends to be in the Western systems) as an instrument to conjure up the scenes and realities of the earthly life of Our Lord and the saints (compare in this connexion the "Exercises" of St. Ignatius Loyola), but to work unceasingly towards the attainment of passionless and imageless prayer. And, since our foes are, as St. Paul makes it clear, spiritual, belonging to the powers and energies of the spiritual world, our warfare is not exclusively or solely by such fleshly weapons as the stark methods of the solitaries of the desert, but by the power given to the *νηπτικός* to fight the spiritual and invisible battle against the tireless spiritual foe.

A whole world of philosophy and psychology lies in the expositions of St. Gregory Palamas on the supreme place of the *vous* in the human spiritual world. For that the reader is referred to the article by Professor Ioannides of Thessaloniki on St. Gregory Palamas in the *Christian East* vol. i, New Series No. 6 of June 1951.

Enough has been said to emphasize the importance of the Kadloubovsky and Palmer book of translations. It is to be hoped that one day we may have a critical edition of the original *Philokalia*. Until then, we are very grateful for this scholarly and deeply spiritual handbook to a great subject.

AUSTIN OAKLEY

THEOLOGY AND IDEALISM

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH THEOLOGY IN THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY. By L. E. Elliott-Binns, D.D., F.R.Hist.Soc. Longmans, 1951. 8s. 6d.

IN 1913 appeared a work of permanent significance, on *The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, from Canon Vernon Storr, one of the most scholarly and judicious of the Evangelical theologians of his time. Unhappily, he was not able to continue it beyond 1860. Dr. Elliott-Binns has set himself to cover, on a much smaller scale, and in a set of popular lectures, the remainder of the territory.

The reader will find here a comprehensive list of all, or the most important, names in the period, with a neat characterization of each, as well as brief descriptions of the different movements in which they played their parts. All this is set forth as clearly as it could be; but chronology is not always obeyed; men whom we should expect to find at the end of the procession take a place in the middle ranks from time to time, and vice versa.

Such misplacements are hard to avoid ; for, as we watch them as they pass, we naturally ask, when each became important, to whom was he important, and what the contribution was that made him important ; and to explain this we must often leave strict chronology behind. Dr. Elliott-Binns has little space to answer such questions. We see his characters one after another, *fortemque Gyan*, *fortemque Cloanthum*, as they do their part in marking the impact made on the faith by science, biblical criticism, the startling discoveries of the latter half of the period, archaeological and documentary, by agnosticism, once so fashionable, and the theological rebels, or pioneers—many of them were hailed with both titles by a scandalized or admiring clerical public.

Full justice is done to the great Cambridge trio, Lightfoot, Westcott and Hort ; but the book would have gained from even a passing reference to two leaders of Scottish thought, John Caird, with his *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* (1880) and A. M. Fairbairn, with his *Christ in Modern Theology* (1893), and to the Liberalism of the period which has been so fiercely assailed.

But why, apart from Canon Storr's book, " 1860 to 1900 " ? A reason will readily occur. The later Victorians are a warning or a portent to us, or both, of which we should be wise to take account ; for the causes of the descent from the complacency of 1860 to the bewilderment of 1900 must be studied if we are to find a means of advance from the bewilderment of our own day. But we must be careful. Dr. Elliott-Binns gives little support to the popular belief that the years immediately following the Great Exhibition of 1851 were filled with faith in a half automatic progress, a sort of social and religious Coué-ism. True, there was a great deal of writing about peace and prosperity—the " March of Mind " had been celebrated a generation earlier—and the advance of science, though to us the science of that day would seem barely to have left the cradle.

What 1860 saw was the combination of a number of influences which all went to shake the still impressive edifice of authority. Can the Biblical accounts be accepted, especially when they involve miracles ? Can the received authorship of the sacred books be defended ? Can the authorized translations of the received text of the originals be relied on ? Can the creeds be regarded as permanently valid summaries of the faith once delivered to the saints ? Can the doctrines of Christianity or of the Church of England, as for example the Trinity or Eternal Punishment, be accepted without reserve ? Can the Established Church be kept on its feet any longer ? With such questions filling the air, it is hardly to be wondered at that the appearance of the Revised Version of the New Testament in 1881 was seen by not a few as a sign of the times.

The truth is that the calls for restatement, the need for a fresh stream of thought to flow around the foundations laid in the past, once familiar to the few, now became a part of the atmosphere breathed by the many. The theologians did not start the question of authority, nor did they do much to answer it. It had been hurled about in the political field, from 1832 and before. The intellectual guides of the time, Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson and Matthew Arnold, lived in it. Every new scientific publication flung its stone at hitherto accepted dogmas—it must not be forgotten that Tennyson wrote as a Darwinian at least ten years before the *Origin of Species* saw the light. And when, as the perplexed years rolled on, the “Condition of the People question” opened the eyes of the horrified bourgeoisie to the spectacle of “Darkest England,” and, still later, the jingoistic confidence in the possession of both the ships and the money was broken by the disasters of the Boer Wars, as it had not been by the Crimean War or the Indian Mutiny, the cry of the ancient Psalmist was heard again, “What shall the righteous do, or believe”?

The consequences for religion and for social stability would have been more serious had it not been for the Establishment. The Church of England and all that it stood for had a hold on the veneration and respect of the nation which protected it both from the proliferation of small sects, as in America, and from the large-scale desertions from religion on the Continent. Moreover, the Free Churches found no difficulty in combining readiness for political changes with steadfast loyalty to their religious beliefs; and the men who, from the beginning to the end of the period, inspired and led the ideals of the working classes, were convinced of the value of religion.

Few of Dr. Elliott-Binns' readers will be able to put themselves back into the last decade of his century. And if those who were then undergraduates or commencing the study of theology should presume to express an opinion, they might very well be told that they were then too young to have acquired the necessary experience. But, if they were allowed, they would remind us that they could look into the future with something of hope; that complacency had not altogether departed. Congregations were still large, and eloquence in the pulpit was still a power. The assaults of Bradlaugh and his gang had been repelled. In the world of philosophy the new-fangled pragmatism had done little to weaken the idealism of the last twenty years. Science was turning out to be not so confident of itself, nor so hostile to religion, as had been feared. Criticism was found to be actually illuminating rather than defacing the sacred page. The once dreaded works of Herbert Spencer were finding their way to the dust of the upper shelves in libraries. Agnosticism could satisfy no one. In the realm of religion as distinct from that of theology (though the two could not be severed with safety) a new impulse

had lately been given to evangelism, a new power to the "Non-conformist conscience," as it was called, and a new zeal for religion in the student world. As for the formidable books of German theology which were crossing the sea in increasing numbers, they seemed likely, with their insistence on a re-examination of Jesus and Paul, to do more good than harm in the long run.

Hidden in the future were the "New Theology," the new psychology, the dark excavations of Freud, whose results were to comfort some as greatly as they distressed and scandalized others, the uncompromising orthodoxy of Karl Barth, or, as he would have us say, of the Barthians; the Totalitarianism of Lenin and Hitler, which were to bring us back to Hobbes at his worst, and the Logical Positivism which gloried in spreading to the multitude all that Hume had imparted to the few.

How did Dr. Elliott-Binns' period prepare us for meeting these new antagonists? Directly, very little; nor, save for the short-lived "New Theology" movement, deserted so quickly by its leader, can Theology be said to have been the storm-centre which once it was. And still less, we might add, philosophy. But the influence of philosophy on theology, for better or worse, must not be under-rated. Philosophy, as Canon Storr had urged by emphasizing the conception of development, points the way to a new ideal. And further, "the whole intellectual movement of the nineteenth century has had for theology this result; it has forced it out of its earlier isolation, and brought it into connexion with an ever-expanding universe of thought around it."

This cannot be said of all the philosophy of the century. Bentham, the Mills, and Herbert Spencer only succeeded in widening the gaps. But from the great German idealists, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and the rest, whatever we may think of their values for today, the Christian apologists felt that they had received a new weapon, the idea of a motion and a spirit that rolls through all things; of a universe at whose heart is a living principle of thought and will which means intensely and means good. The universe was no longer to be regarded as static, started on its way by an unintelligible first cause, or pushed hither and thither by blind processes of evolution.

Nor (to pass from one extreme to the other) was it simply "kinetic," the scene of vast aimless motions. It was, in the true sense of the word, "dynamic." A power was at work in it, intelligible and rational, of whom we could hear more than whispers, and which pointed to, and indeed was, not appearance but reality, and in which man could come to find himself at home. The idealists of this country, T. H. Green, the Cairds, Bradley and Bosanquet, with their emphasis on the Spiritual Principle involved in all human conduct and activity, the Common Good, the Whole acting through all its parts, the one manifesting itself in the many, did more than

they knew. Not only at the beginning of the new century was the greater part of the philosophic teaching, north and south of the Tweed, in the hands of men trained under them. They had brought the theologian to a new point of view, however ignorant or even suspicious he might be of his teachers.

The theologian, in fact, found a presence in the world which made transcendence less of a mystery ; and in its Incarnation he discovered a principle which illuminated the Atonement. Instead of an absentee God, an exalted law-giver, an implacable judge, or the deviser of an ingenious plan of salvation—shapes which were taken for granted as revealed in Holy Writ by all save the few and the daring in the nineteenth century—he came to see a kind of higher pantheism, an Absolute which always is and yet is always coming to be, who abides our questions and even welcomes our doubts, who speaks in the thunder of a thousand worlds, and whispers pardon in the ears of one sinner that repents.

The last century prepared us for the idea of such a God ; the present has made it almost axiomatic. True, it entails, if grasped imperfectly, the most serious dangers. It may leave us with a vague faith in a power not ourselves which makes for social well-being simply. And it can provoke the most violent oppositions. But when it is confronted by its contemporary rival, pressing like the merry Grecian coaster on the track of the grave Syrian merchant, we can but hope that Logical Positivism, or, since the name is somewhat out of fashion already, its successors, with their horror at the idea of looking for truth or significance in any but tautological propositions, will suffer the fate of other little systems ; and that the massive conception of a universe not simply to be understood by reason, but ruled and penetrated by it, will continue, in the words of Canon Storr, to set a standard for theology.

Meanwhile, we cannot but be grateful for all that Dr. Elliott-Binns has given us. There is nothing harder to accomplish than a synthesis of all the various components in the thought of a single generation. The more we feel the attraction of one line of exploration, the less attention have we left for others without which we could not have travelled in the direction we have chosen. One of the greatest services of the idealists, to mention them once more, has been to expand the command which an eminent Victorian learnt from Sophocles ; to see life solemnly and to see it whole ; to remember that nothing is to be feared, nothing is to be neglected, nothing, as A. E. Taylor once said of religion in distinction from morality, is to be judged ; and that everything, even what is to be broken or destroyed, is necessary to the being of everything else, and has its place in the economy of the universe and the design of its Head.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE

THE BOOK OF KINGS

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF KINGS.

By JAMES A. MONTGOMERY. *Edited by H. S. Gehman, Edinburgh.* T. & T. Clark, 1951. 35s. net.

AT long last after many years' interval Messrs. T. & T. Clark, to whom serious students of theology have often been heavy debtors, have brought out another volume in their International Critical Commentary series. This latest volume, with the date of publication given on the title page as 1951, still contains on the spine of the cover the names, as Editors, of S. R. Driver, Plummer and Briggs, all of whom have been dead these many years ; would not G. R. Driver, H. H. Rowley and A. N. Other be suitable substitutes today ?

The publication of the book has been delayed since 1941 when the late Pennsylvanian Prof. J. A. Montgomery signed his name to the preface, with a postscript in 1944, and died five years later, the book being edited by his old pupil, Prof. H. S. Gehman. The book, with its 575 pages, follows the well-known style of its predecessors. It contains over 100 pages of preliminary matter including a 23-paged bibliography of books mostly of general interest rather than of those dealing in particular with the Books of Kings. The Introduction of over 60 pages is more or less equally divided between dissertations on the Ancient Versions, and the sources of the Book.

The Books of Kings, it has been said, is the first ordered attempt at a national history and this Commentary on them is the first for 75 years that has appeared on such an extensive scale in English ; the last, according to the author, being G. Rawlinson's, though one in German by A. Sanda was published in 1911.

In a review of this length it is well-nigh impossible to give more than a birds-eye view of an important book of this sort the publication of which is, in its way, an almost international event in the present-day history of Biblical criticism. The most that can be done is to give a general idea of it, and to pick out here and there at hazard one or two details, and so draw the reader's attention to what he may expect when he settles down to study the book seriously.

Much attention is paid to archaeological matters, e.g. in II Kings xvii, 24 (p. 472) considerable space is given to the identities of Kuthah, Awwa and Sepharwaim, and no doubt more would have been given to Hamath had not the author previously twice dealt with it. All this will doubtless be of interest to archaeologists, if they do not already know it.

Many of the author's notes presuppose that the reader will have access to many books, some perhaps in a foreign language, e.g. for "girding the loins" he simply says cf. Dalman, A.u.S.

5,236 f, but it is unlikely that a country parson will readily be able to consult this seven-volumed book. Then too there are long citations in German (pp. 68 f.), a language which all his readers may not understand.

The Commentary suffers from not having a complete translation into English of the two books, as Proverbs and Ecclesiastes in this Series had, because its absence necessitates constant reference to an English or Hebrew text, and therefore an additional volume at one's side.

To sum up ; this is a solid, heavy, book (in more senses than one) and is not to be taken up lightly, thinking that its reading will be easy going, but for those who wish to delve deeply into the intricacies of biblical criticism and exegesis many studious hours can be profitably spent and much archaeology absorbed. It is, however, as a book of reference that it will be mostly used, and like all other books in this series it is bound to be constantly quoted in future by writers who will be dealing with any of the objects of which it treats ; thus it will be looked upon as a necessary adjunct to any theological library, but it will never become a best seller or a popular book.

The book is deserving of high praise for the author's industry and for imparting to us his vast knowledge, but it is also deserving of severe censure because there is no subject index. It is almost an insult to a distinguished author's memory to allow an important reference book of this kind to be published without an adequate subject index. It is true there are two small indexes made up the one of three pages of a "select vocabulary of Hebrew words and phrases" (which is most inadequate), and the other of $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages of places treated with archaeological comment. To quote more than a couple of examples of what is lacking, though it would be easy to give several, would be tedious. There are for instance at least four references to leprosy in the Notes and Commentary ; a subject index would have saved the reader's time and he would more speedily have found that the main comment was on page 373, but would not learn what sort of skin disease it was which made Gehazi "be lepered like snow." The other example shall be *midbar* which in Hebrew characters is indexed once to page 318. It occurs five times in Kings. On page 95 the author thinks it is unfortunate that the word is translated "wilderness" by EVV instead of "steppe." In three other passages he is consistent, but allows "desert" in a fifth (I Kings xix, 15, page 318).

The publishers might do well to consider, if not too late in the day, whether, in future volumes or new editions of this Series, they will not alter the format and present the Commentaries and notes in a way more easy to follow and less exacting on the eyesight, give a full translation of the text, be more consistent over abbreviations.

viations, and more careful over references to other parts of the books. The pages are too solid and want breaking up more with cross headings to make casual reference easier for those who do not wish to read the book seriatim. Above all a really adequate subject index is essential.

A. D. POWER.

MANNING: A VINDICATION

MANNING ANGLICAN AND CATHOLIC. Edited by JOHN FITZSIMONS. (London 1951) pp. vii×160. Burns Oates. 15s.

ON Passion Sunday, 1851, at the Jesuits' Church in Farm Street, two of the most able Anglicans of the day made their submissions to Rome. One was Manning, till recently Archdeacon of Chichester and the other J. R. Hope, an eminent and learned layman. This volume of essays celebrates the conversion of Manning. It offers a foretaste of what was bound sooner or later to come, some attempt to vindicate Manning from the criticisms which were made in Purcell's *Life* and given prominence by Lytton Strachey in his celebrated essay on the eminent Victorian. The writers of these essays wisely eschew panegyric. They write in a sober spirit.

The first essay is by a French priest, M. Alphonse Chapeau, who is "shortly to produce what will probably be the definitive history of Manning as an Anglican." Will he, one wonders, show in his larger work an insight into Anglican history rare in foreign scholars, such as was possessed by Thureau-Dangin? M. Chapeau, in this essay, can do little more than set out, with brief commentary, the principal events of Manning's way to Rome. Thus he is bound, since he has to be so brief, to leave some interesting questions alone. For instance, will he throw light for us, in the book we are promised, on Manning's Guy Fawkes sermon of 1843, a protestant utterance which much annoyed Newman? He speaks in this essay of Manning's having a turn to preach this sermon. What therefore of the hostile Bishop Knox's suggestion in his *Tractarian Movement* that Manning got himself appointed to preach it? Of the Gorham controversy, it is only to be expected that a Roman Catholic essayist should accept Manning's valuation without demur. It is clear that the Royal supremacy was where the shoe pinched, for Manning, as for most others, rather than the dispute about baptism. "He was convinced of the unlawfulness by Christ's law of the Royal Supremacy . . . he believed it to be the instrument which had severed the Church of England from the Church Universal."

For Anglican readers this book is interesting about life in the Roman Communion in England, in the early days of the restored hierarchy hardly less stormy than in the contemporary Church of England. Fr. Denis Ward, in a good paper on the beginning of the Oblates of St. Charles in Bayswater, describes the part played by Manning, not only in the foundation of the community, but especially in fighting its battles against the "old" Catholic party who disliked this favourite child of Cardinal Wiseman (that great man) in the courts at Rome. Success in Rome seems to have led to his promotion to the see of Westminster. Dr. Gordon Albion, in an essay on Manning as archbishop, points out one aspect of Manning's work of which an Anglican may well take note: the policy of schools before churches, and certainly before a cathedral. Dr. Albion ascribes the failure of Manning's Roman Catholic university college in that Kensington boulevard the Cromwell Road chiefly to his "obstinately short-sighted and small-minded refusal" to make use of either Newman or the Jesuits, who had at least this in common, that they knew something about university education. Sir Shane Leslie concludes the first part of this book with two pleasant but desultory essays, one on Manning and his friends, and the other on Manning and Newman.

The second part of the book concerns "the chief interests and activities of Manning during the twenty-seven years that he occupied the see of Westminster." Fr. Purdy has a distinctly critical account of Manning's busyness at the Vatican council. He says plainly that Manning "never dissociated himself from the wilder extravagances of Ultramontanism." He agrees with Abbot Butler that Manning went to excessive lengths in the packing of the crucial deputation *De Fide*. In the end the definition was less than he and Ward (described by Sir Shane Leslie as Manning's theological evil genius) or perhaps also Pius IX desired. Sir Shane Leslie remarks also that it was the historians who most nettled Manning at the Council, "and indeed made the opposition." Manning was active not only in the Council but outside it, working to prevent any English diplomatic interference in favour of the inopportunists.

One of the most judicious essays in the book deals with Manning and education, by Mr. Christopher Howard, who makes use of unpublished papers at Bayswater. Manning saw what Anglican dignitaries so often seem unable to see, that to promote non-denominational education is virtually to promote nonconformist education, if not worse. "The Act of 1870," wrote Manning, "was founded upon the secular and nonconformist basis. It has established and endowed the Nonconformist education." Manning's claim to a place in the history of education is not in fact rated highly by Mr. Howard. It rests on "his resistance to the Radical

proposals of the 80's rather than upon any positive legislative achievement."

Manning was at times disposed to feel that his work was more for Irishmen (in England) than for Englishmen. Professor Denis Gwynn describes the way in which Manning used his influence with Gladstone in Irish affairs. To his pressure, as much as to any other single factor (and there were of course other influences on Gladstone's mind) was due the disestablishment in 1869 of the Irish Church. In the discussions on the Home Rule Bill of 1886, Manning pressed for keeping Irish members at Westminster, in order to strengthen Roman Catholic influence in England. Mr. Fitzsimons follows with an admiring essay about Manning's care for social justice. Mgr. Davis concludes with a discriminating essay on Manning as a spiritual writer to whom he seems to give, in examiner's language, the mark of *beta plus*.

Manning had great force, personal charm, practical ability and genuine piety, but remains for many a sort of Dr. Fell. Slightly repelled by him, it is to Newman that they are more attracted. The essays in this book, which are interesting in matter, in some points correct details. They give some new information. They do not greatly alter the generally received idea of what the second Archbishop of Westminster was like.

R. W. GREAVES

BAPTISMAL REGENERATION

GORHAM AND THE BISHOP OF EXETER. By J. C. S. NIAS. S.P.C.K.
17s. 6d.

It is good to be reminded of the serious crisis through which the Church of England passed a hundred years ago as a result of the Gorham case, and this book by Fr Nias, O.G.S., published for the Church Historical Society, gives an admirably succinct account of the successive stages in the drama. The whole affair has dated, and it reflects little credit on the present day to say that it could scarcely take place in 1952. Where is the bishop and where is the priest now who could and would engage in abstruse theological reasoning together for fifty-two hours in all, with only brief intervals for meals? Where is the bishop of such unbending principle as to refuse to institute one of his incumbents to another living in his diocese whom he regarded as in some few respects heretical? Where is the bishop who would excommunicate the archbishop of the province for ordering the institution of such an incumbent? Where is the bishop who would *inter alia* accuse his metropolitan of rank popery because he thought that faithful parents and sponsors

were necessary so that a child's baptism might be efficacious at all? And where is the bishop who after all this controversy would bear the intruded incumbent no ill-will, but would subscribe liberally to the restoration of his church (a pleasing fact, for which room might perhaps have been found in this book)? Truly there were giants in those days.

This is a pleasant and well-arranged book with a full bibliography. It is the fruit of considerable labour which has not been thrown away. The style is clear and attractive (though "stricture" as a verb might well remain as *rare* as the dictionary declares it to be). The historical narrative is particularly lucid, but some of the judgments passed are open to question. In particular the author takes an unduly favourable view of Gorham. He points out very truly that the combatants never thoroughly defined their terms and that what appear to be different beliefs occur in different parts of Gorham's book. In spite of the fact that he allows that passages denying baptismal regeneration preponderate, he urges that other passages which are less clearly heretical and are patient of an orthodox meaning point to the conclusion that Gorham did not wholly deny it. This is not convincing, and the fact that Pusey threw himself wholeheartedly in support of the Bishop of Exeter is very significant. For, as the author points out, Pusey was firmly convinced that "many, not the least devout and earnest of the so-called Low Church, are not opposing the truth of Baptismal Regeneration but an untrue imagination of it." Surely, holding these sentiments, he would have been eager to find justification for them in Gorham's book, had there been anything in the book to support him.

Fr Nias does not stop to note that Gorham erroneously interpreted the words, *generally necessary to salvation*, in the Catechism to mean "only generally—in the modern sense—and not universally," and that this meaning was not challenged during the proceedings. Lexicographical ignorance had far-reaching consequences, though it would be going too far to maintain with Warre Cornish (*The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. I, p. 326) that the judgment would have gone the other way if the correct meaning had been admitted.

In speaking of the Bishop of London's support for the Bishop of Exeter, the author might well have noted not only the Bill introduced by him on June 3rd, 1850 (on the second reading), *after* the Judgment, but also the abortive *Proceedings against the Clergy Bill*, introduced by him on February 5th *before* the Judgment, which sought to erect a new Court of Appeal in all suits for heresy. This was deliberately brought in by Blomfield for its first reading early in the session before the Privy Council's decision was published,

presumably in the hope that they might hesitate to pass judgment on a matter which the Bill implied they were unfit to decide.

Not all the suggestions and comments in the last chapter will command general assent. Is there "a very great deal to be said for the doctrine that Baptism is the beginning of sanctification, and no part of justification"? Is it enough to state barely, "At one time St. Augustine seems to think of faith as being the vital factor in the salvation of man: at another he lays all the emphasis on Baptism"? Some of the deductions seem precarious. "The Church evidently does not accept Phillpotts' doctrine, for mass baptismal campaigns . . . are not advocated." Does it in fact follow from what Fr Nias calls "an extreme high doctrine of baptism" that the tactics of St. Francis Xavier should be adopted and as many children as possible should be aspersed regardless of the absence of the safeguards required by the Prayer Book? Many to-day who hold "an extreme high doctrine" in the matter are to be found in the ranks of those who are anxious to *restrict* the administration of the sacrament.

The book is well printed, except for its punctuation. Of three quotations from Gorham at the beginning of the last chapter repeated from an earlier chapter, one lacks a comma which the earlier quotation possessed, and another has a comma which the earlier one lacked. More serious because deliberate is the printers' system not merely to print e.g. *Rev. Dr. Pusey* as *Rev. Dr Pusey* (which the present reviewer would commend), but to go further and print the detestable *Rev Dr Pusey*. Let S.P.C.K. please still supply points for abbreviations the final letter of which is not the final letter of the word.

KENNETH N. ROSS

A SYMBOLICAL INTERPRETATION

A STUDY IN ST. MARK. By AUSTIN FARRER. Dacre Press 25s.

MOST recent writers on St. Mark's Gospel have concentrated their interest upon the historical value of the narrative framework and the individual pericopes of the Gospel, and have dealt only incidentally and summarily with the methods of its 'final' author. Dr. Farrer approaches the Gospel in a different way. He seeks in this work to explain the Gospel and the underlying 'pattern' which he finds in it from the intricate rhythm of the author's inspired thinking, and only when he has established this does he turn to the consideration of the historical value of the work as a whole. He holds that the Gospel is a unity, and that, whatever were St. Mark's materials or sources, he dominated them. St. Mark was no mere

compiler, writing down paragraphs as he found them already formulated in oral memory, and adding a few 'links' or 'editorial touches' to produce some semblance of continuity; while he had available to him straightforward and first-hand memories of Christ including St. Peter's, he cast his material in a highly individual and symbolic mould.

In a series of chapters Dr. Farrer illustrates from various features of the Gospel the cyclic movement of the evangelist's thought which produced them. He begins by showing that the healing miracles form a pattern of gradually diminishing blocks in which the gradual condensation of the healing themes of exorcism, cleansing and restoration, from four to three, from three to two, from two to one, point on to the passion and resurrection of Christ. This pattern of healing corresponds to a pattern discernible in the Gospel as a whole. A simple alternating rhythm of little paragraphs develops into an alternating rhythm of longer paragraphs, and this in turn gives place to a cyclic rhythm in which themes of calling and healing in five paragraphs are gone over with variations in five new paragraphs.

The system of cycles develops, and the first six chapters form a "little Gospel", consisting of two double cycles and embracing eight healing signs, culminating in the raising of Jairus' child, a resurrection which prefigures and anticipates Christ's resurrection and the end of the whole gospel.

The system of cycles develops in complication from the time of Peter's confession, but, as the group of healings recurs cyclically, a whole associated complex of other themes recurs with it. From chapter xiii on, when there are no more healing narratives to narrate, the cyclic form continues in the history of the Apocalyptic discourse and the Passion.

To state such a theme so boldly is inevitably to do it much less than justice. Dr. Farrer is continually at pains to defend himself from the charge that he is representing St. Mark's Gospel as a sort of learned acrostic. What is difficult for us in a later generation to reconstruct came easily, he holds, to St. Mark, because such symbolical conventions were current in his world (Dr. Farrer has already put forward such a symbolical interpretation for the apocalypse, and considers the distinctive outline of the fourth gospel as also symbolical.) St. Mark's historical method involved both a pattern of exposition, which could be unhistorical in the modern sense as e.g. in counting Jairus' child as the eighth person to be healed of Christ, and a pattern of event. St. Mark, according to Dr. Farrer, used the latter above all in prefiguration. the present was prefigured in the past, and above all in the Old Testament, and itself prefigured the future, and above all the redemptive work of Christ. On the other hand such prefiguration is quite compatible with

historical truth, and Dr. Farrer goes on to defend the reasonableness of St. Mark's narrative as an account of Jesus' ministry and passion. Some will find this part of his book the most rewarding, for the arguments by which Dr. Farrer supports the primary historical value of St. Mark's Gospel do not for the most part depend on his theory of St. Mark's 'rhythmical thinking' and he deals many shrewd blows at the more radical form-critics and at those who over-exalt the evidence of the sermons in Acts as proof of what the Apostles preached. Dr. Farrer's thesis as to St. Mark's procedure in writing his Gospel, however, will be regarded by many of his readers as highly artificial—at least in the form in which he has put it forward. That St. Mark's Gospel is 'in order', and in this respect does not correspond with Papias' testimony which has been so often applied to it, is admitted by most scholars; some would go further and accept the view that its author was very much more than a 'mere compiler' and was an author in the true sense who selected and shaped his material with considerable skill. But in their different ways St. Matthew and St. Luke were also skilful authors, who like St. Mark, to use Dr. Farrer's words, were 'controlled by the traditional facts about Jesus Christ and . . . controlled by the interpreter Spirit who possessed (their) mind'; yet they neither employed a cyclic pattern of exposition themselves nor recognised such a pattern in St. Mark's Gospel. They *did* recognise in St. Mark's Gospel a straightforward chronological order of events which, with minor variations, they adopted in their own Gospels; and St. Luke, after all, if the traditional attribution of the second Gospel is accepted, was well acquainted with its author.

The fundamental weakness of Dr. Farrer's theory of St. Mark's cyclic and symbolic thinking lies in the complication of the method by which he explains a comparatively simple and ordered work. That St. Mark, consciously or unconsciously arranged his healing-narratives to obtain a certain 'balance' in his story as a whole is at least a tenable hypothesis; that he did so with the subtlety and patterned artistry suggested by Dr. Farrer is a theory hardly compatible with the patent simplicity of his methods of narrative-construction. Some of Dr. Farrer's admittedly more speculative 'interpretations' in his later chapters are of a subtlety that borders on fantasy. He interprets the two feedings, for example, as representing the eucharist of Israel and of the Gentiles respectively, and proceeds, by an intricate play with the numbers of the loaves, the thousands, and the 'leavings', to suggest among other things, a deliberate intention on St. Mark's part to represent the second feeding as symbolically from the 'leavings' of the first. It is hard to take such a type of argument very seriously.

If the main thesis of Dr. Farrer's latest book must be adjudged unconvincing, his work has, for the patient reader, many points of

great interest and value. Above all, he directs our attention to two vital questions, and unlike some critics, he asks them in the right order. For an understanding of St. Mark's Gospel as a record, and in many ways a most important record, of Christ's ministry on earth it is necessary first to form an opinion about the way in which St. Mark chose to write history, and then to consider the historical value of what he wrote. Dr. Farrer has asked the right questions, even if we may disagree with the answers which he gives.

RICHARD HEARD

WESLEY AND THE EUCHARIST

THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN EARLY METHODISM.
JOHN C. BOWMER. Dacre Press 1951. 25s.

THIS is a timely, lucid and thoroughly documented study of "one aspect of the devotional life of early Methodism." It deals with an important element in the Evangelical Revival, but one which nineteenth-century writers (under the mental impact of sharp hostility to the Oxford Movement and to recrudescing Popery) were inclined to ignore or minimize. Mr. Bowmer's work had been foreshadowed by a scholarly discussion by the late Dr. T. H. Barratt, and the more recent studies by Dr. J. E. Rattenbury. But he has marshalled the evidence with a wider perspective, and with balance of judgment and grasp of detail. Those who would dismiss his study as "one-sided" must produce more facts than he has done, and they will very likely find that they have little more than prejudice to sustain their reluctance to acknowledge Mr. Bowmer's demonstration that the Evangelical Revival, as regards the Methodists, was a eucharistic revival. Here the influence and example and conviction of the Wesleys was paramount. From his first communion (at the age of 8) to the end of his long life, frequent communion was a constant and unwavering practice of this apostolic man, John Wesley, and in this matter his convictions underwent less modification than almost any other belief. This frequent communion was the note of the Oxford Holy Club which drew immediate opprobrium from their contemporaries (Mr. Bowmer has a restrained opening chapter on the contemporary neglect of the Sacraments). More clearly than any previous writer he gives due weight to the influence on the Wesleys of the liturgical and devotional writings of the Non-Jurors (the one remaining corner of Wesley studies which awaits its monograph). Their adherence to the First Prayer Book, their patristic studies in the Eucharist, their adherence to the "Apostolic Constitutions" bore practical fruit in the ministry of John Wesley, who had a disconcerting habit of acting upon other people's academic

theories. It is perhaps an over-statement when Mr. Bowmer says that the Wesleys attempted to turn the Georgian settlements at Savannah and Frederica into a "Non-Juror Settlement," for what Wesley himself was after, in this most rigid High Church period, was what he called "Primitive Christianity." The attempt to impose upon this unruly collection of refugees, displaced persons, with its sediment of ex-convicts and fortune hunters, a religion which was neither Presbyterian fish, nor Baptist fowl, nor Moravian good red herring, was evidently a brand of Anglicanism never seen on land or sea, not even among the Caroline Divines or among the Non-Jurors, a prefabricated "Primitive Christianity" which never was beneath which a prophetic genius only could have discerned the embryo of Methodism.

After an admirable summary of the influences on John Wesley of the Moravians, Mr. Bowmer comes to the startling facts, the overwhelming statistical proof that the flowering of the Revival meant a renewal of eucharistic devotion. The Wesley brothers led off their solemn troops of converts to the nearest altars : they themselves (aided by the tiny band of ordained clergy among their helpers) administered Holy Communion to congregations of many hundreds, and often to thousands, in great services, like those at West St. Chapel, Seven Dials (now a derelict building where chorus girls are trained) which lasted for many hours. These great occasions, to which was added a new enrichment, the hymns of Charles Wesley, were the peak moments. For most of the time most of the Methodists had to receive from the nearest parish church, but as hostility sharpened on the part of local clergy, there were the sad stories of Methodists repelled from the Lord's Table, while among the Dissenting elements among the Methodists and from the mass of converts whose religion had formerly been less than nominal Anglicanism, there came a growing impatience at an unrequited loyalty which forbade them to receive the Sacraments from the hands of those who, in the preaching of the Word, gave them the Bread of Life. This growing problem became a source of tension which came to a head after the death of Wesley and brought the Eucharist itself into battle, one evil consequence of which was a slackening of devotional fervour and of practical observance in regard to Holy Communion in the next generation. Mr. Bowmer shows this tension at work in an able chapter on "Ordinations in Early Methodism." The chapter on Eucharistic doctrine is a lucid summary of what Dr. Rattenbury and others have expounded, on the basis of the eucharistic hymns and the sermons of John Wesley. A final chapter on the place of the Lord's Supper in the Methodist Revival puts together the facts and findings in such a way as to point the question to Methodists to-day, and to a much wider ecumenical audience, whether a

renewed eucharistic life among the separated Christian bodies might not ease a great many theological tensions.

The appendices are all useful, and the photographs of Early Methodist communion plate will evoke much wistful murmuring from those who know into what hygienic monstrosities the modern Free Churches have declined.

GORDON RUPP

A COMMENTARY ON THE ACTS

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By F. F. BRUCE. Tyndale Press. 491pp. 25s.

THIS commentary by the Head of the Department of Biblical History and Literature in the University of Sheffield will meet a considerable need. In under five hundred pages it supplies an introduction, sections of Greek text with notes on each section in turn, and an index. In the introduction we find a discussion of the authorship of Acts, which leads to the conservative conclusion; other valuable parts of the introduction deal with the date (though Mr. Bruce hardly considers the possibility that St. Luke may have drafted an early collection of Gospel material as his first treatise to Theophilus, and that then St. Luke after receiving a copy of St. Mark which he used in Acts sometimes (cf. p. 213), wrote Acts and then the full Gospel; this possibility has a bearing on the end of Acts and its date); then he deals with Luke as a historian, with the speeches and sources of Acts, its style and language, its purpose and plan, with the relation of Acts to the Pauline epistles and with a competent discussion of the text. A select bibliography includes the titles of most of the books, English, French and German, worth reading on the Apostolic Age. Some useful tables are added of the Roman emperors, of the rulers in Judaea, of the Jewish High Priests and of the descendants of Herod the Great in New Testament times.

Mr. Bruce rejects no doubt rightly the theory of St. Luke's dependence upon Josephus' works. But is he right in dating the Anti-Marcionite Prologue to Luke, as de Bruyne, Harnack and Huck did, c. A.D.170, as though the Prologue were prior to and independent of Irenaeus and even possibly Tertullian? He points out that there is little scope for Form criticism (we cry 'Deo gratias') in Acts and that where forms can be detected, "the use of such moulds in no way affects the historicity of the narratives themselves." which is a typically sane remark. One notes that Mr. Bruce identifies the visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem narrated in Acts xi with that of Gal. ii and that he is prepared to put Galatians early, before the Council meeting of Acts xv.

On the whole conservative, certainly widely-read and abreast of all the necessary literature, the author has used his knowledge of classical Greek as well as his learning of Torrey's theory of an Aramaic original of part of Acts to illuminate his comments. Even a Welsh word is cited once ! (p. 129). Many of the notes deserve commendation for being informative yet concise, e.g. those on Speaking with Tongues (p.82), on the Pharisees (p. 45), Epicureans and Stoics (pp. 332f.), Theudas and Judas of Galilee (pp. 147f.), on the possibility that the Jews at one time treated the Suffering Servant songs as Messianic (pp. 192-4), on Zeus worship at Lystra (p. 282) and many more. The commentary is in fact learned and sensible ; the textual notes show knowledge of the importance of the Chester Beatty papyrus of Acts and the grammatical notes on Greek words are useful for the student.

One can divide commentaries on Acts into those which cater for English readers only ; and those which cater for Greek readers as well. Of the latter the most notable is that of Lake and Cadbury in the Beginnings of Christianity series, to which Mr. Bruce acknowledges his indebtedness often. This book is more concise than Lake and Cadbury's and less sceptical, one might say less needlessly sceptical, than theirs was. It deserves to fill a gap in the shelves of a tutor and of a student alike.

C. S. C. WILLIAMS

THE MEANING OF A WORD

THE FAITH OF ST. PAUL. By W. R. INGE. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

THE S.P.C.K. have published in a half-crown pamphlet the Charles Gore Memorial Lecture which Dean Inge gave last November under the title "The Faith of St. Paul." It is rather disjointed and on the whole has less to do with Paul or Gore than with the meaning of such words as soul, spirit, person, faith, etc., which makes it all the more interesting. "Half our disputes and difficulties in theology" he says, "are due to the Tower of Babel" which is very true. To give one example he says that the Greek word translated "sin" in the New Testament is probably a "bad shot," which is, as a matter of fact, an exact translation of the equivalent Hebrew word in the Old Testament, and shows how badly the publication of a good Bible Word Book is needed. Occasionally the author digresses and gives his views on such subjects as eternal damnation, universal salvation and the Lord's Supper.

A. D. POWER

BIBLIOGRAPHY

F. L. Cross.—*St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures*. London, S.P.C.K. xli.+83 p. Price 12s. 6d.

An admirable edition of the Fourth Century teacher.

Jacques Ellul.—*The Presence of the Kingdom*. London, Student Christian Movement Press. 153 p. Price 9s. 6d.

The real conflict goes deeper than the war between East and West. It is the radical incompatibility between a Christian way of thought and the common assumptions of modern culture. The author is Professor of Law at Bordeaux University.

Martin Buber.—*Two Types of Faith*. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul. 177 p. Price 12s. 6d.

A comparison of Christian and Jewish faith, with learned examination of our Lord's relationship to Pharisaism and the position of St. Paul. The writer seeks for a better understanding between Christianity and Judaism and for mutual help in the present crisis.

Maurice de Wulf.—*History of Mediaeval Philosophy*. Vol. I. (Translated by Ernest C. Messenger). Nelson. 317 p. Price 21s.

This, the sixth edition, of a standard work appears some years after the author's lamented death.

Derrick Sherwin Bailey.—*The Mystery of Love and Marriage*. London, S.C.M. Press. x.+145 p. 12s. 6d.

A comprehensive theological consideration of sexual love.

Basil Willey.—*Christianity Past and Present*. Cambridge, at the University Press. 150 p. 10s. 6d.

A book of exceptional quality and interest in which a gift of interpretation already developed in the field of literature is directed to the fundamental ideas of the Christian faith.

E. Allison Peers.—*Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, Vol. I. Second Edition revised. London, S.P.C.K. 188 p.

This is a revised edition of a work which was first published in 1917 and is well known to many who are students of Spanish religious writers.

Richard Meux Benson.—*Instructions on the Religious Life*. London, Mowbray. 144 p. Price 10s. 6d.

Two volumes of instructions by the Father Founder of the Society of St. John the Evangelist are already well known and out of print. The present series originally given to members of a religious Society will be valued by others who take their Christian dedication seriously.

Horton Davies.—*The English Free Churches*. (The Home University Library). London, Oxford University Press. 208 p. Price 6s.

A scholarly history which aims at describing the positive contribution of English Nonconformity.

Vera Barclay.—*Challenge to the Darwinians*. Newport, K. H. Johns. 295 p. Price 12s. 6d.

Miss Barclay is continuing her critique of Evolution, a subject on which many have begun to reconsider their views.

John Baillie.—*Natural Science and the Spiritual Life*. Oxford University Press. Price 5s.

A penetrating contribution to the debate of a very urgent issue.

Gabriel Marcel.—*The Mystery of Being, II. Faith and Reality*. (The Gifford Lectures for 1950). Harvill Press. x.+188 p. Price 16s.

This work contains valuable discussion of themes which will arrest the attention of every Christian philosopher.

S. G. F. Brandon.—*The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church*. London, S.P.C.K. 284 p. Price 30s.

A learned and stimulating study of a difficult subject. It will be of great interest even to readers whom it does not convince.

Henri Talon.—*John Bunyan : The Man and His Works*. London, Rockliff. 340 p. Price 25s.

A masterly study by a French scholar of great insight and wide reading.

W. Norman Pittenger.—*The Principles and Practice of the Christian Faith*. London, Student Christian Movement Press. 180 p. Price 9s. 6d.

A competent statement by a scholar who is convinced that the Christian Catholic tradition can be expressed in modern language and related to contemporary trends.

W. Norman Pittenger.—*The Christian Sacrifice : a Study of the Eucharist in the Life of the Church*. New York, Oxford University Press. 205 p. Price 21s.

The author stresses the importance of the Eucharist as the central notion of the Christian Church, and its relationship to the common life of the Christian in the world.

NOTES ON PERIODICALS

Scottish Journal of Theology. December 1951. Oliver and Boyd. 4s. 6d.

Outstanding is a review by Professor D. M. Mackinnon of three well-known books: *Faith and History* by Reinhold Niebuhr; *The Belief in Progress* by John Baillie; *Christianity and History* by H. Butterfield. Professor Torrance reviews the Bishop of Derby's *Problems of Reunion*.

Scottish Journal of Theology. March 1952. Oliver and Boyd. 4s. 6d.

Articles on The Biblical Significance of Law, and The Relevance of the Old Testament for the Doctrine of the Church. Among books reviewed, *The Fulness of Christ*. *The Church's Growth into Catholicity* is ably reviewed at some length by T. F. Torrance. Others reviewed include W. H. V. Reade's *The Christian Challenge to Philosophy*, and *Letters of Herbert Hensley Henson*.

Nouvelle Revue Theologique. Janvier 1952. Casterman, Tournai. 185 francs belges. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 30s.).

Articles on Le Sartrisme et le Probleme Moral, and Les divers sens des Saintes Ecritures. As usual the Bibliographie is full and ably done. Reviews of books published in Great Britain include Dickinson's *The Origins of the Austin Canons*, McLachlan's *Socinianism in Seventeenth-Century England* and Cary-Elwes' *Law Liberty and Love*.

Nouvelle Revue Theologique. Decembre 1951. Casterman, Tournai. 185 francs belges. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 30s.).

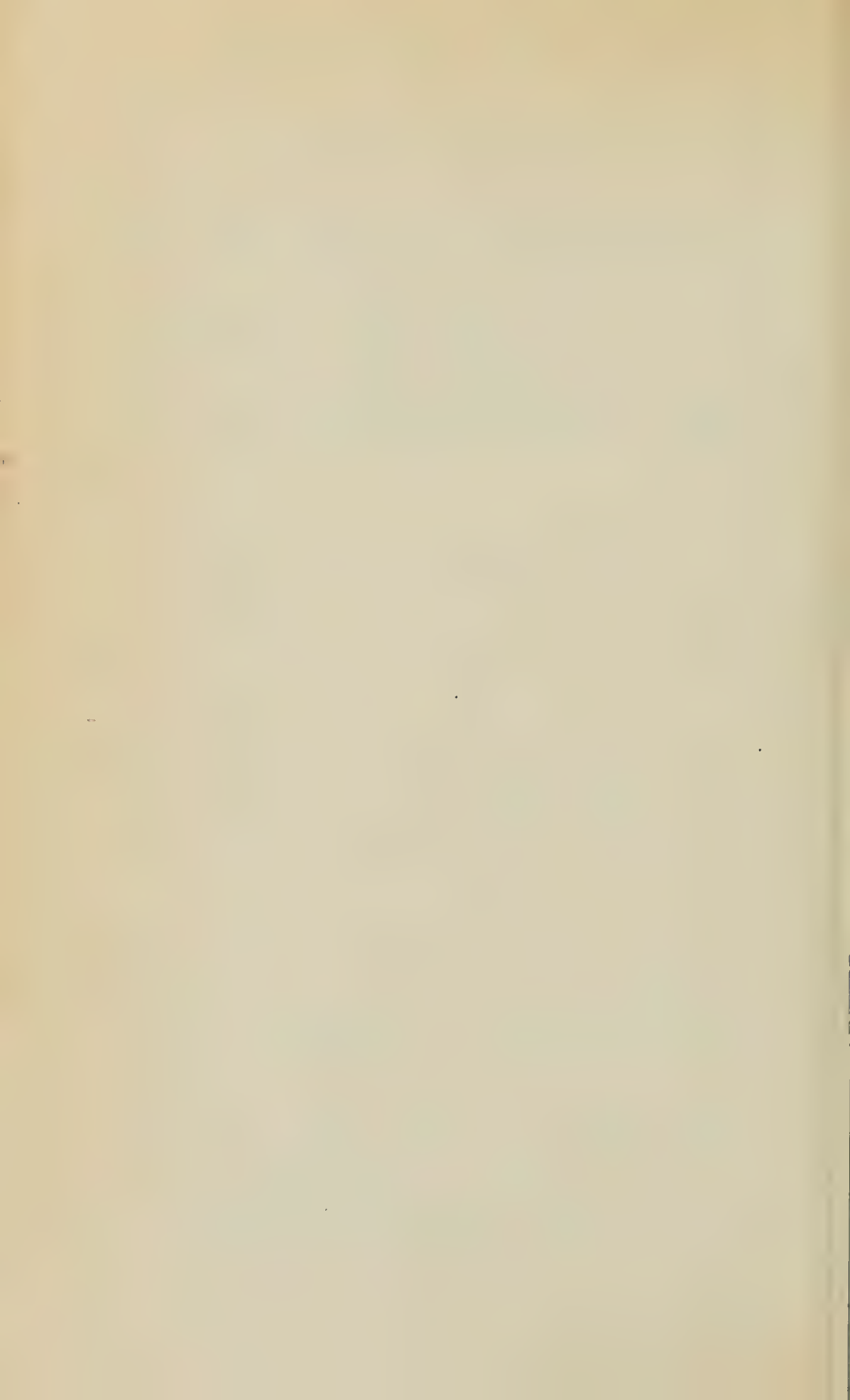
Articles on L'évolution du dogma de l'Immaculee Conception, and Fenelon promoteur de la Paix. There is a review of Fr Copleston's *History of Philosophy* V. II., and other English works noticed are the edition of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and of the *Prior and Posterior Analytics* by W. D. Ross.

The Downside Review. January 1952. Downside Abbey. 4s. 2d.

Articles on the Platonic Tradition by Professor A. H. Armstrong, Nature and Supernature in St. Thomas by Dom James Mitchell, Mortal Sin and the Moral Order by Dr. J. P. Wroe and Dom Illtyd Trethowan. There is a good review (anonymous) of Austin Farrer's recent *Study in St. Mark*.

Philosophy. Editor: Sydney E. Hooper. January 1952. Macmillan. 5s.

The Ontological Argument of St. Anselm is examined by S. A. Grave. A discussion of Action at a Distance by W. H. McCrea is important. There is a full survey of recent Philosophy in France, by H. B. Acton. France is "a country where a knowledge of philosophy is expected of any cultivated man, and where the flourishing of philosophy in school and university curricula is regarded as a condition of intellectual freedom." There is a full review of Brehier's *Transformation de la Philosophie Francaise*. An important and heavily documented metaphysical treatise is Chastaing's *L'Existence d'Autrui* (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1951). The thinkers most studied to-day are said to be Plotinus, Augustine and Hegel.



*Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec
requiescat in te.*

EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

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As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

A number of alert commentators are now exercised about that grave question: the indifference of the educated public. Reticence, or ostrich-like reluctance to see the facts is no longer tolerable. It is clear that those who are unable to declare their faith by act and word are wanting in something which is quite indispensable.

There are innumerable ways of expressing their faith open even to the less gifted. "*Non est alia via ad vitam et ad veram internam pacem nisi via sanctae crucis*"—the principle contained in these words is simple. Anyone can adopt it if he has the will.

But in the world as it is now situated there are other urgent needs. It would be idle to suppose that the task of the evangelist today is capable of accomplishment on the still generally accepted lines. It requires no great perception to see that an entirely novel and unprecedented "climate" of thought and outlook is established in the mind of the nation, fortified by dogmas which receive general currency in the press and on the air. We must be careful not to underrate the radical opposition of alien trends of thought—trends which have not even left the Church immune.

Surely, the first step would be a sustained inquiry on the philosophical level, designed to discover the roots of current unbelief and the underlying assumptions of the entire secular culture. It is too readily assumed that the great scheme of knowledge, and the technical application of knowledge, which has dominated Europe for a century is firmly based upon unchallengeable foundations. Such an inquiry might discover in the Scientism of contemporary thought an inordinate overvaluation of a particular method which is made plausible by the prestige of the technical results which have followed.

Already there are voices faintly audible which challenge the very roots of this culture. We may anticipate a time not far distant when the claims of a scientific civilisation will not remain undisputed. In certain fields there are scientists who have not failed to turn a philosophical eye upon the founda-

tion and method of their own work. Others have pointed out the revolutionary implications of recent advance in the study of telepathy. Like Isaac Newton we are coming again to feel that we are no more than children playing with pebbles on the shore whilst "the great ocean of truth lies all undiscovered" beside us. We do not know enough about Man, physically of small account in the vastness of space, to excuse so much pride as we witness around us.

Such considerations, we venture to say, are very relevant to this pressing need of evangelism. We must be in a position to defend the Gospel by pure reason and to challenge the resistance of a secular civilisation by the same method. At present we are not very well placed for the task. The **Preface to Crockford**, a privileged medium of criticism, has often furnished a useful, if rather pungent, survey of present problems. Today Crockford alludes to the challenge of unbelief and the nature of the Church's response. Drawing attention to the views of the Archbishop of York, recently published, the Editor declares that those studies which occupy university theological faculties, valuable as they are, bear little relation to the need of apologetic today. "The priests going on and blowing with the trumpets" make no impact on a public opinion for which, at best, Christianity is no more than a conventional sentiment. "It is vain", runs Crockford, "to begin by proclaiming God as 'breaking into history from beyond history in mighty acts of redemption and revelation'", when the general public betrays no consciousness of God whatever.

Readers of a recent social survey by Messrs. Seebohm Rowntree and G. R. Lavers will not judge that there is any exaggeration. What is needed is a realistic examination of the intellectual state of the population, and of the kind of evangelism suited to the outlook of a public which has no apparent religious sympathies. An entirely new approach is called for. "We cannot be content to play the old records with louder needles and more amplifiers", as a bishop wrote some time ago.

In America and on the Continent there are not wanting

Christian apologists who appreciate the situation with a sense of urgency not common in Great Britain. Interest has been focused on the avowed Christian and his failure to advance the cause. Dr. Wedel, Warden of the College of Preachers at Washington, has discussed this question in **The Christianity of Main Street**. His thesis is applicable to the Christianity of this country. He writes an indictment of a type of religion which carries no costly implications—a mere sentiment attached to ethical ideals. “The average citizen”, writes Dr. Wedel, “when asked for a definition of his beliefs, rarely ventures to cite his Church’s catechism or its creed or confession. He would be puzzled to explain its hymns. He often knows less of his Bible than he does of Shakespeare, or the latest edition of the Reader’s Digest.”

Throughout Western Christendom it is felt that the situation is alarming. For we are in no condition to defend our faith against any powerful propaganda from hostile quarters. In the limited sphere of academic studies valuable work is being done, and some of it may likely mould the opinion of a future generation. Biblical, philosophical, and liturgical studies are actively pursued. But to the general public they mean very little. Nor is there any response to them among those whose business it is to direct publicity. A few journals are rather sparingly furnished with well-informed religious commentators, but the larger part of what makes up any paper shows no evidence of Christian guidance. And if a definitely Christian policy is openly professed, it is usually allowed to express a form of religion which resembles what Dr. Wedel has called the Christianity of Main Street rather than a vitalising and disturbing creed. Within a narrow circle good work is going on, but there is no channel through which the fruits of research can flow into the general stream of popular discussion. It would be expected that such instruction of the general public might be offered by the higher clergy. But, as the Editor of Crockford says, “there are few, whether bishops, deans, or residentiary canons who either do or could make any effective defence of the faith with the weapons of reason” We fear this is no

exaggeration. It confirms the impression formed after hearing a number of cathedral sermons. The hungry sheep look up and are not fed. And yet, as the growing number of those who have enrolled as supporters of this journal prove, there exists in the British Commonwealth and America a considerable body of laymen and parish priests—often working alone—who greatly value competent expository instruction when it can be provided.

Clearly there is no short way with the unbeliever. He may be a principal of a college, or a statesman, just as well as a man of limited knowledge and experience. Various lines of approach are necessary. But it is difficult to believe that any genuine progress will be made until there is a considered and forceful criticism of accepted dogmas of an unbelieving world. Christian scholars cannot surely ignore the facts. A diversion of some part of their attention to those things which are now paramount is an obligation. Now is the time for a very effective challenge to secular beliefs—a query should be addressed to responsible agnostics. They should be called upon to defend their logic, their ethic, their anthropology above all. “What is man?” they should be asked. It is the pride of secular man which affronts us. A peasant, wrote Fenelon, is apt to be filled with pride of his village, but when he has seen palaces and courts, his estimate alters. So does man’s estimate of himself change when he has known the glory and grandeur of God.

CHRONICLE

WHAT IS GERMANY?

THERE are, in any case, two Germanies—the *Federal Republic* and the *Democratic Republic*. The former is a democracy (in the sense of the term as used in the western world), though a democracy subject to rigid limitations which will be greatly reduced when the German Treaty has been ratified. The latter belongs to the type of State that has become known as “totalitarian.”

The democracy of the Federal Republic is limited by the superimposed Military Government of the Western Powers. They have used the means which victory has given them to determine the basic character of its institutions, to discriminate against certain categories of persons, and to convert the people to a certain outlook—a “democratic” outlook—by a process known as “re-education.”

The rule of the Military Government has, to this extent, been despotic but it has been exercised with considerable restraint. It certainly saved Germany from chaos immediately after the war. When the German Treaty has been ratified, the Republic will be a sovereign State—a *persona* under international law—though certain limitations on its sovereignty will remain. It is, for example, pledged to preserve democratic institutions, which raises an interesting question: Do democratic principles allow or forbid a nation the freedom to discard these principles?

The Federal Republic comprises two thirds of the territory of the former Weimar Republic shorn of the region that lies beyond the rivers Oder and Neisse and now incorporated *de facto* (though not *de jure*) in the Polish Republic. These two thirds also comprise about two thirds of the population and of the productive capacity. The Democratic Republic comprises the remaining third.

We shall, for the sake of convenience, refer to the Federal Republic as Western Germany, although it comprises the south as well as the west, and to the Democratic Republic as Eastern, although it also comprises central Germany (including the town of Weimar).

The line that sunders the two Republics is a segment of the Iron Curtain which divides the world in two. The political and social

order, the institutions, the methods of production, and education in Eastern Germany are being assimilated to the system called Communist, which extends from the Elbe to the China Sea. It differs only in detail from other "Satellite" States which are under the domination of their Communist Parties, being moulded according to the same pattern. Western Germany, although forced by the Atlantic Powers and by circumstance into close association with these Powers, will shortly be free, within the limitations already mentioned, to develop its own institutions in accordance with its own needs and the character of its people. Eastern Germany is, and will continue to be, ruled in the interests of an idea, the idea of World Revolution under the leadership of the Soviet Union, while Western Germany will be ruled in its own interests.

Germans who give the matter a thought, are, for the most part, persuaded that the division of their country will come to an end. When they are asked how they imagine this can happen, they usually reply with phrases like "in the course of events" or "by negotiation" or "the division is unnatural and cannot last." When asked: "What events?" or "Negotiation on what basis?" or "Why cannot the 'unnatural' last (or why can it not in time become 'natural')?" we receive no precise answer.

It would seem sufficiently evident that as the Soviet Union has made an armed conquest of Eastern Germany, and as the conquest is an important strategic, economic, political and (perhaps most important of all) *doctrinal* asset, we remain at a loss to see any reasons why it should surrender the conquest, for it is under no pressure to do so, there is nothing discernible of equal value which Western Germany will give in exchange, and it regards every transformation of every non-Socialist society into a Socialist society as being in the course of the dialectical process which it identifies with the course of nature.

Some observers hold that the Soviet Union might surrender Eastern Germany in the "interests of peace." We must, however, consider that the Union is not interested in peace but in the maintenance of international tension, in fact, of war (known as "cold war," but war, nevertheless, though falling short of a World War which might overthrow the Union). We must also consider that the surrender might not have consequences of a pacific character, for it would increase the power of Germany and there could be no

telling whether, in that case, Germany would turn against the Atlantic Powers as an ally of the Union or against the Union as an ally of these Powers, though the probability would be (if we can visualise anything so hypothetical) that she would prefer a state of armed neutrality while striving to recover her former territories beyond the Oder and Neisse, as well as the Sudetenland. (If she were to recover them, Poland would lose her western provinces and, as her eastern provinces have been annexed by the Soviet Union, she would be reduced to a puny State, rather like the *Gouvernement General* which was established by Hitler, while Czechoslovakia would once more lose the provinces of which she was deprived under the Munich Agreement in 1938.)

The Communist rulers of Eastern Germany are detested and despised by their present subjects, although they have gained a certain following amongst those who are employed, or strive for employment, in the bureaucracy, amongst the "intellectuals" (especially writers and artists) who cannot exercise their intellects publicly (and therefore cannot get their works printed or their pictures exhibited unless they accept an undeviating conformity which has already begun to destroy authentic literature and art), and amongst young persons who are of an enthusiastic and credulous disposition or are tempted by the prospect of exercising authority which, in Eastern Germany, is readily conferred upon the young (it is one of the attractions of Communism that it gives all, especially the young, "something to do," something that seems important).

Broadly speaking, the liberation of Eastern Germany from Communist rule is the cherished, indeed nostalgic, dream of the population. It would, if it came, be welcomed with unspeakable joy and would probably, if no precautions were taken beforehand, lead to a massacre of all Communists in the territory.

This picture is, however, true, in the main, of all Satellite States and even of Yugoslavia. It is true, in some measure, even of the Soviet Union, where the régime, although enjoying considerable support, is detested by the vast majority. There is, however, this difference: the Russian people, unlike the people of the Satellite States and of Yugoslavia, do not reject Communism as an idea—an idea which has never been translated into reality and can never be, because, although secular, it is eschatological. They do not reject it, because they know no other and because those of them who think

about it at all hope that it will be realised some day (which does not prevent them from detesting their present masters). A generation at least will have to pass before the minds of those who inhabit the Satellite States, including Eastern Germany, can be assimilated to the Communist system which is, in fact, a Socialist system—Socialism, according to the teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, being the transition from Capitalism to Communism (even Stalin does not regard the Soviet Union as a Communist State).

It is true that the Atlantic Powers have declared for a "united Germany," meaning the extension of the Federal Republic to the Oder and Neisse and even beyond. The Soviet Union has also declared for a "united Germany," meaning the extension of the Democratic Republic to the frontiers of the Low Countries, Luxemburg and France. The Western Powers are not, however, prepared to use armed force to promote "German unity" as they conceive it. The Soviet Union has employed, and continues to employ, force to promote "German unity," but has failed because it cannot afford to provoke a World War.

Unless events which are not in sight produce a radical change in the balance of power, we must expect that one third of Germany will be fully assimilated into the Communist system and will come to differ fundamentally, in the character and outlook of its people, as well as in its social and political structure, from Western Germany which, as the successor of the Empire, of the Weimar Republic, and of the Third Reich, will have preserved the authentic national heritage.

To answer our question: "What is Germany?" we must therefore—at least provisionally—consider the present Federal Republic and its future.

The people of the Republic are displaying a prodigious vitality. The work of rebuilding the ruined cities and factories proceeds with an energy and an enterprise which commands the greatest admiration. The destruction wrought by the war transcends anything those who experienced the bombing of English cities can conceive. Eight or nine million Germans perished in battle, as prisoners of war in Russia, in the great movement trek of the population from east to west, and in the air-raids. The population of Western Germany has been swollen by the arrival of nine or ten

million destitute refugees (so that the total is now forty-eight million).

Nevertheless, industrial production in the Federal Republic will soon be half as much again as it was before the war. The people work as no other Europeans are working. Under their relatively free economy, the incentives are very great. Nowhere else, save in America, is there such a spirit of enterprise. The system—if it can be called a system—has its hardships, and widespread poverty contrasts sharply with concentrated wealth. But real wages are rising, wealth is being diffused, and a prosperous trading class has begun to re-emerge.

Despite occasional (and, it would seem, rare) instances of gross rudeness such as would cause astonishment in this country, the visitor to Germany must be struck by the courtesy and geniality of the people—on the part of those Germans who are in service, service is rendered without servility.

Local character is much more marked than it is in this country. The Bavarians seem more Bavarian than ever and they persist in their anti-Prussian sentiment although Prussia has ceased to exist. The refugees are often objects of distrust and dislike. Whatever hatred the Germans have left in their nature seems to turn against fellow-countrymen rather than against foreigners. It cannot even be said that they hate the Russians. The German soldiers who took part in the Russian campaign often speak with sympathy of the Russian people. One of them, an Evangelical Pastor, Hellmut Gollwitzer, has just published a book *Und fuhren wohin du nicht willst* ("... another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not" John xxi, 18) which is a masterpiece of human sympathy, deep insight, and grasp of essentials—one of the finest books ever written about Russia. Most of the books and articles published in Germany about Russia since the war are highly instructive, but Gollwitzer has the advantage of a theological *apparatus criticus* which enables him to grasp the full significance of dialectical materialism, the secular religion which, more than any other force, whether spiritual or material, determines the character and the policy (both domestic and foreign) of the Soviet Union.

The old and beautiful city of Stuttgart, of which the whole centre was totally destroyed, is to-day a new city of almost American appearance. The Swabian population has a zest for work and a

warm and genial manner which leads no one, who did not know it already, to think that there had been a catastrophe so recent and so appalling.

The German recovery is no mere return to the condition that existed before the establishment of that National Socialist Revolution which is unique amongst the great revolutions of the modern age in leaving so few traces save traces of destruction. It has not, after its overthrow, remained a force as the French Revolution remained a force after the overthrow of Napoleon—and remains a force to the present day (the Russian Revolution would have been inconceivable in its essential character if the French had not gone before).

In Eastern Germany Communism is maintained by external force, but with this exception, all utopian doctrines, all secular religions that afflicted the German nation have collapsed, for all suffered defeat — the overthrow of National Socialism was but the crowning defeat. The original triumph of National Socialism and its foreseeable consequences, namely one of the worst tyrannies ever known and the greatest war ever waged, were opposed, if at all, so weakly that none of the German Parties or larger movements and organisations, with but one exception, can disclaim responsibility for defeat of a peculiarly ignominious nature. The Churches—Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed—are the only exception. No doubt they might have done more to expose and oppose National Socialism sooner, but they did at least offer sustained resistance, they were never defeated, and emerged intact and if not with glory, at least without dishonour.

It is doubtful whether the Federal Republic has any solid moral foundations. It has a constitution and official insignia, but these do not command any deep loyalty. The flag is an official, rather than a national, emblem.

Ideals have gone and, when we consider the nature of the ideals that strove for mastery over the Germans, to be shattered one after another, from 1933 (the year of the Revolution) to 1945, we must conclude that Germans have undergone a very necessary spiritual purge.

There are complaints that the younger generation of Germans is "sceptical" or "does not believe anything." The younger generation tends to be inarticulate—the older too articulate and even loquacious. The younger, therefore, is hard to judge. It cannot be expected

to have much respect for the older, at least not in the realm of politics. It is widely—and rightly—persuaded that it has been cheated. Of what? Of everything, including its youth! Many of the younger generation joined the National Socialist Party in good faith, deluded by a seductive propaganda sponsored by the greatest swindler ever known, and denied access to the truth. When the truth emerged—and for many it did not emerge until the collapse—they were appalled. They are now “ex-Nazis” and many, as such, can find no place in Society although amongst them are many of fine character and intellect.

It is astonishing how many, old and young, “did not know.” Was the truth not plain? It seems so to us, but we underrate the power of a terroristic dictatorship not only to impose falsehood but (what is no less important and much easier) to exclude truth. Once propaganda is in the ascendent—and *all* the belligerent Powers engaged in propaganda—those subjected to it from within as well as from abroad, no longer believed anything transmitted by any official authority. It is not, in this country, sufficiently understood that there is no such thing as “good propaganda” and that even when the propagandist tells the truth, he makes truth itself suspect.

The Christian Churches did at least defend what was strictly their own. The Christian faith was preserved throughout in Germany. It defended its doctrines with success and it protected the family which the National Socialists endeavoured to corrupt and disrupt. There has been no “religious revival” in Germany, but the Christian Churches are more respected than they were before and are more at peace with one another without mutual sacrifice of dogma. The Protestant Church is no longer associated with the nationalism and militarism of the old imperial order, especially the Prussian order. It has, to-day, a severe ethic which provides a strong defence against false prophets, against all the secular religions, especially Communism and what little is left of National Socialism. Prussia, defeated in two wars, has been broken up as a political and territorial unit, but Prussian spirit at its best sustains a simple faith and a sober patriotism that make it one of the greatest forces for good in Germany. It is particularly strong amongst students.

But Western Germany is a world of its own not only because of the division imposed by the victorious Powers. Although Protestants

are in a slight majority over Catholics in the west, the west is predominantly Catholic in character. It is also individualistic and anti-Socialist, although the Socialists are strong in Westphalia and may in the next elections emerge as the strongest single Party (though they cannot hope for a majority over all the other Parties). The Federal Republic is a land of free enterprise, of capitalism, and of a religion that deepens the richness of the native civilisation. The Federal Republic is dependent on America—this dependence alone, in which it sees its main material hope for the future, has overcome its radical reluctance to take part in the military defence of Europe. It has been saved from National Socialism and from Communism and is determined to preserve what has been saved at any cost, except the cost of war.

The spiritual unity of Germany, which might have transcended the political division has grown very uncertain. Its chief defenders in the realm of politics are the Socialists under the leader, Dr. Schumacher. They are poor in personalities and their opposition is often sterile, but Dr. Schumacher is a man of moral eminence and a great German patriot. His often intemperate hostility to Dr. Adenauer is rooted in the resolve to avert any surrender of Eastern by Western Germany.

There are Nationalists in Germany—and “Neo-Nazis”—but their words have little resonance. Of National Socialism only fragments remain. Nevertheless, the Third Reich is not discredited as much as might be supposed. Many Germans sincerely and indeed understandably, though unintelligently, look back upon it as a Welfare State which, after the long years of inflation, unemployment, and instability, established order, social security, and full employment. That it was radically evil and that in the end, it brought disaster upon all, they cannot or will not recognise. The atrocities are written off as “propaganda” and the final catastrophe is attributed to the incompetence of Hitler’s advisers. Hitler’s prestige has suffered so irreparably not only because he was evil but also, and perhaps more so, because he lost the war.

It is impossible to regard the Germans as “nationalistic” when, in the west, there is so much indifference towards the fate of the east and when public opinion is so strongly, indeed passionately, against the creation of a German army. War, as the Germans see it to-day, means annihilation—the total and irretrievable loss of

all that has been saved, annihilation by the irresistible power of the two greatest armed coalitions that ever existed. The Germans expect, and with good reason, that in the event of a European war they would be overrun by the Red Army, that Anglo-American missiles would devastate their country and that, if the Russians were driven back in the end, devastation would be heaped upon devastation by Russian missiles.

We must expect the Germans to be hard bargainers and competitors and to be unimpressed by utopian projects (such as a United Europe) though they will consider every project which might offer them a bargaining position. They are confident that, with American aid, they will achieve great power and prosperity. But they will not hesitate to compound with the Soviet Union if they can do so to their own advantage and without excessive danger to their own security.

But all prognostications with regard to Germany are hazardous. Even if we confine our attention to the Federal Republic only, we can, apart from the obvious and prodigious vitality of the people, discuss little that is organic, little of the cohesion that is formed by a common loyalty.

The Germans believe, almost as though it were a religion, in work and enterprise. So, in some measure, do the Americans, but the Germans have not the same belief which the Americans have in their Constitution, their flag, and in their mission.

We cannot tell whether or not there will be a patriotic revival in Germany, whether, if she is granted some years of security and prosperity, she will not, with her confidence restored, engage in *Machtpolitik* with the purpose of recovering her national unity.

But we may be sure that the Federal Republic will, for good or ill, be a power in Europe (if there is no universal catastrophe meanwhile) and that its people, as a nation, will be very different from any other European nation.

CHRONICLE

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY: MAY, 1952

THE main subjects before Convocation in May 1952 were the Report (No. 676) on Relations with the Church of Scotland, and the Rules for the Spiritual Discipline of the Laity (Report No. 677). The former, after having been presented in Full Synod, was discussed at these Sessions by the Upper House only: the latter was debated in both Houses.

The Resolutions proposed by the Committee in Report 676 were based on the proposals contained in the larger Report of the Commission which conferred with the Church of Scotland representatives; but the Convocation also had before it a letter from the Primus of the Episcopal Church in Scotland containing the comments of the College of Bishops of that Church on the proposals. In view of certain apprehensions expressed in that letter, the form of the main Resolutions was altered in the Upper House. After preliminary expressions of hope for further conferences between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, and the interchange of theological teachers and students, and of information, the Resolutions, as passed, (a) gave approval to a Bishop allowing a Minister of the Church of Scotland to preach in a church in his diocese "at services other than Holy Communion, when, in the Bishop's judgement, the giving of such permission would set forward the ideal of Christian re-union"; (b) stated that "Ministers of the Church of England may accept an invitation to preach in churches of the Church of Scotland, subject to reference by such Ministers, in accordance with ecclesiastical usage, to the appropriate Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Scotland for his consent"; and (c) concluded: "A baptized communicant member of the Church of Scotland, when cut off from convenient access to the ministrations of his own Church, or in special personal circumstances, may be admitted to Holy Communion in the Church of England, subject to the consent of the Bishop of the Diocese. But if such a person becomes a habitual communicant over a long period, the claims of the Church of England to full conformity with its requirements

should be pressed upon his conscience." These Resolutions follow closely the wording of the Acts of Convocation of 1943 and 1933 respectively on the subject of interchange of preachers and admission to Holy Communion, and are more restricted than those put forward by the Committee. They should thus allay most of the fears of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. They will come before the Lower House in October.

The Rules for the Spiritual Discipline of the Laity were finally agreed, and referred to the House of Laity. The form adopted by both Houses was:

" SIX RULES FOR CHURCH PEOPLE

drawn up by Convocation at the request of the House of Laity of the Church Assembly.

1. To pray every day and to read the Bible regularly.
2. To join in the worship of the Church every Sunday, and to observe Holy Days.
3. To receive the Holy Communion regularly after due preparation and more particularly at the great festivals of the Church and on the great occasions of their own lives.
4. To mark Fridays, and the season of Lent, by special acts of devotion and self-denial.
5. To contribute worthily to the work of the Church at home and overseas and for the relief of those in need.
6. To uphold the marriage laws of the Church, and to bring up children to love and serve the Lord.

These rules do not attempt to cover the whole of Christian life and conduct. They assume that every Churchman loyally endeavours to follow the example of our Saviour Christ: to play his full part in the life and witness of the Church: and to give Christian service to his neighbours and the community. They spring from the teaching of the Prayer Book; and while they do not indicate all the duties of man as set forth in the Church Catechism, they nevertheless are duties which loyal members of the Church of England should include in their personal rule of life."

In addition to these matters, both Houses concurred in the Loyal Address to the Queen, and the Lower House, weary of the many attempts made to devise a completely satisfactory Form of Reception into the Church of England, accepted the Form now sent down from the Upper House without any amendment. It is at any rate a great improvement on the Form drawn up in 1714!

The Upper House discussed the request of the Lower House for a Joint Committee on Spiritual Healing, but finally decided that something wider might be needed, with doctors and others as well as clergy on it, and so "asked his Grace the President to appoint a

Joint Committee or Commission on the Church's Ministry of Healing, with such terms of reference as he may determine." The Lower House concurred with this request, as it did also with the Resolution of the Upper House asking for the appointment of a Committee to consider the provision of prayers for the family.

The Lower House adopted as an "Articulus Cleri" a Gravamen asking the President to take steps to obtain representation of the Lower House at the Coronation of the Sovereign, in virtue of its ancient connection with the House of Commons, which is so represented. The President agreed to do what he could about this. The Lower House also asked for the appointment of a Joint Committee to consider the drafting of a form of private confession and absolution, with a view to its authorization by the Convocation. It was pointed out in the debate on this subject that a form of absolution is already provided in the Prayer Book, but it was argued that a form for the guidance of the penitent may be needed. Another Resolution passed by the Lower House asked the President to bring before the Upper House the risk of abuses in connection with midnight Communion, and if necessary the desirability of issuing regulations. On the other hand a Motion asking for the revival of "Hospital Sunday" was not passed, the "Previous Question" being carried. The House, though sympathetic to the object desired, was apprehensive of adding yet another special Sunday in the year.

In connection with the revision of the Canons, the Lower House made great progress. Having first dealt with various small outstanding divergencies in Canons XXXV-LX, it proceeded to give its first consideration to Canons LXVII to LXXXVI. The first four of these merely codify existing practice in regard to the oaths to be taken on Ordination or Institution, and these were carried without amendment. Canons LXXI to LXXX specify the duties of various Orders or Ministers, and these were passed with few amendments. The "peculiar" position of the Deans of Royal Peculiarities such as Westminster and Windsor, of the Archdeacon of Westminster, and of a non-diocesan incumbent at Cambridge, were pointed out, and three alterations were made in Canon LXXVIII, on the duties of incumbents. In Canon LXXXII ("Of the Dress of Ministers") the Lower House adopted the grand and dignified wording of the Canon of 1603, as York had done, instead of the

stilted modern version proposed by the Upper House. Finally the House passed the three Canons on Deaconesses, LXXXIV to LXXXVI, with two small but very significant alterations to the first of them, deleting the words "of Ministry" after "Order," and the words "without prejudice to her ordained status" in Clause 4, because the majority of the House, after hearing a very weighty speech by Canon P. G. Ward, was convinced that the Order of Deaconesses is not, and never has been, an Order *of the Ministry*, and that consequently a Deaconess cannot be said to have ordained status. To avoid a similar confusion the House deleted the requirement that a Deaconess must have a "Si Quis" read in Church before admission to the Order, in Canon LXXXV. The Upper House meanwhile discussed Canons LXXXVII onwards, the first four of these concerning Churchwardens, Sidesmen, and Parish Clerks, XCI to XCIV "of Lay Readers", and XCV "of Women Workers", at which point they concluded their work on Canons at this group of Sessions. The Canons will now be sent down to the Lower House for first consideration except Canons LXXXVII and LXXXIX, which were referred to the Steering Committee, and XCV, the discussion of which was adjourned.

CHURCH AND STATE

By LORD QUICKSWOOD

THE Report on Church and State by the Commission appointed by the Church Assembly is a very well written and interesting document. Its position, defended with great lucidity and fairness, is the old one that we desire to maintain the Establishment, but to make its conditions more healthy for the spiritual life of the Church than they are at present. A good deal of space is occupied by defending the contention that the Establishment should be maintained, and I think it may be said that the predominant argument in favour of the Establishment is really that it is a good thing for the State and not a bad thing for the Church. It is justly thought that to give it up would be a great shock to the credit of Christianity, extending, perhaps, all over Christendom. It has certainly a real moral and religious value that our country should mark itself out as a Christian country, recognising the truth of our Lord's Gospel, and the divinely appointed institution of the Church. Certainly, therefore, we ought not to give up the Establishment unless the conditions of it are such as to suffocate the spiritual life of the Church itself.

What is alleged by those who preferred Disestablishment is that the Church lacks the liberty necessary to its spiritual life; and secondly that some matters which ought to be decided by spiritual authorities are, in fact, decided by the State or its officers. These matters are well discussed in the Report, but it is not pointed out as it might be that the state of the Church is not in the least one of servitude. The objection to the present law of public worship and its observance or, rather, non-observance, is not that there is a lack of liberty, but that the liberty is disorderly, and that the Church suffers from a kind of liturgical anarchy. We are not, as we are often said to be, in chains—on the contrary, the clergy do what they like, more than is consistent with due church order.

The truth is that the Church as a body is deficient in power, while the ministry are free to an extent hardly consistent with the organised unity of the Church. We suffer from licentiousness, not

from servitude. And the real question for those who would seek to maintain the Establishment with such reforms as may be necessary, is to decide how this licentiousness can be cured.

After long deliberation and under the guidance of much ability and much learning, the Church did make an attempt to begin to remedy the evil, in 1927-28. The first step was to allow such liturgical variety as was reasonable and not inconsistent with the fundamental teaching of the English Church, with a view of later restraining the indiscipline of those who wish to go beyond the variations permitted. What followed is well remembered. The House of Commons twice over rejected the proposals of the Church. They were constitutionally perfectly within their rights in doing so, but as a matter of policy, it is difficult to see what cause, which the majority of the House would approve, was benefited by their action. The case against their action is in one respect a little stronger than the Report recognises; for it is not pointed out that a majority of the members representing English constituencies supported the Measure, which was only rejected by the votes of Welsh, Scottish and Northern Irish members. The claim sometimes put forward that the House of Commons was acting as representatives of the laity cannot be defended, except in the very general sense that some laity disapproved of the Prayer Book Measure and agreed with the majority of the House of Commons. But the representatives of English laymen supported the Measure and were only out-voted by their Welsh, Scottish and Northern Irish colleagues.

The rejection of the Prayer Book Measures of 1927-28 is interesting as an example of how Parliamentary government works, and I am afraid illustrates how it sometimes works badly. I suppose it to be true to say that the majority would have gone the other way but for the disinclination of a certain number of members to offend bodies of Protestant and Evangelical voters who felt strongly against the Measure, though those Protestants were a small number compared with the whole body of the electorate. These keenly dissatisfied voters felt strongly and a few hundred votes is in many constituencies a matter of concern to the sitting member, and may easily determine whether he will be re-elected or not.

In this way, Parliamentary government gives very undue weight to small bodies of strongly convinced opinion and the upshot often is that the member's vote is given not in accordance

with the opinion of the majority of his constituents, nor still less with the majority of the whole Commons of the realm, whose representative he is supposed to be, but in order to please a small group of vehement and convinced partisans. This defect has often been pointed out and has, I think, been called "the authority of the odd man," because members learn to be specially considerate of changeable groups of opinion, however little such groups of opinion may represent the whole electorate.

The rejection was thus a triumph for the Protestant Evangelicals within the Church of England, made possible by vigorous agitation and organisation. A number—probably not at all a large number—of Protestant Evangelicals all over the country made it clear that their votes would largely depend at the election on how their member had voted about the Revised Prayer Book. It was the Protestant Evangelical Party, led by Sir William Joynson Hicks and Sir Thomas Inskip in the House of Commons, that prevailed. But one cannot help asking what has the Protestant Evangelical Party gained by the rejection of the Prayer Book Measure. What, indeed, did they hope to gain? It is, I think, true to say that they have gained nothing by the rejection of the Measure for the Protestant character of the Church of England, which is what they most desire to preserve.

The effect of the vote was to maintain the *status quo* in the Church. But the *status quo* was, as everyone knew, one of widespread disorder and indiscipline. The rejection made this disorder and indiscipline harder to cure. It was wholly advantageous to the extremists among the Anglo-Catholics, for obviously they could not be attacked for doing anything which the Revised Prayer Book sanctioned, since that had been accepted by the Convocations and the Church Assembly. Nor could they easily be attacked, even for things which the Revised Prayer Book prohibited, because the whole authority of the episcopate was disheartened, and no improvement could be made in the machinery for enforcing the law. The extremists were actually better off about the extreme practices, and at the same time obtained complete security for the practices which the Revised Prayer Book did sanction. In all this what was there to please a convinced Protestant? In respect, for example, to the Reserved Sacrament, the rejection did not prevent a single incumbent who wished to reserve the Sacrament in accordance with episcopal admonitions from doing so; but it somewhat hindered the efforts

of the bishops to prevent the Reserved Sacrament from being used in ways they disapproved, because the whole of their plan for enforcing the law had been wrecked by the House of Commons. All this must have been plain, one would suppose, to an intelligent Protestant Evangelical, before the Prayer Book Measure was rejected. They have certainly not strengthened whatever cause they fought for. They have not made the Church of England in the least degree more Protestant, nor in the least degree prevented innovations in liturgical practice or in doctrinal teaching, of which they disapprove.

In the year 1952 there is not a single parish in which the Protestant is stronger by reason of the rejections of 1927 and 1928. And the development which was always going on under the direction of those practices—like the wearing of vestments, etc., which the Revised Prayer Book sanctioned—has gone on notwithstanding that rejection.

It is true that the new alternative form for celebrating the Eucharist, which the Revised Prayer Book allowed, has, in fact, received little or no acceptance among the clergy. But this is due, not so much to Protestant opposition, as to the opposition of almost all the Anglo-Catholic clergy, for if the Evangelical Party had had a clearer eye as to where their true interest lay, they would have supported the new form because it does in fact rely rather upon the teaching of the Eastern Orthodox Church than of the Church of Rome, in so far as it makes any change in the form of 1662. The changes are by no means revolutionary, but by making it doubtful whether the actual consecration depends on the words of Institution, or on the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, the form of 1928 rather hindered than facilitated the Anglo-Catholic insistence on the particular moment of consecration and on such ritual recognition as was used to give it emphasis.

All this might be summed up by saying that the vote of the House was for maintaining the *status quo ante* in the Church of England, and that status was far from satisfactory to the Protestant and Evangelical Party, and indeed, was a main theme of their criticism of the bishops and of the Revised Prayer Book. Their true policy would have been to come to terms with the supporters of the Book and agree to pass the Measure, accompanying it by some strengthening of ecclesiastical discipline. It is perhaps better

for the ultimate interests of the Church that they did not take this course, as the vigorous assertion of ecclesiastical discipline to limit departures from the Law of 1662 to those sanctioned by the Prayer Book of 1928, might easily have led to a schism among the Anglo-Catholic clergy, which would have helped no one except the Church of Rome. There is nothing in what happened to suggest that matters would have been at all better if the Church had been disestablished. Indeed, the danger that the controversy about the Prayer Book would have ended in a schism between the main church parties within the Church would have been more formidable in a non-established body, which would have had none of the legal rigidity which belongs to the Establishment. A Free Church is free to break in two, as well as to do anything better worth doing, and it is probable that it is only the established character of the Church, with the cumbersome legal machinery that accompanies it, which has kept it together under the strain of the last one hundred and twenty years.

The Establishment is often referred to as "chains and fetters", when it is in reality more like a surgical truss, which gives support to what, without it, would be in an unwholesome state, and as I have already said, the evil of our present situation is not that we are chained and fettered but that the individual clergyman has too much liberty as against his ecclesiastical superiors and as against the whole Church. Nevertheless, there are the evils connected with the Establishment which it would be well to amend. The main one is, I think, that it infects the Church of England with that great evil of prelacy, against which our Lord repeatedly warned his apostles. Nevertheless, in spite of his warnings, it speedily infected the Church and has done immeasurable harm both to its unity and to its spiritual purity. Happily, we are not unaware of the evil, as our fathers to a large extent were. Many bishops have set an admirable example of simplicity of life and avoidance of all pomp and magnificence. Archbishop William Temple, as we know, stood strap-hanging in a tramcar, an attitude which was certainly not prelatice. But there is still prelacy in the Church. In spite of its great antiquity and pre-eminent historic interest, it seems impossible to defend, in accordance with the teaching of the Gospel, the presence of the bishops in the House of Lords. And they still rank as magnates—great men honoured by worldly pomp in all social activities, in a way difficult to reconcile with the very definite prohibition that they

were not to be great men which we find in the Gospel — “But ye shall not be so.” But so they have been and in some degree, still are. And undoubtedly, the established relation of Church and State creates an atmosphere which is favourable to the continuance of prelacy, yet it could be reformed, and it is worth bearing in mind that such a change is desirable when we consider how far the established relation between Church and State should be modified. To remove all the worldly grandeur of the Church of England would not make a very great change, and would be a pleasing accompaniment of any Measure for allowing the Church large liberty to carry out its own liturgical and doctrinal reforms. For that reason I should be glad if the Church, in accepting the Report on Church and State, associated with it the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords and completed the work that has already been largely done in making the bishops’ ancient palaces available for general church purposes, not only as the stately residences for the bishops themselves, A bishop who did not sit in the House of Lords and did not reside in a palace, or was no more than a lodger in a corner of it, might reasonably hope to conform to the long neglected lesson of the washing of the disciples’ feet.

I do not think there is anything definitely prelatic in the Establishment except the presence of the bishops in the House of Lords, but I should welcome a further reduction in the size of dioceses, partly on the ground that the smaller the diocese, the less important and dignified the bishop naturally becomes. But as the question of reducing the dioceses reminds us, the real difficulty is that a good many people still cling to the ancient tradition that a bishop ought to be a great prelate, ranking among the magnates of the world. For that very reason they do not like small dioceses, and for that very reason they would resist the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords.

What is necessary is to educate public opinion among churchmen on the subject; and that can only be done by constantly reminding them of the explicit and reiterated injunctions of our Lord against the temptation to grandeur that was already manifest among his disciples. The mischief, indeed, of the grandeur of bishops, leading to the grandeur of the Pope, is written very large and plain on the pages of history. No one can read about Pope Innocent III, shall we say, and contrast his position with the teaching

of the Gospel, without feeling that the principal part of the evil of the papacy is precisely this grandeur. The carefully guarded prerogative of infallibility is practically much less important. As infallibility is now interpreted, it amounts to no more than saying that when everybody agrees that the Pope is right, he may fairly be deemed to be infallible. It is the supremacy of the Pope that matters, and that supremacy is surrounded and maintained by the sense of his unique and unapproached grandeur, making him really not the first of bishops, but something super-episcopal, expressed in the dangerous title "The Vicar of Christ." Protestants should undoubtedly condemn the grandeur of the Papacy, and should, therefore, be strongly opposed to prelacy in the Church of England; but if I am not mistaken, by a curious inconsistency Evangelicals generally welcome the dignity of the episcopate, dislike sub-dividing dioceses and anything else that makes the bishop a small efficient official rather than a great worldly magnate. This is, perhaps, a point upon which Protestant Evangelicals in the Church differ from Non-conformist Free Churchmen outside it.

But the desirability of removing the last traces of prelacy from the established relation between Church and State only arises in so far as it is necessary to determine whether the Establishment can be retained without injury to the spiritual life of the Church.

The conclusion of the Report that a much more moderate measure than Disestablishment would sufficiently solve the present difficulty, altering the law of public worship so far as to make it possible of enforcement, is justified. The plan they recommend is that Convocations, with the consent of the House of Laity in the Church Assembly, should be allowed to sanction as experiments, deviations from the present law of public worship. These deviations would be sanctioned for a term of years—say, 10 years—and they could only be sanctioned by the consent of all four Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York and of the House of Laity of the Church Assembly, the consent only to be deemed given if two-thirds of each body, whether clerical or lay, so assented. These deviations experimentally sanctioned would, it is thought, be tested by the ten years' experience, and would either be adopted by general consent, or by general consent abandoned, and so in this way modifications in the Law of 1662 could be carried into effect, first, as temporary changes, and only if approved by experience,

adopted, as final changes in the law. What is doubtful is whether Parliament would accept a Measure passed by the Church Assembly setting up this new constitutional machinery as is suggested. This, I think, depends wholly on whether the main body of Evangelical opinion would accept the plan. I do not think Parliament as now minded would consent to engage on any scheme which would involve taking part in a furious controversy, like that of 1928. They would say at the very outset that there was no sense in passing such a Measure as the Church Assembly recommended, unless it led to the final adjustment of disputes. The possibility, therefore, of carrying out the Report's plan, depends wholly on the judgement that moderate Evangelical opinion may pass upon it. As I have already argued, Evangelicals gained nothing, but indeed lost much, by the rejection of the 1928 Prayer Book, yet it is by no means certain that they think so themselves. The truth is that they do still live under the influence of quite impracticable hopes: they still believe or seem to believe that somehow or another they could bring back the Church of England to the position in which it stood in liturgical matters in 1874, when the Public Worship Regulation Act was passed. It is strange that they should entertain hopes so utterly unreal and impossible, but they have the mentality, often found in parties which are weaker than they used to be, of clinging with an irrational obstinacy to what they once desired, even growing more closely attached to it the more impossible it becomes. They are capable of defeating their own objects and strengthening their opponents' hands, merely because they will not give up the quite impossible hope of a complete revolution in their favour. It is harsh to say that they are a very stupid party; and indeed, it is not lack of intellectual acuteness, but the curious, passionate adherence to a lost cause, which really stands in the way. The consideration that the present position is far more favourable to Anglo-Catholic innovation than would be the plan suggested by the Report, does not seem to them to outweigh the objection to their consenting to innovations which they dislike. They would rather that the law continued to be broken than that it be made in any shape to sanction such changes as the use of Eucharistic vestments and the Reservation of the Sacrament for the Communion of the Sick.

I am afraid, therefore, that I am not very hopeful that the plan of the Report can be carried. It can only be carried by the conversion

of a considerable body of Evangelical opinion, which seems incapable of changing its mind, even in the hope that ecclesiastical discipline could be enforced with the general approbation of churchmen of all ways of thinking, by which the law made reasonable might be effective. But as has already been said, the plan of the Report can only be carried if a much larger body of Evangelical opinion is willing to support it; for it is obvious that it would be very unacceptable to the extreme Anglo-Catholics, and would therefore certainly not have such a degree of church support as would ensure the consent of Parliament, unless almost the whole of the Evangelical Party accepted it, for Parliament's main desire would be to keep out of vehement ecclesiastical controversy, and they will not consent to any Measure which would open up such a controversy. They would agree to sanction anything that the Evangelical and moderate Anglo-Catholic parties agreed to, for that would offer the prospect of ecclesiastical peace, but unless they see the prospect of such peace before them, they will refuse to give consideration to any measure of reform. This is the fact that it is necessary to face.

What the Report proposes is to attempt, by a different method, what is essentially the same solution of the present problem of disorder as that proposed and rejected in 1928. But instead of formulating, as in 1928, alternative deviations from the law to be permanently allowed, they propose to allow temporary changes, subject to the consent of the Representative Assemblies of the Church of England. What remains to be seen is whether Evangelicals would realise that to continue the present disorderly state of things is far more dangerous to what they value than to allow experimental variations approved as such by the main body of church opinion. If Evangelicals, including those, or at least the more moderate among those, who opposed the 1928 proposal, approved the plan, Parliament would probably agree to give the Church power to try the suggested experiments, but it rests with this section of Evangelical opinion, and I am afraid I think it more likely that they will prefer an unintelligent obstinacy to the wiser plan that the Report recommends. But they should reflect that if they concede the reasonable wishes of the main body of high churchmen, they will make it possible to enforce the modified order of liturgical law and rescue the Church from its present toleration of "go-as-you-please."

For the enforcement of discipline a second reform would also be necessary. The Ecclesiastical Courts, as they at present exist, are subject to the supremacy of the Queen in Council, that is, to the judgements given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. It has been abundantly proved by experience that the objection felt by many high churchmen—and not only by extreme ritualists—to the secular character of the Judicial Committee, has deprived its judgements of the moral authority without which no legal judgments can be enforced. If, therefore, discipline is to be effective, there must be a change in the Supreme Court in ecclesiastical causes; and a tribunal must be set up which would command the obedience of all those who accept the High Church conception of the Catholic Church, which requires a supreme Ecclesiastical Court based on spiritual authority. The Commission recognised this and accordingly proposed a reform of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Court.

The Court suggested by the Report would consist of the two Archbishops (or bishops nominated by them) and two communicant members of the Church of England who are or have been holders of high judicial office. It is not quite clear to me how the decision is to be determined in case of an equal division of opinion between the four members of the Court—but I suggest that neither the casting vote of the President nor a preference given to either the ecclesiastical or judicial members of the Court would be satisfactory. It should be provided that where the Court was equally divided in opinion, no judgement could be pronounced, and the judgement of the Provincial Court should have final validity. This would, I think, be quite a tolerable arrangement in respect of any particular suit. And the Commission make a second recommendation which is really of transcendent importance—that the decision of the Courts in ecclesiastical causes should not be binding in subsequent litigation in the Courts before which that litigation should come. In every case it should be possible to argue the merits of a particular cause by interpreting the law, free from any conclusive influence from previous decisions. This is, I believe, a most wise recommendation, and if it were adopted, the constitution of the final Court would cease to be felt to be of dangerous importance. What is supposed to be so objectionable about the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee is that its judgements have been treated as decisive in general

of the law to which they relate, so that they really amount to appendices to the Prayer Book and the Articles formulating the law of the Church, purely on the authority of secular judges. If a judgement of the Second Court only affects that particular case, and the principles involved may be discussed afresh in any new litigation, the whole question of the competence of the Court becomes very much smaller. Accordingly, I think that judgement of the final Court by a majority, or if it were equally divided, the judgement of the Provincial Court, would be perfectly sufficient to regulate each particular case on which the judgement was pronounced, and the principles involved would be open to fresh discussion whenever a new case arose which required a fresh interpretation of those principles.

The solution of the difficulty about the Supreme Court which the Commission puts forward, seems to be reasonable and efficient, subject to the qualification that where the Court was equally divided, no judgement of the Court should be pronounced; and accordingly, the judgement of the Provincial Court below should prevail. I think this arrangement would work quite well, but like the proposal of the Report about legislation, the adoption of this reformed Court can only be achieved if the main body of the Evangelical Party will accept it and support it. Up to now, they have clung with a pathetic futility to maintaining the supreme jurisdiction of the Privy Council; they suppose that this is involved in the Royal supremacy. But as the Report explains, the Royal supremacy would be safeguarded by maintaining the general doctrine of the law that, where there is any defect of natural justice, an appeal must always lie to the Sovereign. No one, I think, disputes that such an ultimate right of appeal, belonging to an ill-treated subject, ought to be maintained, though it is exceedingly unlikely that any cause bringing the right into action would ever arise. Such a right of appeal exists in respect of Non-established churches, as well as to the Establishment. In some way or another an oppressed subject can go to the Royal Courts and ask for protection against plain injustice whether it arises out of the discipline of an Established or a Free Church. But this maintenance of the true Royal supremacy has, so far, not been enough to satisfy the Evangelical sentiment. Evangelicals insist on the Privy Council as a supreme Ecclesiastical Court, and accordingly come into sharp conflict with the main body of High

Church feeling that will not allow that a secular Court may finally extend the law of the Church, recognising the truth that such final jurisdiction always has the character of making a new law. This is so, even in respect to a particular case, and much more and more importantly, if the judgement may be quoted as deciding the law and as binding in future litigation.

Here again, a choice lies before the Evangelical Party: if they will not have a new Supreme Court, we shall go on as we are, and they will suffer by having no legal remedy against Anglo-Catholic innovations, however extreme or unreasonable. Why Evangelicals should thus disable themselves is to me bewildering: it is worse than "cutting off one's nose to spite one's face"—it is like insisting on being paralysed because one is so anxious for walking exercise.

All that we can do is to point out to Evangelicals that it really rests with them whether this very interesting, able, and conciliatory Report produces any important reform or not. If the Evangelicals will support it, it would be possible to have reasonable modifications of the law of the Church which would make that law capable of being enforced; and it would also give to the Church a system of Courts which would command the loyalty of the main body of High Church opinion. Law and order would be set on their legs again, and the system of "go-as-you-please" would come to an end. But when I look forward to that prospect, another doubt springs up in my mind: with Evangelical help, it would be possible to carry the necessary legislation, but does the Church, that is, the main body of the laity, really want to bring to an end the easy-going anarchy under which we now live? I cannot help thinking that a very large, though in the main, inarticulate, mass of people, like each parish church managing its own affairs and breaking the law in whatever way the incumbent and leading laity desire. They do not wish to restore law and order—they greatly prefer "go-as-you-please." If this is so, Parliament is not unlikely to reflect an easy-going toleration of lawlessness; and though I do not think they would refuse what the main bodies of both Evangelical and High Church parties were agreed to ask, they would be reluctant to go forward and not displeased if the proposed legislation should be somehow smothered by those incumbrances of procedure which can be multiplied when occasion requires. Probably, some people would express the view that the matter ought not to be dealt with by Measure of the Church

Assembly, and if it were dealt with by Bill, long experience shows how easy it is to suffocate a Bill before it can pass into law. But some people will tell me that this is all fancy and that the laity detest lawlessness and would be glad to see law re-established. If so, the plan of the Commission seems to me to be a good plan and one that could certainly be carried through provided that the Evangelical Party support it. It is really for that party to choose whether they will have a reign of law or a reign of anarchy.

There is a third matter dealt with in the Report which, less directly but importantly, affects Church order. This is the method of appointing bishops. It is certainly desirable that the Church, and especially the clergy, should feel that the bishops are really appointed by spiritual authority, and have therefore a moral as well as a legal right to the obedience of their clergy. I am not sure that the plan suggested by the Commission would really do this, and I am still more doubtful as to whether it would be acceptable to Parliament. The plan of the Commission is to assume that the present method of appointing a bishop consists in this: that the Archbishop of the Province advises the Prime Minister, who then forms his judgement about his advice, and advises the Crown to make the appointment. The Prime Minister is responsible, but he has the advantage of having to help him, the guidance of the Archbishop. This may be a rough account of how bishops are appointed, but it is an exceedingly recent arrangement, certainly not more than fifty years old. In the days when Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone were Prime Ministers, the Archbishop had nothing like so great a share in appointing bishops as he probably now possesses. His opinion would, of course, have carried considerable weight, but he was not formally consulted, as I suppose he is now. The Prime Minister took his own line, consulting whom he chose, and Queen Victoria, on her side, took a very active part in determining the ultimate appointment. The arrangement in those days was that the appointment was made by the Prime Minister and the Queen in consultation, both having a very important voice in the matter.

The plan which the Commission supposes to be now in force was really the device of Archbishop Davidson. He, by his great skill and management, built up a position of adviser to the Prime Minister, which his successors have been able, in some degree, to maintain, but it might collapse any day. And it is too recent a

convention to make it strong enough to stand any great strain. If a Prime Minister really wished to make an appointment which was mischievous and dangerous to the Church, there is nothing in the consultative function of the Archbishop which would restrain him. The Commission suggests that there should be set up a consultative body whom the two Archbishops should consult as to the proper appointment to be made to fill the vacant see in the Church. Aided and strengthened by this consultation, they would give their advice to the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister, it is thought, would usually follow the advice so given, though of course they would not be bound to do so.

It seems to me this plan is open to two plain criticisms. In the first place, when the Prime Minister really designed doing wrong, the machinery of consultation would be of very little power to restrain him. Secondly, in normal times, he would not venture to contest the advice given him, and so the appointment would gradually be transferred to the consultative body or to the Archbishops. This would be apparent to Parliament, who would, I think, be very reluctant to set up a machinery which would put the Prime Minister in a position usually subservient to the consultative body, and yet able—when he really had a mischievous purpose in his mind—to overrule them. Nor would the appointment made by this system of consultation, have much more moral weight with the clergy than the plan at present followed. Indeed, it is the essence of the Commission's proposal that they do not wish to make a fundamental change, but only to emphasise and formally to establish a plan of appointment which they suppose to be already in existence. They believe that bishops are now appointed by the Prime Minister, advised by the Archbishops, who in turn are advised by an indefinite number of churchmen. As I have said, I do not think this is quite an accurate account of what happens now, but for those who view it as a formidable body giving advice, and an Archbishop repeating it to the Prime Minister, a Prime Minister would not usually disregard it. So in calm times you would take away from the Prime Minister, and yet, when some troublesome controversy was in being and when the Prime Minister was therefore tempted to invade the independence of the Church, there would be no effective way of stopping him. It may be said, indeed, that the Archbishop can always

refuse to consecrate, as he can now, but those who know archbishops best would agree that this is not a very trustworthy safeguard.

A much simpler plan would, I believe, give more security, and be more easy to get adopted by Parliament. I suggest that the present method of appointing a bishop should be left unchanged, except that the Letters Missive which the Crown now sends to the Chapter who have already been authorised to proceed to an election by *cong   d'  lire* should recommend three names instead of one. These names should be set out in alphabetical order and there should be no sign that the Crown prefers one to the others. The Chapter would then proceed to elect one of the three names who would be the bishop. It must be said this would not make it absolutely impossible for a Prime Minister to abuse his powers, but it would certainly make it exceedingly difficult, for he would have to appoint three bad names in order to force one of them on the see, and this would be so scandalous a proceeding that the Chapter would be justified in refusing to elect any of them, and so create a deadlock. In calm times the Chapter would really have a choice, but the Prime Minister would also have the power of keeping out any person he thought quite unfit to be nominated, and ensure that all the three nominees were persons who, in his view, would do no harm if appointed. This plan would make so slight a formal change, that it could easily be worked, and would be troublesome neither to the Prime Minister nor to the Chapter with whom the ultimate election would rest. The election by the Chapter would be a reality, for usually to nominate three persons would still leave the real choice about which opinions differ to the electing body, and the election so made would give real spiritual title to the bishop chosen, who would be felt by the clergy to be a man chosen by the Chapter itself by no means unrepresentative of all the priesthood of the diocese.

I believe this plan would be much easier to carry than the one suggested by the Commission. In truth, the Commission make the great mistake of supposing that by formulating what already indefinitely and informally (as they suppose) exist, they are trying to do an easy thing. But the same readiness that English people have, to allow indefinite modifications to be made by custom extending sometimes to complete revolution, makes them dislike putting any state of such a change into black and white. The moment that you

set up a formal body to consult with the Archbishops, it would be felt that you would be transferring the power of appointment to that body, as indeed you would be in calm times, but not in those times when you would most wish to hinder the Prime Minister from having his way. Neither High Churchmen nor Evangelicals would like the new plan, which appeals to neither of them, and there is a dreadful lack of formal recognition of the divine guidance of the Church which would alienate and shock many pious persons, both high and low.

I suppose that the Report will next be dealt with by the Convocations and by the Church Assembly, and it will be interesting to see how these bodies receive it. The period of its actual coming into law may be considerably postponed, especially as all the politicians will be anxious to avoid ecclesiastical controversy as much as possible. Churchmen will therefore have plenty of opportunity to make up their minds, and it is to be hoped that they will read the report with care and attention. It is a most able document and one which, whether you agree with every word of it or not, will aid all men to come to a wise and well-informed conclusion.

THE "EDICT OF MILAN": CURSE OR BLESSING? *

By JOHN BLIGH, S.J.

THE "Edict of Milan" has, with good reason, been described as a "symbolic representation of historical truth",¹ for it stands in the history of the Church as the Great Milestone, marking the end of the Roman Persecutions and the beginning of the Age of Imperial Tutelage. A great sigh of relief and thankfulness went up to God from the Christians of those days:

"The cloud of past times is dispelled; peace and serenity gladden all hearts . . . Now God, the hearer of prayer, by his divine aid has lifted his prostrate and afflicted servants from the ground . . . and wiped off the tears from the faces of them that mourned."²

A Christian cannot contemplate this transformation with frigid indifference. His first impulse is to heave a sympathetic sigh himself. And yet, there are considerations to give him pause: may not power and wealth bring corruption and degeneration? How will the Church fare without the witness of the martyrs? Did not Tertullian say that their blood is the seed of Christians? . . . The following centuries were to show that the Emperor's favour could become an oppressive burden; freedom was not a heritage granted once and for all and then passed on safely from one generation to another; after 313 the struggle for freedom took on a new form; almost every generation had to renew the struggle, and Christians did not always and everywhere acquit themselves with honour. In the East the Church rapidly descended into a state of shameful subservience to the Emperor. Was the Edict, then, an unmixed blessing? Indeed, if there are blessings in disguise, may there not also be curses in disguise? How does the Edict look *sub specie aeternitatis*?

The contention of this essay will be that, for the West at least, in spite of the new dangers which it created, the great transformation wrought by Constantine in the relations of the Church to the Empire was a blessing. But before attempting to dispel the serious doubts and misgivings to the contrary that may well trouble the reader's

* The Ellerton Theological Prize Essay for the year 1952 (Oxford University). The writer would like to point out that the title is not of his choosing, and that he does not claim to have taken account of all modern literature on the subject. It is a Prize Essay, and should be read as such.

mind, it will be well to contract our field of vision in order to examine the contents and immediate legal effects of the enactments that have been named the "Edict of Milan". Then, after a brief pause to consider whether these immediate effects were to the Church's advantage, we can widen our view again and consider the Edict in its place in the broad panorama of history.

After defeating Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge and entering Rome in triumph, Constantine proceeded, probably in January 313, to secure the *damnatio memoriae* of Maxentius and the abrogation of his *acta*.³ Since one effect of this abrogation would be to restore the penal laws of Diocletian, it has been very reasonably supposed that Constantine at once issued an Edict in Rome, confirming to his new provinces the legal toleration which he had granted to Britain and Gaul in 306. When, therefore, he went north to meet Licinius at Milan, the western half of the Empire over which he ruled, already enjoyed religious peace. At their meeting, the two Augusti discussed "all those matters which relate to the advantage and security of the state"⁴ and especially the question of religion. The result of the conference was *not* that Constantine issued an Edict of Toleration—our sources say nothing of an *Edict at Milan*; the result was that the two Emperors agreed on a policy of toleration, and a few months later extended it throughout the East. The rescript published in Nicomedia on 13th June 313 to promulgate and explain the new policy, is the document which historians have sometimes called the "Edict of Milan".⁵ It first grants to everyone "liberty to follow either the religion of the Christians or any other cult which of his own free choice he has thought to be best adapted for himself"; then it gives detailed instructions for the restoration of properties confiscated from Christian communities during the persecution of Diocletian.

This enactment was by no means without precedent. As early as the reign of Alexander Severus (220-235) the Christians had enjoyed freedom of worship⁶ and the right to hold property and to meet for religious purposes. They had also been able to build churches, for it is recorded that in the persecution of Maximus Thrax (235) churches were burnt down.⁷ Under Philip the Arab (243-249), Origen refers to the peace which the Church is enjoying, and attributes it to the growth of her numbers and the tolerance of the authorities.⁸ Eusebius considered Philip as the first of the

Christian Emperors;⁹ but he was probably a syncretist, like Alexander Severus. Under Decius, Gallus, and Valerian, there were fresh persecutions, till peace was restored by Gallienus, who refers, in his famous rescript to Dionysius of Alexandria,¹⁰ to an Edict by which he had granted Christians liberty to profess their faith and to meet for worship and consultation¹¹; he also returned them their places of worship and their cemeteries.¹² But in all this he did no more than had been done by Alexander Severus.¹³

The Peace of Gallienus lasted from 258 to 303—forty-five years of unimpeded growth. Eusebius¹⁴ describes the glory and security of the Church just before 303: the Emperors showed their good will by making Christians governors of provinces and excusing them from the customary sacrifices; Christians enjoyed favour at court; bishops were treated with great respect by governors of provinces (they had already become a social power, standing at the head of an *ordo* of clerics and a devoted *plebs*, administering a patrimony and distributing relief to the poor); the churches would no longer contain the multitudes of the faithful; and there were Christians in all ranks of society.¹⁵ Arnobius, exaggerating perhaps, says that men eminent in all the most important professions were numbered among the Christians.¹⁶

Suddenly and unexpectedly the Church's prosperity was terminated in the eighteenth year of Diocletian's reign by the Edict published at Nicomedia on February 24, 303. The persecution that followed was bitter and bloody.¹⁷ In the West, it was brought to an end after three or four years: Constantine granted liberty to Christians in Britain and the Gallic provinces as soon as he succeeded his father, in 306.¹⁸ Shortly afterwards, Maxentius issued a similar edict in Italy, and eventually restored to Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, the Christian properties in the city which had been confiscated during the persecution. Africa was given peace in 307.¹⁹

In the East, the persecution continued in Asia, Thrace and Illyricum under Galerius, and in Libya and Egypt under Maximus Daia. Galerius on his deathbed put his signature to an edict which was published in Nicomedia on April 30, 311. It restored the liberty that had been granted by Alexander Severus and Gallienus, without granting any fresh rights. The God of the Christians was recognised, his worship declared licit, and Christians were expected²¹ to pray for the welfare of the state. Maximinus Daia reluctantly came into

line with the policy of toleration in 312; but within six months he had promulgated a number of vexatious measures (forbidding Christians to meet in the cemeteries,²² for example) and in the following year executions began again.

Thus at the time of the Conference at Milan, the persecution of Diocletian was virtually over, and except in a part of the East the Church had returned to the conditions of the Long Peace of Gallienus. All that remained to be done was to reaffirm the policy of toleration and to extend it uniformly throughout the Empire. Very probably Constantine and Licinius formulated their agreed religious policy in a document, which Licinius used as the basis of the rescript published by him on the following 13th June, after defeating Maximinus Daia.

This rapid account of the antecedents of the Edict shows that the toleration it granted did not amount to an abrupt break with all precedent. To the adult Christian of the West in 313 the Edict meant a reaffirmation of the *status quo*; toleration was what he was used to, and the persecution had been an exceptional phase.

The Edict did not place the Christian Church in a privileged position, but merely granted her the liberty enjoyed by (say) Mithraism or the mystery religion of Eleusis. It did not even place Christianity on an equal footing with paganism, for paganism lost none of its legal rights and remained the official religion (in so far as there was one). If the terms of the rescript are scrutinised, they are found to contain no promise that the Emperor will treat all religions with equal favour,—although a surprising number of historians have asserted the contrary.²⁴ Religious liberty can exist without equality, as the present situation in our own country amply demonstrates.

Why then should Constantine's Edict of Toleration be regarded as epoch-making rather than that of Galerius, or Gallienus, or Alexander Severus?²⁵ Did it grant the Christians any greater security or firmer possession of their liberty? Some modern scholars seem to think so.²⁶ Certainly it was composed in a different spirit, for it asserts religious liberty as a universal principle—a great and startling innovation.²⁷ But the mere assertion of principle, to which neither Constantine nor Licinius nor their successors adhered, was not sufficient to protect the Church against a renewal of persecution. It would be a mistake to imagine that

the Edict granted Christianity some new right which held the secret of the future. The "Edict of Milan" is a great milestone in the history of the Church because its author Constantine, a man of passion and determination, at the height of his glory, with twenty-five years to reign, was already partly converted to the Christian faith. Moreover, his sons were brought up as Christians, and one of them, Constantius, reigned for another twenty-five years. During that half-century the Church went from strength to strength, so that "by Constantius's death the work had been done too well for Julian, in his brief reign of eighteen months ending in defeat and disaster, to undo it".²⁸ The security of the Church in the centuries that followed, was due not to the "Edict of Milan", but to the consolidation of the Church's position under the Emperors' favour. The fame of the Edict is due much less to anything that it contained or effected than to the circumstance that it marked the inauguration of the new policy of imperial tutelage. By a curious peripeteia it has come about that the Edict is the symbol of a policy which eventually ran clean counter to the very principle which it proclaimed.

In its immediate legal effects, the Edict was plainly a blessing. It granted the principle of religious liberty, and made it possible for Christians to worship the Lord in peace and safety once more. Yet were there perhaps reasons for regretting the liquidation of the policy of persecution? For these who actually shed their blood, persecution had provided a supreme opportunity to show their love and loyalty, following in the footsteps of the Crucified Redeemer.²⁹ The trial also had a salutary effect on the Church as a whole.³⁰ And, if we may believe Tertullian, nothing contributed so much to the spread of Christianity in the first two centuries as the witness of the martyrs: "Every time you mow us down, we spring up in greater numbers; the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians!"³¹ Undoubtedly the constancy of the martyrs caused wonder, which is the beginning of wisdom. The epistle to Diognetus opens with the question: "Who is this God in whom they trust, and what kind of cult is theirs, because one and all they disdain the world and despise death?" The witness of the martyrs was impressive; it brought pagans into the Church. But, in spite of these advantages, persecution is not a blessing to be prayed for. St. Paul tells Timothy to pray especially "for kings and others in high station, so that we may live a calm and tranquil life, as dutifully and decently as we may."³²

For persecution is the parent of many evils. In the first place, there were always large numbers of *lapsi*. Pliny's letter to Trajan contains some sad sentences;³³ Cyprian tells us that Christians rushed to the tribunal to sacrifice in the Decian persecution;³⁴ and Eusebius says that the same tragedy was repeated under Diocletian.³⁵

Nor is martyrdom always an effective means of propagating the Gospel. Tertullian's boast is not an article of faith, and has not the universal validity that is sometimes ascribed to it. Bloody persecutions have annihilated the Church for centuries in whole countries. Persia and North Africa, for example, had multitudes of martyrs, and yet lost the faith. The universal Church has been promised permanence, but not particular churches; and when a sufficient number of Christians is killed in a country, the faith perishes there.

The Church survived the Roman persecutions, but the *lapsi* presented serious problems, and even caused schisms—there was strife between rigorists and laxists over the conditions of readmission. The Decian persecution produced the anti-pope Novatian, and the schism called after him Novatianism, the adherents of which developed a doctrinal error, by holding that the *lapsi* must be permanently excluded from the Church;³⁶ they came to be known as the Kathari,³⁷ and lingered on till the sixth century. Cyprian was so shocked by the mischief of schism, that he thought the end of the world was at hand.³⁸ The persecution of Diocletian produced two schisms: Meletianism and the far more pernicious Donatism, which was rampant in Africa in Augustine's day.

It is also likely that persecution and the threat of persecution deterred many from joining the Church, though evidence to prove this is, from the nature of things, hard to find. There is a hint in a passage of Origen,³⁹ where he says that the enemies of Christianity attributed the growth of the Church in the period 211-250 to the failure of the authorities to oppose it as their predecessors had done. If this contention is correct, it would seem to counterbalance the claim made by Tertullian.

Further, persecution made it difficult for the Church to carry out her essential duties of worshipping God and teaching the faith. The best of the bishops were put to death. Churches were levelled to the ground. Schools were dispersed (it is probable that the

Edict of Septimius in 202 caused the sudden dispersal of the catechetical school at Alexandria).⁴⁰ And the confiscation and burning of the Scriptures and writings of the early Fathers under the edict published by Diocetian on 24th February 303⁴¹ must have impeded both worship and instruction.

But in spite of all these evils, persecution must not be called a curse. God does not curse his Church. In his Providence he allows evils only that good may come of them. A persecution is really a test—"exploratio potius quam persecutio", as St. Cyprian put it.⁴² The Church must endure with patience, while the trial lasts; and thank God for the blessing of peace, when it comes.

So much for the Edict and its immediate consequences. We may now consider the change which it has come to symbolise—the inauguration of the period of imperial tutelage. From what has already been said, it is plain that the question at issue is not whether persecution was a blessing and state-protection a curse, but rather whether it was better for the Church to enjoy a precarious liberty with the threat of persecution never absent, or to receive the official favour of imperial converts. Apart from persecution, the only two policies open to Constantine were mere toleration or active support and favour, for there was no question of secularising the Roman state. To an age as religious and as superstitious as Constantine's the purely secular state was unimaginable. In the Rescript of Licinius toleration is granted "in order that the supreme divinity, to whom we render our free obedience, may bestow upon us in all things his wonted favour and benevolence". Constantine was certainly not bent on making religion a purely private affair. "To be a rationalist in that age", writes Professor Jones, "Constantine would have been an intellectual prodigy, and he is in fact, so far as we can discern him, a simple-minded man".⁴³

Would it, then, have been better for the growth and vitality of Christianity, for the permanence of the Empire, and for the progress of civilization in the world at large, if, instead of favouring the Church, Constantine had returned to a policy of mere toleration, such as the syncretist emperors had adopted? Harnack thought that such a policy was no longer practicable, and that, apart from persecution, Constantine had no real alternative to the course he followed.

"The *milites Christi*," he says, were "everywhere united in compact squadrons . . . they confronted the state as a single army. The State had no other alternative than to try and destroy this army, as Decius, Valerian, Diocletian and Maximus Daza would fain have done, or to enter into alliance with it, as Constantine did. After the middle of the third century a policy of *laissez-aller* or weak toleration was an impossibility."⁴⁴

But this picture of the Christian community confronting the state as an army of compact squadrons has no foundation in the sources. Though highly organised, Christianity had never been a threat to the Roman state, either in numbers⁴⁵ or in temper.⁴⁶ All that the Christian Apologists⁴⁷ had dared to petition for was the "weak toleration" which Harnack rejects.

Syncretism was fashionable among the educated in Constantine's day.⁴⁸ There are clear signs of its influence in the Rescript of Licinius, which rests on the assumption that all religions in their different ways pay reverence to the same supreme divinity. Professor Jones has pointed out that Constantine's Vision may have suggested to him that Christ was a manifestation of *Sol Invictus* or that the Sun was the symbol of the heavenly Power whom the Christians worshipped.⁴⁹ Reflection on the Vision may, therefore, easily have led Constantine to the opinion that, while no religion has a monopoly of divine favour, Christianity is more acceptable to the deity than any other cult. This seems to have been the spirit in which he drew up the text at Milan. He did not yet recognise the exclusive character of Christianity.

There is evidence in a letter sent by Constantine to Anullinus,⁵⁰ proconsul of Africa, during the winter 312-3 that the Emperor was already convinced that the well-being of the Empire depended in a unique manner upon propitiating the divinity by means of Christian worship. The adoption of this view did not, however, necessitate rejection of the syncretist principle that all religions worship the same deity in their different ways. Constantine could still, without contradiction, pursue the policy of giving freedom to all religions and special favour to Christianity. The question to be discussed is, therefore, whether a return to the policy of Alexander Severus would not have been in the long run, better for Christianity than the new conditions created by Constantine. In favour of the view that it would, is the undoubted fact that the Church had flourished under the policy of mere toleration,—and that too without

being exposed, at least in the same degree, to the grave dangers inseparable from imperial tutelage. There is a good *prima facie* case for the view that the indifferent syncretism of Alexander Severus, Philippus, and Gallienus created a healthier atmosphere for the Church than Constantine's conversion did. Imperial interference in the internal affairs of the Church, corruption of the hierarchy, misuse of civil power for ecclesiastical purposes, insincere conversions, and consequent damage to the vitality of Christianity—the danger of these evils was unquestionably intensified after the Edict. They must therefore be examined in detail.

Chief among the dangers of the new regime was that the Church, or at least the greater part of it, might lose the freedom which the martyrs had so dearly bought. Time and again the Emperors took it upon themselves to interfere in the internal affairs of the Church, and the majority of the bishops were willing to acquiesce. Caesaropapism on the one side, and corruption of the episcopacy through wealth and power on the other, threatened to obliterate the boundaries of the two powers, civil and ecclesiastical, and to render the Church subservient to the Emperor. There was even a danger that the Church might become so closely dependent on the Empire, that the fall of the Empire would inflict appalling losses on the Church.

While the Emperors had been hostile or at least indifferent to the faith, it had been easy enough for Christians to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's. But when Caesar began to represent himself as ruling by the grace of the Christian God,⁵¹ and when his religious policy seemed to reveal him as a special instrument of God's providence, what were they to do? The welfare of Church and State were so inextricably linked, that a Christian Emperor might well claim to have some say in Church affairs. What were the limits of his rights in this respect? Christians have continued to ask themselves this question without ever finding an altogether satisfactory solution.

It is clearly impossible within the limits of a short essay to trace the whole course of the rise of Caesaropapism from Constantine to Justinian and beyond; but a few of the more striking incidents must be mentioned, to show the kinds of situation which imperial protection could create.

Constantine, being a sincerely religious man and not just a cynical politician, almost certainly meant well in his relations with

the Church. He treated the bishops with respect, gave them a banquet in his palace at Nicaea,⁵² and expressed his faith in the divine guidance of their deliberations.⁵³ But he assumed the right to convene councils, and to exercise an active presidency in them (it is probable that he presided at the sessions which formulated the Nicene Creed); and he took it upon himself to review the bishops' decisions and to enforce them, if he thought fit. His religious policy showed a genuine anxiety to secure religious uniformity throughout the Empire; but—and here lay the seeds of future trouble—his motives for desiring religious unity were to some extent political. On his own initiative he ordered an enquiry into Donatism, and in the famous phrase *ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτὸς*⁵⁴ he claimed some sort of hierarchical power for himself. His letters show that he did not understand the dangers of Arianism: he described the dogmatic points at issue as "mere trivialities" and "a game for children".⁵⁵ So the Catholic Church, at the end of his reign, found herself committed to the protection of a Prince, who did not understand the faith, who was under the influence of Arian Bishops, and who uttered undisguised threats against any who resisted his interference in the cause of unity.⁵⁶

Constantius went much further; he seems to have been determined to absorb the Church into the system of Empire as part of the machinery of government—if we may judge by the way he treated the Council of Sardica (343), the Synod of Arles (353), and the Synod of Milan (355). At Milan Athanasius protested against the Emperor's confusion of the Empire and the canons—only to meet with the retort: "What I say is a canon!"⁵⁷ At the end of this stormy Synod, the bishops who had opposed the Emperor were banished.⁵⁸ Times had changed since the banquet of Nicaea! Soon afterwards, Constantius banished Pope Liberius,⁵⁹ and then Hilary of Poitiers, who complained bitterly, and with justice, that this was persecution without martyrdom.⁶⁰ At the Council of Rimini (359), Constantius proposed to remove *ὁμοούσιον* from the Nicene Creed, and at length induced the bishops to give way.⁶¹

The first Emperor in history to propose a new formula of faith to be accepted by all his subjects was Basiliscus. In 476, he published it in the *Encyclion*, without even consulting a synod.⁶² But Basiliscus was soon expelled by Zeno, who proceeded in 482 to publish a new formula, the *Henoticon*,⁶³ prepared by the Patriarchs

of Alexandria and Constantinople. Pope Felix II called a Synod (484), which excommunicated Acacius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and there followed the Acacian Schism (484-519), harbinger of the Great Schism between East and West which was to last right down to our own day.

Justinian is the classic representative of Caesaropapism. He conceived of himself as a "living law sent by God to man",⁶⁴ and regarded ecclesiastical affairs as falling within his competence. Like Charlemagne later, he wanted to confine the Church to the function of praying for the welfare of the State;⁶⁵ her place is in the sacristy, not in the forum. When Pope Agapetus protested to him against the monophysite preaching of Anthimus, Patriarch of Constantinople, Justinian replied with threats; which drew from Agapetus the comment that Justinian was behaving like another Diocletian.⁶⁶ The next Pope, Silverius, died in exile on an island, and his successor, Pope Vigilius, was held a prisoner in Byzantium for seven years, suffering physical violence more than once.

In 638, another attempt was made to enforce a single creed upon the whole Empire—this time by Emperor Heraclius in the *Ecthesis*,⁶⁷ which was worked out by the Patriarchs Cyrus of Alexandria and Sergius of Constantinople. The next Emperor Constans, in 648, repealed the *Ecthesis*, and issued the *Typos*⁶⁸ prohibiting all further discussion of whether there were two wills in Christ or only one. He claimed to be "inspired by Almighty God" to issue this prohibition, and added severe penalties: deposition in the case of bishops, confiscation of property for nobles, flogging and banishment for the lower classes. When in 649 Pope Martin and the Lateran Synod⁶⁹ excommunicated the authors of the *Typos*, Constans, in his anger, ordered the exarch Olympius to bring Martin to Byzantium. Olympius refused and rebelled against the Emperor, thus bringing a charge of treason upon the Pope, who was fetched to Byzantium by another exarch.⁷⁰ After thirty-nine days imprisonment, he was brought out to an unjust trial, was sent into exile and died there. His stalwart supporter, Maximus the Confessor, was also summoned to Byzantium, and sent into exile; his tongue was cut out and his right hand hacked off, but he remained constant, and died in exile.⁷¹ His sufferings mark a climax of the struggle between Church and State, which was to continue for centuries. But there is no time to pursue it further . . .

Turning now to the bishops, we must consider how they acquitted themselves under this oppressive tutelage. The persecuting Emperors,⁷² by directing the weight of their attacks against the bishops, had testified that the episcopacy was the backbone of the Christian body. Without any sinister intent but not without ill effects, Constantine was lavish in the gifts and honours he bestowed upon their successors. In the course of his first stay in Rome after the defeat of Maxentius, by presenting Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, with the Lateran Palace, he immediately raised the Roman Bishopric to princely magnificence.⁷³ In 314, he allowed the bishops travelling to the Council of Arles the rare privilege of using the horses of the *cursus publicus*.⁷⁴ The Council of Nicaea was surrounded with all the splendour of the court; Constantine attended, sitting on a small gilded chair, paying the bishops all deference, and entertaining them later in his palace.⁷⁵ The Christian Bishops soon came to replace the old aristocracy as the entourage of the throne, while the Senate could no longer count on the Emperor's favour. No wonder, then, that the episcopacy became one of the coveted prizes of ambition! Ammianus Marcellinus remarks that if the candidates for the Roman Episcopate show so much ardour in competing for this office, it is because of the rich emoluments: gifts from Roman ladies, comfortable carriages, magnificent robes, and banquets of regal luxury.⁷⁶

The bishops did not immediately perceive the perils and temptations of their new situation. Through gratitude, or for less noble motives, they showed too great a willingness to comply with the Emperor's wishes. At the Council of Arles in 314 they excommunicated Christians who deserted from Constantine's army. At the Council of Sardica and the Synods of Arles and Milan, the majority offered no resistance. Hosius and Pope Liberius, who at first had been as courageous as Athanasius, at length gave way. The Council of Rimini, under Constantius, acquiesced in the removal of *δομοῦσιον*. Under Basiliscus, five hundred bishops accepted the *Encyclion*.⁷⁷ When Justinian issued his Edict condemning Origen, all the bishops of the West signed it. The hierarchy of the East⁷⁸ were much more compliant than those of the West; with a few exceptions (notably Athanasius) they bowed to the Emperor's will like courtiers, saying for example :

"Caesar, you have been set over us bishops by God, above you

stands no one, you rule over all, and therefore you have the right to do what you will."⁷⁹

But in the West there was always a bold minority; a long succession of courageous bishops resisted the Emperor's encroachments. Ambrose withstood Valentinian. Pope Leo sent bold protests to Theodosius II,⁸⁰ and later to his namesake Leo I.⁸¹ Pope Felix II condemned Zeno's *Henotikon* and excommunicated Acacius. Pope Gelasius sent a famous letter to Emperor Anastasius, setting forth the doctrine of the two powers.⁸² Popes Agapetus, Silverius, and Vigilius resisted Justinian. . . . But the story is far too long and complicated to tell here. Enough has been said to show how the Papacy stood out as the protagonist of the Church in the West. By basing its claim to precedence on its apostolic foundation, the Roman see avoided the humiliating position of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, which frankly admitted that its claim to the Primacy of Honour rested on its connexion with the seat of Empire.⁸³ Thanks to its long struggle for independence, the Western Church stood firm while the Roman state collapsed in ruins.

Perhaps the most thorny problem created by the intermingling of civil and ecclesiastical affairs was whether the Emperor should employ his civil power for the persecution of pagans, heretics, and schismatics. The proscription of paganism began in the closing years of Constantine (330-337).⁸⁴ Before this time, Christians had rejected the whole idea of religious persecution,⁸⁵ but when they found themselves in the position of mastery, able to invoke the civil arm against their adversaries, many changed their mind. For example, nearly all the Catholic bishops of Africa were in favour of invoking Theodosius' aid against the Donatists.

St. Augustine provides the perplexing spectacle of an extremely wise and holy man who began by condemning the use of force against heretics, but changed his mind after observing the good effects of coercive measures taken without his approval. His experience is worthy of the closest examination. At first he wanted to convert the Donatists by persuasion and kindness,⁸⁶ but these methods proved ineffectual. His adversaries were for the most part reluctant to hold discussions, or if they did so, they afterwards misrepresented what had been said.⁸⁷ Eventually Augustine came to doubt whether they were in good faith, and whether he was not

the dupe of his own charity. Under stress of such experiences, he became more favourably inclined to the view that the state may interfere in conflicts of conscience—provided it does not exceed the measure of Christian kindness.⁸⁸ The Donatist bishop Petilianus in reply taxed him with being unchristian :

"The Lord Christ said: 'No man can come to me, unless my Father who sent me draws him.'⁸⁹ Why then do you not leave every one to follow his own choice, since it is the Lord who gave men their will?"⁹⁰

Augustine answered that freedom of choice is not incompatible with influences pulling one way or another. God may draw a man to the truth no less through fear of the law than through the interior promptings of grace :

"Just as it is possible for the Father to draw men to his Son while leaving them free, so it can come about that the threats of the law do not take away your free choice."⁹¹

In 404, the Donatists caused serious breaches of the peace. Three bishops were wounded, houses were burnt, churches pillaged. Theodosius promptly intervened with an Edict of Union, threatening those who adhered to Donatism with severe penalties.⁹² At first Augustine was saddened by these violent measures, and feared that the mass-conversions which they produced were insincere. But when he considered the ardent faith of the souls who had returned to his fold, and the religious unity achieved in his own city, he was obliged to admit that constraint had succeeded where peaceful persuasion had failed. He explains in a letter to the schismatic bishop Vincentius :

"It is these instances of conversion, brought to my eyes by my colleagues, that have made me give up my first conviction; for my first feeling was, not to force anyone to return to the unity of Jesus Christ, but to act by words, to combat by argument, and conquer by reason . . . It is not any counter-argument, but clearly demonstrated examples that have made me go back on my first opinion."⁹³

He then describes what influences had kept these good people in schism and heresy: fear of the hatred of their fellow-Donatists, sheer habit, malevolent rumours about the Catholic Church, or a mistaken belief that it did not matter which party one belonged to, so long as one was a Christian. The penal laws had counterbalanced these influences for evil; they were therefore messengers of grace. For these reasons, Augustine now preferred a policy of constraint

softened by charity. But he would not have any heretic condemned to death.⁹⁴

In the light of Augustine's experience, what are we to say? Is it a good thing for the state to become the secular arm of the Church? Throughout her history, the Church has been sadly dismembered, and when one of the *disiecta membra* has employed the secular arm against another, the effect has more often been to inflict slow-healing wounds than to create unity. And there is no guarantee that the civil power will always choose the side of orthodoxy. Reverence for Augustine forbids me to say that his justification of persecution was wrong; but its fruits were evil in the centuries which followed, and we may suspect that, if he had had as much experience to reflect upon as we have, Augustine would have reverted to his first opinion. Indeed, if he had even survived to the reign of Valentinian III, he might well have approved of that Prince's edict forbidding the invocation of force in ecclesiastical disputes.⁹⁵

It remains to consider the last of the great dangers of the new regime: the corruption of the spiritual life of the Church. According to Professor Jones, "as converts came in no longer by conviction, but for interested motives, or merely by inertia, the spiritual and moral fervour of the Church inevitably waned."⁹⁶ After "the inevitable concordat," says Dean Inge, "there followed an era of wholesale forced conversions which nearly half-paganised the Church."⁹⁷ "The ease with which Christianity could now be practised," says J. W. C. Wand, "brought many unworthy elements into the Church and helped to lower its standard."⁹⁸ Although none of these authors adduces evidence of the alleged decline, it is likely enough that many people entered the Church for questionable motives.⁹⁹

However, in estimating the magnitude of this threat to the spiritual life of the Church, it is important to avoid the assumption that before 313 Christians formed a society of saints, in which sin was, after baptism, something unheard of, or even unthinkable. Hermas,¹⁰⁰ Cyprian,¹⁰¹ and Eusebius¹⁰² all tell of laxity, sloth and apathy in the Church before Constantine. Moreover, the causes that first bring men into contact with the life of the Church are various and often irrational. God has strange ways of bringing people over the threshold; but if they never cross the threshold,

they can no more see what is inside than a tourist can see the beauty of a Cathedral's stained glass from the roadway. Even if men enter the Church for unworthy motives, they are exposing themselves and their children and descendants to the influences of grace and of truth; and their reasons for staying inside may be wholly laudable. Professor Jones has suggested that one of the most decisive steps in the conversion of Constantine was irrational—that the sign which he saw in the sun was no more than a purely natural "halo-phenomenon" caused by the fall of ice-crystals across the rays of the sun.¹⁰³ If this explanation is correct, Constantine's conversion to the Christian faith is to be attributed in part to this "accident in his youth,"¹⁰⁴ and he provides a striking instance to show that the value of a conversion is not determined by the rational sufficiency of the motives that produce its first steps. What is true of the Emperor is true of those who imitated him. It is surely better that the influence, example and persuasion of a monarch should be turned in favour of conversions than against them.

If we may believe Nicephorus, in one year twelve thousand men, and a corresponding number of women and children were baptised in Rome.¹⁰⁵ Gibbon suggests that this mass conversion was largely due to bribery: "a white garment with twenty pieces of gold had been promised by the emperor to every convert."¹⁰⁶ He might have added that, according to the same source, the donative was restricted to the poor who had received a signed testimonial from the bishop, and that Constantine, in his anxiety not to bring undue pressure to bear upon his subjects, declared publicly that:

"Baptism should be received voluntarily and not under compulsion; no one should approach the cult of the Christians through human fear; but rather, he should join their congregation of his own accord, after long and sober reflexion."

Gibbon might also have added, still from the same source, that not a single member of the senate responded to Constantine's preaching—a fact that renders nugatory the observation that:

"as the lower ranks of society are governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth, of power or of riches, was soon followed by dependent multitudes."

The example of the senate was *not* followed by the dependent multitudes of Rome.

It has been maintained that the streams of converts who followed

in the wake of Constantine not only failed to attain the same degree of holiness as the earlier Christians but actually caused "serious corruptions in the Church's nature and distinctive principles."¹⁰⁷ "The immense growth of the ascetic ideal among earnest Christians, and its expression in the monastic mode of life" has been put forward as a "manifest proof" that the Church was "largely secularised by the world."¹⁰⁸ Strange proof! What it shows is that Christianity had *not* lost sight of its ideal or compromised its principles. The Church's note of holiness does not consist in the actual holiness of all her members, but in her possession of the ideal of holiness and her distribution of the means to pursue it. Perhaps it is true that the average level of sanctity among baptised Christians was higher in the pre-Nicene Church—I am not sure that we can judge—but what do averages matter in the life of the Church, whose purpose is to save as many souls and produce as many saints as possible? Although there is obvious wisdom in delaying the baptism of men whose conduct is likely to bring disgrace upon the Christian name, the Church is not the sort of society that can restrict its membership merely in order to be more select.

Such were the dangers inseparable from imperial favour. It remains to consider whether, in spite of them, the Church after Constantine was in a better position to pursue her purpose in the world. Henceforward, it was easier to be a Christian than not; the whole drift and tendency of things was towards the Church. The inhabitants of the Empire in their thousands, and the barbarians who pressed on the frontiers, were brought into the Church to work out their salvation—souls that might otherwise have lived and died without Christ's saving grace. This is the one great argument which outweighs all considerations to the contrary. The title of *ἰσαπόστολος* given to Constantine by the Eastern Church was not altogether undeserved, if one considers only the extent of his influence upon the expansion of Christianity.

Professor Jones attributes the conversion of whole races to the glory reflected upon Christianity by

"that ancient civilization whose grandiose buildings, stately ceremonial, luxurious life and ordered discipline fascinated the uncouth barbarians of the north. The Germans," he says, "had at first been mere brigands, but soon they hankered to enter the charmed circle of the Roman world . . . inevitably they copied Roman ways, and with the rest of Roman culture adopted Roman religion."¹⁰⁹

The suggestion has a strong attraction for those who still feel the magic of ancient Rome. But what is the evidence for its truth? Alaric and the Visigoths, Attila and the Huns, Clovis and the Franks, did not show much respect for the fading glories of the old civilisation. Clovis was drawn to the faith partly by his wife Clotilda, and partly (like Constantine) by victory in battle and the influence of a Christian bishop. It is unlikely that St. Remigius appealed to respect for Rome. We may be sure that like other Christian missionaries he preached the stern doctrine that men are born under the curse of original sin, and that only by the grace of the Crucified Redeemer can they escape the flames of Hell and join the company of the Blessed.¹¹⁰ The truth is that official favour and encouragement did little more than foster the Church's own missionary vitality and provide circumstances favourable to its expression; the Roman government itself was not the chief agency in the spread of Christianity within or without the Empire. The actual work of conversion and instruction was directed by great bishops like Martin of Tours, Ambrose of Milan, Vigilius of Trent, Augustine of Hippo, John Chrysostom, and Philaster of Brescia who was called in his own day a "second Paul."¹¹¹

Little is known of the early stages of the conversion of the barbarian races. The first Goths are said to have been converted by Christian captives taken in the third century,¹¹² and others of their race are reported to have accepted the faith because they thought that their defeat by Constantine had proved the superiority of his God as a helper in battle.¹¹³ The causes and motives of conversion are multifarious. The Roman state played its part indirectly, by active encouragement of the Church. The peace and security¹¹⁴ which she enjoyed enabled her to entrench herself firmly in Europe, and to gather, particularly in the monasteries, the strength she needed in order to propagate the Gospel throughout the provinces and beyond. Statistics are not available, but it seems safe to say that the Christians, from being a minority in Constantine's day, had become a majority by the time of Theodosius.¹¹⁵ Here, let me repeat, we have the really decisive reason why we should thank God for the Edict: thousands of souls, and whole races, that might have lived and died without Christ's saving grace, were brought within his fold.

It is not altogether an idle pastime to speculate what might

have happened, if Constantine had pursued some other policy towards the Church. Would Christianity have won the peoples of the north? Would Clovis, for example, have come under Christian influences? Would St. Patrick¹¹⁶ have been a Christian? If he had not, would monasticism have flourished in Ireland, and sent out those fiery missionaries who revived the faith of the Franks, so that they became the official protectors of Christianity in the West in the eighth century? Would Europe have been firm enough to withstand Islam, or would Christendom have suffered losses in Italy, Gaul and Spain, comparable to those endured in North Africa, the Nile valley, Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor? If Europe had fallen to the Crescent, would the discoverers and settlers of the New World have been Christians? Would we ourselves, for that matter, have been Christians? . . . God alone knows the answers to these questions. But the mere consideration of the alternative possibilities is enough to convince us that, as things turned out, Constantine did a wonderful service to Christendom.

We may conclude, then, that so far as the Church is concerned, the Edict was a blessing. But what of the Roman Empire? Was the adoption of Christianity fatal to it? Constantine has been accused of betraying Rome.¹¹⁷ Certainly the official change of religion did not save the top heavy empire from its collapse. Professor Jones does not find this surprising, "for the object of the Church was not to reform the Empire but to save souls."¹¹⁸ Yet the Church has a mission on earth, and Constantine very probably hoped for a moral revival through the conversion of the Empire. Origen had thought that such a conversion would secure the permanence of the Empire. If all the Romans became Christians, he prophesied, by means of their united prayers they would prevail over all their enemies—or rather, they would have no enemies to prevail over.¹¹⁹ Alas! things did not turn out that way. It takes time for the leaven to spread through so large a mass, and the conversion of Constantine had come too late.¹²⁰ The new religion met with sharp resistance in the most influential ranks of society.¹²¹ It was not until after the fall of Rome that the old culture and the new religion were finally fused into unity.¹²² Meanwhile, corruption and oppression continued unabated, and brought the tottering Empire to its fall.¹²³

From the point of view of world history, what we think of the

Edict will depend upon what we think of the Middle Ages and of the European civilization that has risen out of them. For, by adopting the Christian religion, "Constantin a véritablement engendré le Moyen Age."¹²⁴ Instead of attempting to salvage the past, he made a choice which was to colour and shape the whole of the future. A perfectly balanced judgment on that future is impossible, since the mass of evidence available could not be studied even in a whole lifetime. But when we compare the cultural achievements of Europe with what we know of other civilizations, we have little cause to regret our ancestry or to bewail the fateful decision made by Constantine.¹²⁵ Almost at once Christian influence began, in small ways, to affect legislation¹²⁶ and the general social life. Sunday was made an obligatory day of rest, crucifixion and facial branding were discarded, official aid was provided for abandoned children, the manumission of slaves was made easier, measures were enacted against adultery, rape and concubinage. The great liturgical feasts soon eclipsed the pagan festivals. Vast Christian churches arose. Pagan gods gave way to Christian saints at the cross-roads. Christian art came forth into the open.¹²⁷ And most important of all, monasticism developed and flourished. It was the monasteries that transmitted the heritage of the ancient world to the modern. "As the darkness deepened over Western Europe," writes Christopher Dawson, "it was in the monasteries rather than in the cities that the tradition of Latin culture and the patterns of Christian life were preserved."¹²⁸ If the monasteries had not existed, it is hard to see how the works of the great classical authors would have survived; without their inspiration there could have been no Renaissance, and our culture, even had it been Christian, would have been immeasurably poorer.

¹ N. H. Baynes in C.A.H., Vol. XII, p. 686.

² Lactantius, *de Mort. Persec.*, 1.

³ cf. J. R. Palanque in Fliche Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, III, p. 20.

⁴ quotation from the Rescript of Licinius.

⁵ Lactant. *de Mort. Persec.* 48, and Eusebius, H.E., X, 5.

⁶ The suspension of the interdict was very probably effected by an edict. Cf. Batiffol, *La Paix Constantinienne*, p. 36 n.5, who quotes Lamprides *Alex. Sev.*, 22: "Mechanica opera Romae plurima instituit.

Judaeis privilegia reservavit. Christiano esse passus est"—apparently a list of edicts. Alexander himself may have made the first step towards conversion; at least his syncretism included Christ: "Christo templum facere voluit eumque inter deos recipere" (Lamp. *Alex. Sev.*, 43).

⁷ Origen, in *Matt. Comm.*, Ser. 39 (PG 13, 1564).

⁸ *Contra Celsum* III, 15.

⁹ Euseb. *Chron.* a. 245: "primus omnium ex Romanis imperatoribus Christianus fuit."

¹⁰ Euseb. H.E., VII, 13.

¹¹ Batiffol has collected evidence of synods at Rome and Alexandria, in Africa, Palestine, Achæa, Cilicia, Phrygia, Galatia, and Cappadocia under Alexander Severus (*op. cit.*, p. 88).

¹² These rights were also recognised by Aurelian in the case of Paul of Samosata in 272 (cf. Kidd, *History of the Church to A.D. 461*, I, 479).

¹³ "Car il faut toujours en revenir à Alexandre Sévère pour la plus haute anticipation de l'Edit de Milan" (Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 67).

¹⁴ H.E. VIII, 1, 1 & 5. According to Optatus, 1, 4, there were more than forty churches in Rome.

¹⁵ According to Cyprian, Ep. LXXX, 1, among those who suffered in Valerian's persecution there were "senatores et egregii viri et equites Romani."

¹⁶ Arnobius, II, 5.

¹⁷ Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II, xxxii, 4-5: "Nullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est."

¹⁸ Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* 24, 9.

¹⁹ Optatus, 1, 18.

²⁰ Its wording is not *in posterum sint Christiani*, but "*denuo sint Christiani*." (Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 183).

²¹ "debeant."

²² Euseb. H.E., IX, 2.

²³ This is the view taken by N. H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and Christian History*, in *Proc. British Acad.*, Vol. XV, p. 349. Palanque, *op. cit.*, p. 2, tries to refute it, but his argument seems to ignore the epistolary usage of past tenses in Latin. A plausible attempt has been made by Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. 243-9, to distinguish the substantial text from the comments of Lianius.

²⁴ Kidd says that "nominally both paganism and Christianity were placed on an equality" by the Edict (Vol. II, p. 3). Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*, p. 38: "The Edict of Galerius had done no more than guarantee the toleration of the Christians; Constantine's will now gave them equality in law and state." Professor Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*, p. 89, talks of "strict impartiality".

²⁵ Cf. n.5 (*supra*).

²⁶ E.g. Allard, *Le Christianisme et l'Empire Romain*, p. 151, and Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁷ Kidd comments that "the Edict of Milan is a landmark not only in the persecutions of Christians, but in the religious history of mankind. It was the first announcement of a doctrine, which all(!) now accept, that complete religious freedom belongs as of right to

every man" (I, 530). Similarly, Gwatkin in *Camb. Med. Hist.* Vol. I, p. 5, writes: "For the first time in history the principle of universal toleration was laid down—that every man has a right to choose his religion and practise it in his own way without any discouragement from the State."

²⁸ A. H. M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

²⁹ Cf. St. Mark, x, 37-38; and Epist. Polycarpi 1, 1.

³⁰ Cf. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, 5.

³¹ "Semen est sanguis Christianorum" (Tertullian, *Apol.*, 50, 13).

³² I Tim. ii, 2 (Knox's version).

³³ Pliny, Ep. X, 96, e.g.: "Hi quoque omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt, et Christo male dixerunt."

³⁴ Cf. Kidd, I, 434.

³⁵ Hist. Eccl. VIII, 3, 1.

³⁶ Cyprian, Ep. 55, 22.

³⁷ Cf. Kidd I, 451.

³⁸ Cyprian, *De Cath. Eccl. Unit.*, 16.

³⁹ Origen, *Contra Cels.*, III, 15, quoted above, n.8.

⁴⁰ Euseb. H.E., VI, 3, 1.

⁴¹ Euseb. H.E., VIII, 2, 4.

⁴² Cypr. *De Lapsis*, 5.

⁴³ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁴⁴ H. S. Williams's *Historians' History of the World*, Vol VI, p. 637, Appendix B: The Roman State and the Early Christian Church.

⁴⁵ According to Kidd (I, 482), the Church in A.D. 300 "included but a small fraction, yet a fraction, of every class in the Empire." The only author I have seen who estimates the fraction above 10% is L. Hertling in *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theol.*, 1938, p. 103.

⁴⁶ Cf. many passages in Tertullian, e.g. *Ad Scapulam*, 2.

⁴⁷ Cf. passages quoted in n.85.

⁴⁸ Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 71, quotes from an official panegyric on Constantine a prayer which begins thus: "Supreme Creator of all things, who hast chosen to have as many names as there are languages on the earth, what name thou thyself preferrest we may not know . . ." (But on p. 55 Alföldi protests, with his customary emphasis, that "we cannot possibly assume in Constantine the kind of advanced syncretism, the religion of the melting-pot, that we observe in the pagan and gnostic sects of the time." It will be plain from the text why I do not agree with this view.)

⁴⁹ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁵⁰ Euseb. H.E., X, 5, 15f.

⁵¹ In an Edict of 314 Constantine writes: "I, to whose guardianship God has committed the administration of all earthly affairs by his heavenly will . . ." (Alföldi, p. 43).

⁵² Euseb. *Vit. Const.*, 3, 15, describes how "some bishops reclined on the same couch as the Emperor, and others on couches on either side. One could easily have taken it for a picture of the Kingdom of Christ; it all seemed more like a dream than a reality." On this deceptive dream, H. Rahner, *Abendländische Kirchenfreiheit*, p. 73, remarks with justice: "Das Königsreich Christi ist noch nie von Bischöfen aufgebaut worden, die auf kaiserlichen Polstern ruhen"!

⁵³ Euseb. *Vit. Const.*, 3, 20.

⁵⁴ Euseb. *ibid.*, 4, 24. τῶν ἐκτός seems to me, in view of the antithesis of which it is a member, to be masculine.

⁵⁵ In a letter to the Bishop of Alexandria and his presbyter Arius (324): Euseb. *ibid.*, 2, 64-72.

⁵⁶ e.g. in a letter to Athanasius. Athan., *Apol. contra Arianos*, 59.

⁵⁷ Athanasius, *Hist. Arianorum*, 33 (PG 25, 732).

⁵⁸ Pope Liberius sent them a letter of consolation, and expressed his readiness to die for the freedom of the faith (CSEL 65, 164-6).

⁵⁹ Theodoretus, H.E., 11, 16.

⁶⁰ Hilary of Poitiers, *Liber contra Constantinum Imp.*, PL 10, 577-603, especially 580-1.

⁶¹ Pope Liberius later said that the bishops were deceived by flattery, and coerced by political pressure (Socrates, H.E., IV, 12, PG 67, 492).

⁶² Text in Evagrius H.E., III, 4 (PG 86, 2, 2600-4).

⁶³ Text in Evagrius H.E., III, 14 (PG 86, 2, 2620-25).

⁶⁴ Justinian, *Constitutions*, 105, 2, 4.

⁶⁵ Introdn. to Const. VI (16th March, 535).

⁶⁶ Liber Pontificalis, *Vita Agapeti* (PL 128, 551).

⁶⁷ Mansi X, 992-997.

⁶⁸ Mansi X, 1029f.

⁶⁹ Mansi X, 863f.

⁷⁰ Theodor Calliopa. Mansi X, 852.

⁷¹ *Acta Si Maximi Conf.* PG 90, 136-172.

⁷² Valerian in particular; cf. Allard, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁷³ cf. Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and his note on p. 130.

⁷⁴ Euseb. H.E., X, 5, 21f.

⁷⁵ Euseb. quoted above n.47.

⁷⁶ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 27, 3, quoted by De Labriolle, *Latin Christianity*, p. 230.

⁷⁷ Evagrius III, 5 (PG 86, 2, 2604).

⁷⁸ Their subservience is ascribed to fear of losing their fat benefices by the author of *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epist. III, 438-442.

⁷⁹ Palladius, *Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi*, 10 (PG 47, 34).

⁸⁰ Pope Leo, Ep. 44 (PL 54, 827-831).

⁸¹ Pope Leo, Ep. 156 (PL 54, 1127-1132).

⁸² Gelasius, Ep. 1, 10: "The Emperor is the son of the Church, not a bishop. In matters of faith he has only to learn, not to teach . . ."

⁸³ 28th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon. Mansi VII, 369.

⁸⁴ "This was a campaign of annihilation," says Alföldi (p. 108).

⁸⁵ Cf. e.g. Tertullian ad Scap., 2: "It is each man's natural right to worship whatsoever he thinks fit, and one man's religion is neither to the advantage or disadvantage of another. It is contrary to the nature of religion to enforce religion, for religion should be undertaken freely and not under compulsion." Cf. *Apol.*, 28.

⁸⁶ *Epist.*, 105, 4. (PL 33, 398). Cf. G. Combès, *La Doctrine Politique de St. Augustin*, Paris 1927, p. 352f.

⁸⁷ *Epist.*, 51, 1. (PL 33, 192).

⁸⁸ *Epist. contra Parm.*, 1, 16 (PL 43, 45).

⁸⁹ John vi, 41.

⁹⁰ *Contra Lit. Petil.*, II, 186 (PL 43, 317-8).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² He probably felt that merely to punish the offenders for breach of the peace would be to treat the symptoms instead of the cause of the disturbance, which could be dealt with only by suppressing the schism.

⁹³ *Epist.*, 93, 17 (PL 33, 329-30).

⁹⁴ *Epist.*, 100, 2 (PL 33, 366).

⁹⁵ *Const. Valent.* III, 16.

⁹⁶ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁹⁷ W. R. Inge, *The Church and the Age*, p. 50.

⁹⁸ J. W. C. Wand, *History of the Early Church*, p. 50.

⁹⁹ Cf. Euseb. *Vit. Const.*, 3, 66.

¹⁰⁰ Hermas, *Similitude VIII*, 7, 1, talks of "double-minded men, neither alive nor dead . . . they continue in the faith though they work not the works of faith". Cf. II Clem. 13.

¹⁰¹ Cf. especially *De Lapsis* 6, on worldly bishops who neglect their flocks in order to go about making money.

¹⁰² Euseb. H.E., VIII, 1, 7: "On account of the abundant freedom we fell into laxity and sloth." Cf. Kidd I, 511-2 for confirmatory details.

¹⁰³ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 96. In the Introduction (p. xiv) Prof. Andrade is said to be the author of this explanation.

¹⁰⁴ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 255. By accepting the word "accident" I do not mean to exclude the operation of Providence.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted by Baronius, *Annales*, under A.D. 324, nos. 67 and 74.

¹⁰⁶ Gibbon, ed. Smith, Vol. III, p. 24.

¹⁰⁷ By J. Vernon Bartlet and A. J. Carlyle, *Christianity in History*, p. 112.

¹⁰⁸ Bartlet and Carlyle, *ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁹ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 255. K. S. Latourette, *Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 172, expresses a similar view.

¹¹⁰ Cf. also Kidd I, 40 on the moral attractiveness of Christianity.

¹¹¹ Latourette, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185-6.

¹¹² Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 6.

¹¹³ Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 18.

¹¹⁴ The toleration granted by the syncretist emperors gave no security, because it might at any time be terminated by the policy or whim of a new prince. Roman emperors were fond of contrasting themselves with their immediate predecessors. (This tendency explains, in part, the persecution started by Maximinus Thrax. Cf. Kidd I, 351).

¹¹⁵ Careful research by Mgr. Duchesne in *Fastes Episcopaux* has shown that the number of bishoprics in Gaul was almost doubled in the half-century following the peace of Constantine.

¹¹⁶ It is probably no less fallacious in ecclesiastical than in secular history to suppose that if some great genius had not lived, his work would have been done by another.

¹¹⁷ "Il reste qu'il a trahi Rome."—Piganiol. The Roman senators of Constantine's day said much the same thing. Cf. Baronius, *loc. cit.* (n. 106).

¹¹⁸ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

¹¹⁹ Origen, *Contra Celsum*, VIII, 70 (PG XI, 1622); cf. Lactantius *Div. Inst.*, V, 8.

¹²⁰ Irreparable damage had been done by the twenty-three

"Barrack-room Emperors", who resigned from 211-284, a period which can only be described as "anarchy", says Kidd I, 339.

¹²¹ This is the theme of Alföldi's book.

¹²² Cf. C. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹²³ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

¹²⁴ Chateaubriand.

¹²⁵ Dean Inge is reported to have said that "after Constantine there is not much that is not humiliating" (Wand, *op. cit.*, p. 135). He must have been in a sour mood when he wrote that.

¹²⁶ The influence of Christianity on English Common Law was very much greater. Roman Law was highly developed before Christian influences came to bear upon it.

¹²⁷ Cf. de Labriolle, *Latin Christianity*, p. 231.

¹²⁸ C. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF MR. GLADSTONE¹

By CLEMENT WEBB

I AM well aware that it is to one cause only that I am indebted for the very great honour—for such I consider it—which the Trustees of St. Deiniol's Library have done me in inviting me to deliver this year the annual Founder's Day address on the illustrious man to whom this institution owes its origin. That one cause is the accident that, having lived in this world nearly as many years—though years spent far less profitably to my fellow men—as he himself did, I am now one of the few left who can boast of having spoken—although, in my case, on one occasion only—with a personage to whom his country and the world owe so much. For this accident enables me to report to a generation for whom he is only a figure in the history of the past a first hand impression, however slight, of one who stood first among the statesmen of Europe as the unwearied champion of liberty during the greater part of the nineteenth century—a century which was not yet ten years old when he was born and, when he died, was within two years of its close.

My childhood fell within the seventh and eighth decades of that century; and, when I first became conscious of my political environment, it was to find myself under a government carried on by two great parties, and two only, turn and turn about. They were the two parties of which a little later it was written

That every boy and every girl
That's born into the world alive
Is either a little Liberal,
Or else a little Conservative.²

If the latter, he or she was a follower of Benjamin Disraeli; if the former, of William Ewart Gladstone; both men of genius, both distinguished in other fields than that of politics; but in almost every other respect, strongly contrasted with each other.

¹ What follows is the Annual Lecture delivered in 1952 on Founder's Day at St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden.

² W. S. Gilbert, *Iolanthe*.

In my own case, however, the Gilbertian alternative was imperfectly realized. I was not brought up to regard myself as bound to the allegiance of one or the other political party; but, of the two great leaders whose features were so familiar from pictures and caricatures even to those who had never set eyes on either, I always knew that one did and the other did not belong to the same world as that of my home; and the one that did was Mr. Gladstone.

This address has been announced under the title of "Some Personal Reminiscences of Mr. Gladstone", but I hope that you will permit me to prefix to these a brief account of my parents' contacts with him, contacts to which I owe my first encounter with the subject of to-day's celebration.

My father, who was in his day a well-known London clergyman, had, as an undergraduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the early forties of the last century been one of the founders and the first secretary of what was called at first the Cambridge Camden Society and, after its removal to London in 1845, the Ecclesiological Society. This society bore a principal part in a movement for the reverent study and pious care of the ancient churches of England which, in combination with other contemporary influences, profoundly affected the religious and aesthetic outlook of educated English Christians. Among the earliest friends of this Society outside of the University in which it originated was Sir Stephen Glynne of Hawarden Castle, through the marriage of whose sister with Mr. Gladstone this place became the latter's home. Sir Stephen Glynne is credited in the *Dictionary of National Biography* with having surveyed and made notes on the architecture of 5,530 English churches; in no one could the Cambridge Camden Society have found a warmer or more active sympathizer. My father's journal for Nov. 23, 1841, records that Gladstone himself had attended a meeting of the Society on the previous night and, two days later, that both Gladstone and his brother-in-law were shown over the first fruits of its labours in the restored church of St. Sepulchre—commonly known as the Round Church—in Cambridge. I may add that the same journal mentions that Gladstone during this visit to Cambridge attended the terminal Communion at Trinity College and was present both at St. Mary's, the University Church, and in Trinity College Chapel on the following Sunday.

My father's acquaintance with the two brothers-in-law from

Hawarden, thus begun, continued for many years. After he had become, in 1862, incumbent of St. Andrew's, Wells Street, in London, his diary records many meetings with Glynne and frequent attendances by my parents at parties given by Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone in their London house; and also four visits paid by them to Hawarden during Glynne's lifetime and one after his death. It tells of conversations with Mr. Gladstone on these occasions, carried on during walks in the neighbourhood or in the "Temple of Peace". Only once is there specified the particular subject discussed; and then it is said to have been "Poseidon etc." No doubt Gladstone then expounded speculations such as he loved to indulge in, and such as form the topic of his *Juventus Mundi*, respecting the theological implications of the Homeric mythology. We learn from Morley's *Life of Gladstone*³ that in January 1887 (more than a year after my father's death), he was composing for Knowles of *The Nineteenth Century* an article (which appeared in March) devoted to this particular deity, whom he describes in a note written at the time as "a most curious and exotic personage".

According to my father's diary Gladstone was a not infrequent worshipper at his church, especially at solemn seasons of the Church's year which happened to fall while he was in town; and at the breakfast parties which,—in accordance with a practice already, I think, old-fashioned—he was accustomed to give at his London house, my father was often a guest.

Up to this point I have been giving you, I am aware, not my own reminiscences of Mr. Gladstone but gleanings from my father's journal, which are, however, not without interest in themselves, and may at any rate help to explain how I came to be brought into contact with him at all. Yet, even with the help of this journal, I cannot fix the date of my unforgotten first meeting, when, walking with my father in a London street near my home in Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, we met him and I was presented to him by my father. I was probably at the time a schoolboy of thirteen or thereabouts. I never met him again until I was twenty-five years old and a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. I had, however, seen him not infrequently in the meanwhile; for I was a Westminster boy, and was familiar with Parliamentary figures, occasionally (although far less often than I now wish had been the case) using

³ iii, 356, 570.

our ancient privilege of admission to the gallery of the House of Commons. It was thus that I once—but only once—heard him speak there. He was dealing with some financial topic; and of finance I have never understood anything, nor can pretend even to have taken any interest in it. But at the time I experienced, as I remember, the momentary illusion that I could follow what he was saying, so lucid seemed his exposition. So when, many years later, I read the description of his oratory in Owen Meredith's—the second Lord Lytton's—*Glenaveril*, I felt myself able to confirm what is said in those memorable lines:

The Sugar Duty and the trade with France
Your soul, by turns, with fine emotion fills
. . . And squires, who tearless bore the fall of rents,
Weep for the perils of the three per cents.⁴

I may perhaps be allowed to interpolate here an anecdote (linked with this only by the accident of it including a rhyming verse) to which I can only conjecturally assign its chronological setting. But I think that it must relate to the year 1871, when my parents stayed at Hawarden from a Friday to a Saturday, my father preaching on the Sunday in the parish church. For it was in this year that Morley tells us in his *Life*⁵ that Mr. Bruce (afterwards the first Lord Aberdare), who was Home Secretary in the first Cabinet formed by Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister, introduced a bill to amend the licensing laws, in which he complained that he could not get his chief really to interest himself. I suppose it was this measure, as my mother told me, that the chief amused his guests at Hawarden by summarizing in the following lines, which have stuck in my memory:

This is my Permissive Bill. As I am a drunken hog,
I permit you to prohibit me from drinking a glass of grog.

It was, I think, characteristic of Mr. Gladstone not to be enthusiastic about any form of State control of trade; and, high as were his moral standards alike in private and in public life, he had little sympathy with the policy of denying opportunities of pleasure from fear that they might be abused. He was neither a Socialist nor a Puritan.

⁴ Book I canto 3, § 30.

⁵ Vol. iii, p. 90.

I come now at last to the one occasion on which I not only saw and heard Mr. Gladstone, but, as one of a company invited to meet him at table, listened to his conversation. It was in the course of the memorable visit which he paid to Oxford in the February of 1890, at the beginning of Hilary Term, when, as an Honorary Fellow of All Souls College, he resided there for a week, taking his meals in Hall or Common Room and worshipping in Chapel with the other Fellows. Of this visit one of the younger residents, who had indeed just ceased to be himself actually a Fellow, but who, like the other "quondams" (as ex-Fellows are called at All Souls) still enjoyed the social privileges of a Fellow, wrote a lively account, under the title of *Mr. Gladstone at Oxford 1890*, which was published in 1908 by Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co.⁶ The author of this chronicle was Charles Fletcher, who for seventeen years was my colleague as Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College. I do not suppose it to be likely that many of my present hearers are familiar with this little book; but it will well repay the reading to anyone who will turn over its pages—only a hundred or so—and will take the trouble to identify the people who appear in them under the thin disguise of their initials. By the kindness of Sir John Murray, who has succeeded to the rights of the original publishers, I am allowed to quote freely from it in this address. I shall substitute for the initials of the persons mentioned their full names and designations.

Sir William Anson, the then Warden of All Souls, describes⁷ an invitation which Mr. Gladstone received to a breakfast party at Magdalen. "During Mr. Gladstone's visit," Fletcher quotes the Warden as saying, "'Sir Henry Acland invited Mrs. Gladstone to come and stay with him and witness Mr. Gladstone's collegiate experiences. We all thought that Mr. Gladstone somewhat resented this intrusion of the domestic into the academic life, but, at any rate, his movements were unaffected by the presence of Mrs. Gladstone. She stayed with Sir Henry for two nights, was present when Mr. Gladstone delivered his address at the Union, and asked me whether there would be any objection to her coming on the following morning to our chapel service, whereat Mr. Gladstone was a regular attendant. I begged Sir Henry, himself a 'quondam', to bring her to chapel, and it was arranged that they should break-

⁶ This famous firm no longer exists.

⁷ pp. 22ff.

fast afterwards at my house. I then waylaid Mr. Gladstone as he was walking out to dinner, and asked him if he would join our party. Nothing, he said, would have given him greater pleasure than to breakfast with the Warden, 'but it so happens that I am engaged to breakfast with the President of Magdalen, to meet the President of the University Boat Club, and the Captain of the University Eleven'." Charles Oman (afterwards Chichele Professor of Modern History and Burgess for the University, distinguished as a military historian) "adds to this"—I am still quoting Fletcher's book—" 'It was while I was showing Mr. Gladstone round the Library on the third day of his stay, that we were surprised to see Mrs. Gladstone enter. She told him that she had come to see that he did not over exert himself, as she feared that he was seeing too much company. He replied, in the most affectionate but humorous tones, that many people had been telling him that there were too many ladies in Oxford since the ladies' colleges had been set up, and that, if she carried him back to London at once, he was sure that these people would consider themselves quite justified in their opinion; for the rest, he said, 'he was enjoying himself mightily, and did not think that such a pleasurable visit could be doing him any harm.' "

My own recollection confirms Oman's report of his sentiments. At the breakfast party in Magdalen the only lady there present, Mrs. Warren, the President's wife, mentioned the arrival of Mrs. Gladstone in Oxford to stay with Sir Henry Acland. Mr. Gladstone remarked that it was not by any appointment of his making that she had come, and repeated the ungallant opinion cited above, that there were too many ladies in Oxford already; an opinion with which, conservative as the great Liberal leader was in all such matters, it is not to be doubted that he was in cordial agreement.

The breakfast in question took place on February 6th, in the President's Lodgings. We were a party of fourteen: our host and hostess, the President of the College, Thomas Herbert Warren, (not yet then knighted) and his wife; Mr. Gladstone; five senior members of the College; and six undergraduates. The five senior members were Alfred Denis Godley, distinguished both as a classical scholar and as an admirable writer of humorous and satirical English verse; he was at that time Vice President of the College: the archaeologist, David George Hogarth, Fellow and Tutor, to

whom his country owed much in the first World War, for his masterly conduct of the negotiations which resulted in the Arab revolt from the Turk, and for enlisting in its service his archaeological pupil, Lawrence of Arabia (as he came to be known): John Burdon Sanderson, at that time Professor of Physiology in the University and, as such, a Fellow of Magdalen; it may be remembered that he was the maternal uncle of Lord Haldane and of his brother John, the physiologist: the musician John Stainer, in his early youth the organist of Magdalen, who afterwards became famous as the organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, and was now again resident at Oxford, having lately succeeded Sir Frederick Ouseley as Professor of Music: and lastly the youngest of the five seniors, myself. I had only taken my degree a year and a half previously, and had since then been elected to a fellowship at Magdalen. Of the six undergraduates two were the then President of the University Boat Club and the then Captain of the University Cricket Eleven, whom, as you may remember, Mr. Gladstone had been invited to meet. These were respectively Guy Nickalls, a very famous oarsman in his day, and Frederick Thesiger, afterwards the first Viscount Chelmsford, who was to become Viceroy of India and to be associated with Edwin Montagu in the reforms which bore their names. He died Warden of All Souls College in 1933. The four other undergraduates were three Demies (as the Scholars of Magdalen are called) and one Commoner. Of the three Demies one, Charles Mathew Mulvany, was to become a Fellow, and to find his life's work in India as a professor at Queen's College, Benares; another, Paul Victor Mendelssohn Benecke, grandson of the composer Mendelssohn, and himself an accomplished musician, was also to become a Fellow and to pass his life in the service of the College; while the third, John Edward Talbot, was a nephew of Mrs. Gladstone, and son of a Member of Parliament for the University: he became an official of the Board of Education. The one Commoner was Viscount Encombe, son of the third and father of the present Earl of Eldon: a man of ability and charm, who died in 1900 from typhoid fever, contracted while serving with his regiment in Malta during the Boer War. Of this whole party I am now the only survivor.

The following reminiscences of Mr. Gladstone's conversation at the breakfast which those whom I have enumerated attended

I will give, with a few additions and corrections, as they stand in Charles Fletcher's book to which I originally contributed them.

Mr. Gladstone said that he recollected the younger Kean acting Henry V, in 1839, and that the lines:

I thought upon each pair of English legs
Did march three Frenchmen⁸

were always received with much applause. On the night, however, on which the news of Magenta arrived, they were received in silence! Mr. Gladstone gave this as an instance of the spontaneous good feeling of the audience, which did not permit them to boast over the French, when the French had been fighting gallantly in a cause with which they were in sympathy, and they themselves were sitting at home at ease.

After breakfast we adjourned to the President's study. The talk turned at first upon the Homeric gods, a favourite topic (as I have already observed) with Mr. Gladstone, and was chiefly addressed to Hogarth, and, as was natural in view of Hogarth's recent production of his *Devia Cypria*, Aphrodite was mentioned, and her oriental character discussed. Some of it was concerned with Greek affairs of a more modern date. Mr. Gladstone remarked that his own popularity in Greece was largely due to his name being declinable in Greek—*Γλαδστοῦν*, *Γλαδστοῦνος*, and so on. This capped a story, which John Talbot told, of a Greek who knew only two English words, *London*, and *Gladstone*.

Mr. Gladstone also spoke of the Turks, and of the then reigning Sultan, Abd-ul-Hamid. He did not approve of the Greek claim to Thessaly. Of the genuine Turks he spoke with respect, but, said he in a voice and with an expression of face which I shall never forget, 'The Sultan is as false as hell.' He told us that the Sultan had once sent over an old Turkish Bey to treat confidentially with his, Mr. Gladstone's Government; they had liked him greatly, and got on with him excellently; he was an honest man; but the Sultan sent to watch him another envoy, the Englishman Hobart Pasha, "who, I am sorry to say", said Mr. Gladstone, "was not a true man". It was, he continued, doubtless represented by this person to the Sultan that the Bey got on too well with the English ministers; for he went back to Turkey and was never heard of again !

⁸ iii, 2.

When, at length, Mr. Gladstone got up to go, the President presented to him in turn those members of the company whom he had not yet individually addressed; to most of these he had something to say. To Stainer he spoke of the big sums which he remembered being earned by operatic singers, particularly by Adelina Patti. To me he naturally recalled his acquaintance with my father, who was, he said, excelled only by his own brother-in-law, Sir Stephen Glynne, in his knowledge of English churches.

My own reminiscences are followed in Fletcher's record by those of three others of the party present on this occasion. These three were Godley: our host, President Warren: and Hogarth. I will, if you will allow me, quote their contributions from the book; several of the remarks there given I can myself recall.

"Our guest", says Godley, "was very cheerful, thoroughly alert and vigorous—making little jokes at breakfast about having left Mrs. Gladstone behind because there were too many ladies in Oxford already, and full of conversation on a variety of subjects. He said something to everybody, and it was always meant to be something specially appropriate. Nothing came amiss to him, and even on rowing he gave the President of the O.U.B.C. several quite new facts about the history of that sport. Of course nobody dared to draw him on politics. But he happened to be talking about Jews, and mentioned the fact that there were none or very few in Ireland. Somebody was rash enough to suggest that recent events were not very encouraging to capitalists in that country; for the moment the speaker was conscious of being transfixed by a terrible eye: it was only for a moment, but one had the sense of potential annihilation. The little that Mr. Gladstone did say about current politics was rather surprising. He spoke with strong condemnation of schemes for disestablishment (of the Welsh Church, I think), and used the phrase "regrettable cupidity" of the Russian ambition to possess Constantinople. This seemed hardly in character; I don't remember that he was speaking to Conservatives, and, even if he had been, he was not one to make concessions to his audience; but I believe that he was susceptible to the *genius loci*, that Oxford made him a Tory again because he had been a Tory there once. "We sat talking" continues Godley, "or being talked to in the Presidential study till nearly noon. I say 'being talked to' because really, as was natural, nobody said very much except the

great man. Yet this was the surprising thing, that the impression left was not of a monologue at all; rather we felt that we had had a conversation led and dominated by a master of the art of dialogue. One began to realize how much 'personal magnetism' and social skill had to do with the holding together of a miscellaneous party in Parliament".

So far Godley: President Warren then takes up the story. "Some of the party" he writes, "who had met Mr. Gladstone before, said that they had never known him so brilliant. A lady who was present" (this was Mrs. Warren) "having begun the conversation by saying that Mrs. Gladstone was coming to Oxford, the great man replied 'Yes, and I must tell you that it is entirely without my countenance . . .' He then spoke of the College Chapel, which he had been attending frequently; and the talk came to turn on the point whether the choir was heard to better advantage when the Chapel was full or empty. Sir John Stainer was appealed to. He said that Magdalen Chapel might be more resonant when comparatively empty, but that, if a building were at all large, it was better that it should be full. Some one then asked Mr. Gladstone 'Which is better for speaking in, a full room or an empty room?' I cut in" (I am, you will remember, quoting the President) "and said 'You mustn't ask Mr. Gladstone that, he has had no experience of an empty room.' This seemed to please him: with a smile all over his face, and in quite an Odyssean manner, he replied: 'I have had all experiences'. I then said 'We might perhaps go further and ask whether a little opposition is not a good thing for a speaker?' Mr. Gladstone: 'Certainly the worst thing in the world is a dead audience. City gatherings are bad, because as a rule there are a good many ladies present, and they are not allowed by etiquette to demonstrate or express their feelings, consequently they are so much dead weight'. An audience of actors, he said, was the best he had ever had. They appreciated points with so much rapidity. He then spoke of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth and his book on Greece. It was a notable book: he discovered the site of Dodona and gave his reasons for the identification; years afterwards the Germans made the same discovery. His smaller book on Athens is the only book which handles topography with grace. He then spoke of public schools: 'Harrow is wonderful as having been a local grammar school which has blossomed into the great institution it now is;

there are other examples of the same kind, such as Uppingham'. Godley said 'Yes, and Rugby'. Mr. Gladstone: 'Yes, but Rugby never got quite into the first rank. It was always dependent on its Headmaster. Old Hawtrey used to say that Eton was independent of its Head. Probably the same might be said of Winchester. Eton and Winchester would go on, whoever was Head: they are national institutions'. Returning to the Wordsworths, he quoted the Bishop of St. Andrews' (Charles Wordsworth, that is) Latin lines on his wife:

*I nimium dilecta, vocat Deus, i bona nostrae
Pars animae; maerens altera disce sequi.*

'But', added Mr. Gladstone, 'the Bishop afterwards married again . . . Bishop Wordsworth broke down in health as a young man; he is now eighty-four; it is often so. Look at Liddell' " (who was still at that time Dean of Christ Church) " 'When he was a young man, he was condemned; Acland took him to Madeira for several years⁹; he recovered his health and has grown into the grand old man we all know'. By and by, Mr. Gladstone gave us," so Warren continues his reminiscences, "a most amusing account of how he had gone, as a young man, to a music-hall. 'It was when I was less well known, I daren't do it now; it was quite respectable, but oh! so dull. By-and-by, looking round, I found that no one was drunk, but that everybody about me was quietly boozing, and I retired as being a very unprofitable attendant'. In the library" Warren proceeds, "to which we adjourned" (the same room is meant as that designated by Godley as 'the President's study') "he spoke mainly about Greece, ancient and modern. He thought that after the Crimean War a great Turk might have restored Turkey; now she had sunk beyond recovery" (he did not, we observe, foresee Mustapha Kemal Attaturk.) "He thought", Warren goes on, "that Homer had intended to write, or rather sing, two more poems, on the wanderings of Menelaus, and on the last days and death of Odysseus. He did not believe that the existing poems were largely interpolated; 'nowhere can you pick out five lines which have not the characteristic Homeric style: Homeric atmosphere pervades the whole Homeric poems'".

Last, after Warren's, come the recollections contributed to Fletcher's book by Hogarth. "I recall", he says, "that Mr. Glad-

⁹ Two only; see H. L. Thompson's *Henry George Liddell*, p. 216.

stone arrived rather late. His conversation throughout was addressed to the company present. He spoke of having seen Routh in Convocation". (Routh was the celebrated President of Magdalen who died in his hundredth year in 1854). "he talked most of the events of his own youth, seeming to remember them much more clearly than those of his middle life. When we passed into the library a semicircle was formed, with Mr. Gladstone at one horn of it on the left and myself next to him. He was very deaf, and I had to repeat to him many things said by others in the company. He talked to me about the nearer East, of which he had heard that I had seen something, of his own Mission to the Ionian Isles, of the present Sultan. He spoke hopefully of Greece and asked if brigandage had ceased. When the circle broke up, I recall that he spoke to Encombe of the quantity of port habitually consumed by his ancestor, (the first) Lord Eldon. To the President of the O.U.B.C. he commented on the respective sizes of the heads of men in the Cambridge and Oxford boats. When he left the house two females emerged suddenly from behind a chapel buttress and followed him to the Lodge and up the High Street. I had to go up the street also, and I saw them following him past Queen's College, where all the cabmen on the stand lined up and touched or took off their hats to him. Mr. Gladstone was in academical dress and carried a large gamp umbrella; he walked very fast, with long strides, responding to all salutes". So far Hogarth.

During this memorable visit to Oxford Mr. Gladstone gave a lecture on Homer in the debating hall of the Union Society. I heard this, but remember little of it. I mention in my journal that I left before it was over, being engaged that day to dine in another College at 7 o'clock.

Mr. Gladstone's last visit to his beloved University took place two years later in 1892. He came to deliver the first of the Romanes Lectures, the endowment for which the University had accepted in the previous year. It was given on Oct. 24th in the Sheldonian Theatre, and published by the Clarendon Press with the title *An Academic Sketch*. To the many accounts which are extant of this final appearance of the aged statesman on the scene of so many of his youthful triumphs, I will only add my recollection of a very trivial incident, which may—or may not—be recorded elsewhere. The Sheldonian Theatre—in which the lecture was delivered —

was packed, platform and floor alike. The discourse was just begun, when suddenly what looked like a club, lifted by some unseen hand, appeared above the heads of those seated on the platform, quite near to the lecturer and seemed about to descend upon his head. People started from their chairs on the floor of the house in horror, holding their breath in apprehension of some fanatical opponent of Mr. Gladstone's policies taking the opportunity of inflicting upon him some terrible assault; then, with a sigh of relief, sank back as they realized that the seeming weapon of offence was in fact the familiar ear-trumpet of a well-known and highly respected Oxford clergyman, who had established himself in a seat as near as possible to Mr. Gladstone and directed towards him, as he began to speak, his instrument of hearing. I remember receiving the impression—probably a mistaken one—that even Mr. Gladstone—so practised a public speaker—was at first a little “put off” by its unexpected proximity.

One other memory, and I shall have exhausted my slender stock of personal reminiscences. Four years later than the date of the lecture of which I have just been speaking, when Mr. Gladstone, two years before his death, was engaged in seeking a first Principal for his new foundation here at St. Deiniol's, I ventured on the strength of my meeting with him in 1890, to write to him, commending as a candidate for the post a very intimate friend of my own; and my presumption was rewarded by my reception of an autograph postcard, dated April 1896, which is now among my treasured possessions. “Dear Sir”, it ran, “I thank you for the information you have kindly given me, and it shall be fully weighed, though I am afraid I cannot promise great dispatch. I should be very much interested to hear what is thought of Mr. S's publications. I remain Yours very faithfully, W. E. Gladstone”. At this distance of time I may, I think, add that “Mr. S.” was the late Dr. Shebbeare, whose name may be known to some of my present hearers. Mr. Gladstone's choice fell eventually, as you know, upon Dr. Joyce, the late Bishop of Monmouth, whose name, as it happened, had appeared in the same class-list at Oxford with Dr. Shebbeare's and my own.

Personal reminiscences of Mr. Gladstone, in the sense of impressions made upon me by the sight of his face, the hearing of the voice and the reading of his handwriting I have no more to offer

you. But perhaps you will allow me to add one more anecdote of days which there can now be but few that can recall. Not many persons can still be living who were already grown up at the time of the great split in the Liberal Party caused by Mr. Gladstone's adoption in 1886 of the cause of Irish Home Rule and can remember the very violent reaction to this new policy among many who had previously been his supporters. It was rumoured that the Duke of Westminster had turned to the wall the picture of his late political leader which hung in his house of Eaton, only a few miles from Hawarden, and the story illustrates the tenseness of the situation. I was at that time an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford, and remember how those to whom—or to the elders whose opinions they reflected—Irish Home Rule was so abhorrent that to advocate it seemed little less than criminal, lent every credence to any rumour which would blacken the character of its new champion. Students of Mr. Gladstone's career will recollect the engagement into which, as his biographer tells, he entered as a young man with his close friend, John Hope Scott to make the reclamation of fallen women his special field of religious work and how he persevered in this labour throughout his life "fearless", as John Morley has written "of misconstruction, fearless of the laxity or baseness of men's tongues, regardless almost of the possible mischiefs to the public policies that depended on him".¹⁰ Stories, the origin of which was to be sought in incidents of this self-chosen mission, were circulated: and even rumours of a kind which could not thus be accounted for, but were due wholly to the desire to denigrate the reputation of a political bugbear—rumours of gambling in the public funds. These scandalous tales I was never for one moment tempted to credit, but I well remember the pleasure with which I learned of a check which they had received when, as I was told, an undergraduate a year senior to myself and at another college, whom I had never met, had, speaking with the authority of one whose father was the leader of the political party opposed to Mr. Gladstone, emphatically denied their truth. The undergraduate in question was Lord Robert Cecil of University College, whom we now know as Lord Cecil of Chelwood.

But, in truth, of no one could such stories be less plausibly told than of Mr. Gladstone. He stood forth in his time as the

¹⁰ *Life of Gladstone*, iii, 419.

especial representative of the doctrine that politics cannot be indifferent to considerations of private morality. In his view the aim of the Christian statesman must be the establishment of an order consistent with Christian principles; and it was on this account that he was the chosen leader of the heirs of the Puritan tradition. His own theological and ecclesiastical position was indeed that of a convinced High Churchman. Nor, as we have already had occasion to observe, had he any sympathy with that regimentation of the private life of individual citizens which had characterized the period of Puritan ascendancy and had provoked, by way of reaction, the excesses of the Restoration. But they knew that, with whatever differences of opinion on points of faith and order from the majority of his Nonconformist followers, he understood the scruples of the Nonconformist conscience. That once familiar phrase indeed was coined in those days of stress when Mr. Gladstone, who had split the party of which he was the acknowledged leader rather than abandon the policy of Irish Home Rule, made it a condition of his continued alliance with the Irish Nationalists that they should no longer be led by a man who in his private conduct was notoriously defying the Christian code of morals.

It must, however, not be forgotten in this connexion that, if his refusal to allow political life to be judged by any other moral standard than that which we recognize in private life, commended him as a leader to his Nonconformist fellow-citizens, he had no stronger supporter in his adherence to the principle involved therein than one who was at once his almost idolatrous admirer, and, in things of the mind, his trusted adviser and mentor, the Roman Catholic historian, Lord Acton.

But I am wandering far from the advertised subject of my address. I have given you, for what they are worth, my few personal reminiscences of the great man, the memory of whom makes Hawarden a sacred place to all lovers of England, of freedom, and of Christian civilization. And so I take my leave, thanking you for the patience with which you have listened to my senile garrulity.

AUGUSTUS WELBY PUGIN

Art and Vocation

By A. L. DRUMMOND

THIS year we celebrate the centenary of Pugin, the crusader of the Gothic Revival, a "medieval Victorian."¹ His twentieth century biographer modestly defines him as "Architect—and Something More."

A. Welby Pugin could hardly have been the colourful temperamental celebrity that he was, had both parents been English. His father, Auguste Pugin, was a Frenchman of good family who had escaped from his native land during the Revolution of 1789. He fared better than most emigrés in London for he was a skilled water-colourist and draughtsman. John Nash, architect to the Office of Works, was looking out for an assistant with these qualifications ("the services of a foreigner would be preferred"). M. Pugin secured congenial employment and Nash benefited by engaging one of the few men who had a working knowledge of Gothic. Nash found Gothic details a nuisance ("I hate this Gothic style, one window costs more trouble in designing than two houses ought to do."). Fortunately for Nash, this clever Frenchman could supply the demand for elegant designs of "Gothick villas and castellated country houses."

In 1802 Auguste Pugin married Catherine Welby, who belonged to an old Lincolnshire family, her father being a barrister in London. Catherine's personal attraction and literary leanings were entirely submerged in her forceful personality. "The Belle of Islington" became "the Dragon of Store Street, Bedford Square." Benjamin Ferrey,² biographer of her famous son, was one of the architectural pupils who suffered under her rigid régime. She rose at 4 a.m. and conducted her household with matriarchal discipline. The appren-

¹ M. Trappes-Lomax, *Pugin—a Medieval Victorian* (Sheed and Ward, 1933).

² B. Ferrey, *Recollections of Pugin* (1861).

tices had to bow to Mrs. Pugin at every meal, which was "despatched in silence, after which each retired as he entered, making the same obeisance."

Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin was born on March 1812, the same year as Dickens and Browning. Maternal authority dragged the unwilling youngster to hear the celebrated Edward Irving, Sabbath by Sabbath. The "Caledonian Chapel" in 1823 was crowded by the fashion and intellect of the metropolis, despite the inordinate length of Irving's sermons. There were no concessions to youth.

Young Pugin entered his father's office after being educated at Christ's Hospital. As early as 1827 his passionate love of Gothic became apparent. He assisted his father in making drawings for a series of illustrated books on English Gothic. He also designed pseudo-Gothic furniture for Windsor Castle. He afterwards deeply regretted these vagaries, but took comfort in the biblical assurance, "I wot that through ignorance ye did it." He also designed Gothic scenery for the opera "Kenilworth" (1831), for his friend, George Dayes, who was in charge of stage mechanism at Covent Garden.

The upper floor of the Pugin house in Great Russell Street was turned into a model theatre with the latest devices in stagecraft. We are not told what his mother thought of this questionable attraction to the play-house, but his interest ended as quickly as it had started. He wanted reality instead of shadow. He was not a visionary; he wanted to get into touch with real life. He saw a genuine element of power in ships. Years later he declared: "There is nothing worth living for—but Christian architecture and a boat." He made a beginning by buying a boat and assuming the dress and habits of a sailor—except beer and tobacco. To a friend his father exclaimed: "God bless my soul it was but this morning I met my boy Auguste in the disguise of a common sailor, carrying on his shoulder a tub of water which he had took from the pumps of St. Dunstan!" Independent coastal trading sometimes took him to France, where he would explore old churches. This happy-go-lucky life was not to last, however. In 1830 he was wrecked not far from Leith, where he and his men all but perished. He was befriended by an Edinburgh architect, Gillespie Graham, who "rigged him out", providing him with money and advice; he even

gave him his own pocket compasses as a reminder that he should devote himself seriously to his proper profession.

On returning to his father's office, he proved useful as a "ghost"—making accurate drawings from the rough sketches of architects whose knowledge of Gothic was not equal to their intentions. Few experienced carvers were available, however, the belief still being prevalent that "anything grotesque" would do for Gothic. He opened a workshop where he offered to supply "all the ornamental portions which could by possibility be executed apart from the structure and be fixed afterwards." His business sense not being equal to his skill, he was carried to a "spongeing house" and only released through the good offices of his father's architectural friends. In 1831 he married a relative of his comrade George Dayes, and after her death he married again, and yet again.

These changes led up to the crucial change of young Pugin's life. In 1834 he joined the Church of Rome. For several years he had been growing discontented with the English Church. To his friend Osmond he wrote that "close and impartial investigation" was convincing him that only in the Roman Catholic Church could sublime church architecture ever be restored. "A very good chapel is now building in the North, and when it is complete I certainly think I shall recant." Pugin did not become a Romanist because of Roman Catholic Art as he saw it in England, for there was little to see. Mass, shorn of its external magnificence, was said in a few private chapels, tawdry assembly-rooms and lofts over stables. The Catholic Emancipation Act had only recently been passed and in a grudging spirit. Public opinion still associated Catholicism with Jesuitry, idolatry, disloyalty, faggots and fires, and walled-up nuns; even the educated subscribed to these views.³ A lady, alone with Pugin in a railway carriage, saw him cross himself and cried: "You are a Catholic, Sir! Guard, guard, let me out—I must get into another carriage!" He became a Roman Catholic at a time when this communion was still poor and despised. The Earl of Shrewsbury, the Duke of Norfolk, and a sprinkling of the old gentry held the faith of their fathers as a family inheritance; the countrymen and small shopkeepers on their estates attended the family

³ cp. Edward Hutton, *Catholicism and English Literature* (Muller, 1942).

chapel. But English Catholicism was essentially a survival, like Protestantism in France—something insulated from the main stream of the national life.

To be a Catholic by heredity was a disadvantage : to cast in one's lot with Catholics was considered unpatriotic. The secession of Newman, Manning and their friends (1845-50) changed all this and brought over a notable accession of clergy and gentry: but it required considerable courage to become a Romanist in 1834, when the Oxford Movement had scarcely had time to raise public opinion with a Catholic leaven. There was as yet no prospect of a flood-tide to bear Pugin to glory ; if he sought any glory, it was God's.

"I learned the truths of the Catholic religion," he afterwards explained, "in the crypts of the old cathedrals of Europe. I sought for these truths in the modern church of England, and found that since her separation from the centre of Catholic unity she had little unity and no life ; so, without being acquainted with a single Priest, through God's mercy, I resolved to enter His Church." (*The Tablet*, 25 Sept. 1852). For three years he studied the fields of liturgy, ecclesiology and history. The prayers which he had fondly imagined to be the product of Protestant piety, he found were only "scraps plucked from the solemn and perfect offices of the ancient Church."

II

There is no doubt that Pugin was disappointed with English Catholicism as he found it. He admitted that no high standards of ritual could be expected from a persecuted minority that had just emerged from the shadow of the Penal Laws. He expected austerity, but found slovenliness. Priests would "administer Baptism out of an old physick phial ; reserve the blessed Sacrament in dirty cupboards ; burn gas on the altar ; have everything as mean, as pitiful, as shabby as you please." What enraged him more than anything else, however, was tawdry pretentiousness. "Going into Catholic chapels (there were no churches then) what did I see ? The very tabernacle, a Pagan Temple ; the altar, a deal Sarcophagus ; over which a colossal eye with rays looked down from a flat ceiling, artificial flowers under glass shades between the altar candlesticks, costly marbles produced in cheap paper, brackets painted with sham shadows supporting nothing." Even where Gothic was used,

It was a miserable travesty of the ancient cathedrals and parish churches of England (John Milner's chapel at Winchester can still be seen as a quaint specimen of the "Gothick" that Pugin derided).

"Ecclesiology" had been moulding the outlook of the new High Church party in the Establishment; they were learning the value of their medieval inheritance. The annual accession of cultured converts would provide the Catholic Church with an increasing band of enthusiasts, well trained in ecclesiastical art. Such men as Newman, Faber, Manning and Ward did not share Pugin's conviction that the future of Catholicism was entirely bound up with the revival of Gothic architecture. On the contrary, these "Italianate Englishmen" showed a provoking readiness to adopt Renaissance architecture, which to Pugin, as to Ruskin after him, was sheer paganism. Pugin was convinced that English Catholicism could only be revived by drastic remedies. The clock must be put back; the usages of pre-Reformation England must be restored, and those of modern Tridentine Romanism rejected. The Mass must be purged from its Italian frippery, sopranos and contraltos expelled from the choir loft, lady vergers in feathers no longer allowed to collect the offertory; operatic setting and accompaniment must be abolished.

It is not surprising that this enthusiastic, opinionative convert should have made himself unpopular in the Church of his adoption. Some of the old Catholic families were disconcerted by his zeal for restoring medieval usages; Bishop Walsh received a letter of censure from the College of Propaganda at Rome, which referred to him directly as "an architect converted from heresy." What right had he to scoff at the dominant ritual tradition of the *Una Sancta*?

Fortunately for Pugin, several opulent supporters advanced to promote his cause. Among these was Lord Shrewsbury,⁴ the premier Catholic Earl of England. Here was a "millionaire saint" willing to spend £20,000 a year in building Catholic churches on the genuine medieval model (his total benefactions in this cause amounted to £500,000). Another enthusiastic ally was Ambrose Philipps de Lisle, a Leicestershire landowner who had become a Catholic at the age of seventeen. "Now at last I have found a

⁴ Denis Gwynn, *Lord Shrewsbury, Pugin and the Catholic Revival* (Burns, Oates, 1945).

Christian after my heart ! ” exclaimed Pugin. He had good cause to be grateful. De Lisle asked him to design a monastery for Trappists on his estate at Grace-Dieu (1844).

Pugin’s patrons agreed with him that if Catholicism was to attract the people of England it must be thoroughly English and thoroughly medieval; it must be first purged of all foreign accretions. Practically all the accessories of worship needed to be re-designed. He once asked Dr. Cox: “What is the use, my dear sir, of praying for the conversion of England in that cope ? ” On another occasion he asked: “What’s the use of decent vestments with such priests as we have got ? A lot of blessed fellows ! Why, sir, when they wear my chasubles, they don’t look like priests, and, what’s worse, the chasubles don’t look like chasubles.” So, at his neo-medieval home, St. Marie’s Grange, the artist proceeded to design all manner of vestments and ecclesiastical ornaments. He was ready to furnish new churches as they were built. A great occasion was the consecration of St. Mary’s, Derby in 1839.

Lord Shrewsbury and Ambrose de Lisle had invited a number of their Oxford and Cambridge friends to witness the first full Mass since the Reformation, celebrated correctly in an impressive setting. There were to be Gregorian chants, a surpliced choir, and vestments of cloth of gold wrought by Pugin and presented by Lord Shrewsbury. The promoters, to their horror, found a full orchestra in possession, as well as a choir that included women. Bishop Walsh, who was waiting vested in the sacristy, said it was too late to alter the arrangements. Pugin appealed to Lord Shrewsbury, who declined to allow the use of the vestments if females and fiddlers were to be permitted to participate. Walsh had therefore to change into a dingy set of French vestments and the service proceeded . . . without the presence of the distinguished patrons.

For several years Pugin resided at Oscott College as youthful Professor of Ecclesiastical Antiquities. “That Bezaleel of Art,” as President Weedall called him, found lecturing a stimulating experience—how could it be otherwise to one who revelled in rhetoric ? Unlike many rhetoricians Pugin had a flair for communicating his ideas through print to a wider public. In *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841) he showed himself thoughtful and concise. But in his *Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture* (1843) he was more controversial in applying those

“true principles” to his own age and in attacking his antagonists. Christian architecture was Gothic architecture: classical architecture, particularly in its revived form, was anathema. Pugin was a man born out of due season. His spirit was that of *The Song of Roland*: “I have seen pagans—no man on earth ever saw so many! We shall see battle, such as never has been.” Giants Pagan and Protestant he smote hip and thigh. Discerning critics regarded him as a Don Quixote, vainly assailing modern civilization. Antiquarians might write their dissertations on Cathedral Antiquities. Architects might do their best to enlighten the public concerning the successive phases that Christian Art underwent between the Saxon period and the Reformation. Such writers edified their readers by the hundred: Pugin roused them by the thousand. No “Dr. Dryasdust,” but a crusader, he transmitted to the Gothic Revival a tremendous impetus through his passionate enthusiasm. The literature of propaganda seldom stimulates the mind and stirs the blood after a century. An exception is Pugin’s *Contrasts* (1836), which has been described by Goodhart-Rendel as one of the most entertaining architectural books ever written.

In a series of delicately etched plates the author presents his case. The reader is asked to admire an idealised medieval town as it was in 1440, then to execrate the same town as it is in 1836. *Contrasts* show how a fair Catholic city of churches, abbeys, oratories and crosses has been transformed into an industrial conglomeration of factories, gas works and Socialist “halls of science”! Even the venerable churches are deformed and have to compete with numerous dissenting chapels. A forest of spires has given way to a forest of chimneys. The modern city is weighed in the scale of ethics and found wanting. “Every picture tells a story.” Compare the cartoon of a policeman warning off a small boy from a public pump (padlocked) with the vision of a beautiful street fountain at West Cheap, free to all in 1479. “Contrasted residences for the poor” is astute propaganda. Look at the modern workhouse run on the “panopticon” system where the inmates are constantly under the eye of a Master armed with whip and irons: a welcome contrast is the “Antient Poor House,” a venerable almshouse like an Oxford College, whose Master is a benevolent monk. In one institution the rations consist of gruel, oatmeal and potatoes: in the other, of beef, mutton, bacon, ale, cider, etc. One picture

shows a pauper's corpse being taken away for dissection: the contrast depicts a poor man receiving full Catholic burial.

Here is mordant ethical criticism pointing to the "Christian Socialist" ideals of Ruskin, Morris and their successors: the life of beauty, truth and goodness can only be lived in a regenerated community where social justice reigns. Pugin, unfortunately, was an "escapist" rather than a constructive reformer. Thwarted by the ugliness of industrial civilisation, he could see no way of transforming it into something better. As a romanticist he took refuge in Gothic phantasy, and that phantasy became an obsession. If the Kingdom of God could be realised only on medieval lines, what could he do in an England that was rapidly outgrowing medieval institutions and folkways? All he could do was to "restore" what was possible of the old order, so far as it was expressed in architecture—and even then, the fact that he was a Catholic convert in a Protestant country limited his opportunity. He could build imitations of medieval castles, schools and almshouses; he could erect Gothic Revival churches for his co-religionists—pathetic symbols of conservatism in a rapidly changing England, artificial rocks ignored by the swift stream of industrialism.

III

Pugin's achievements fell far short of his designs. He "did not think in three dimensions." Consequently, his churches lacked solidity and power. All his visions of an idealised Middle Ages could not call up and inject the spirit of medieval craftsmanship into the most correct, "ecclesiological" design. Nor could he escape from the standardised and mechanised methods of the building contractor. The skilful touch of a traditional Gothic building-art, long since dead, could not be lightly resuscitated. Browning's "Bishop Blougram" scorned revival Gothic.

"We ought to have our Abbey back, you see.
It's different, preaching in basilicas,
And doing duty in some masterpiece
Like this of brother Pugin's, bless his heart!
I doubt if they're half baked, those chalk rosettes,
Ciphers and stucco-twiddlings everywhere;
It's just like breathing in a lime-kiln: eh?"

Even Eastlake, in his very Victorian *Gothic Revival* (1872)

complained that "Pugin's churches have a mean impoverished look." It is only fair to point out that actual poverty was an important factor. There were not many Catholic benefactors as lavish as Lord Shrewsbury.

Pugin crowded "a hundred years of work" into a life-time of only forty years, and with a minimum of staff. "A clerk?", he exclaimed when a friend suggested assistance: "I should kill him in a week!" In addition to his many professional engagements, Pugin acted as Barry's "ghost" in the design of that huge and intricate pile, the Houses of Parliament. Much controversy has raged as to the respective contributions of the architect and his "ghost." "I could not have made the plan," said Pugin to a friend, "it was Barry's own... All Grecian, sir; Tudor details on a classic body." Pugin designed many of the furnishings down to the very umbrella stands, ink-pots and cloak-room fittings. No doubt he counted on these Gothic details with a view to impressing on M.P.s a proper respect for the medieval, feudal, and ecclesiastical traditions of "The High Court of Parliament"! One fancies that a good many Radical and Nonconformist legislators from Yorkshire and the North would be allergic to Pugin's enchantments.

Mr. Peter F. Anson has stated that "the river facade and clock tower" at Westminster are actually Pugin's work. This information comes from an authority on ecclesiastical architecture who, like Pugin, passed from Anglicanism to Roman Catholicism, and also shares Pugin's interest in sailors and sailing-craft. Innumerable anecdotes are recorded concerning Pugin's habits. While his *Apology* was preparing he disappeared for several weeks and called on his publisher in a pilot-coat several times too big. "Oh, it is of no consequence," he explained, "I caught up the first garment that came my way, getting into harbour after a stiff gale off Calais; but here are the plates for my book." The publisher was astonished at his delicate etchings finished under such abnormal conditions. "Difficulty?" exclaimed the sailor-architect; "not a bit of it—the motion of the sea makes no difference to me." Contemporaries tell us that he worked with no tools but a rule and a rough pencil, "amidst a continuous rattle of marvellous stories, slashing criticisms and shouts of laughter" (*Memoir of Sir Charles Barry*). No wonder he was one of the most mobile of men. When he travelled, he simply stuffed his baggage into his capacious

pockets. At home he wore a wide-skirted black coat which gave him a ludicrous resemblance to the typical dissenting minister of his era. He refused to wear evening dress. Attired in knee breeches, buckled shoes and a long velvet cloak, he would greet his guests accompanied by two attendants carrying candlesticks.

He had no patience with financial limitations imposed by clients, civil or ecclesiastical. A certain prelate wanted a church "very large, very handsome, very cheap." Pugin's reply was characteristic. "My dear Lord, say 30s. more, and have a tower and spire as well!"

In spite of his titanic labours, Pugin would start each day with prayers in his private chapel at 6 a.m. followed by another service which he conducted in cassock and surplice at 7.30. The day's work terminated with Compline at 10 p.m. but was often followed by an hour's historical or theological reading. He insisted on the right kind of domestic environment. Not only must his furniture be Gothic: consistency demanded that even the humblest household utensils be glorified by Gothic detail—the very moulds in which the cook made puddings! He resembled his younger contemporary, William Burgess, in carrying medieval devotion into daily life, save in one respect—he was not a bachelor. On the contrary, he married thrice and had eight children (two of his sons, Edward and Peter Paul, inherited his temperament and designed numerous churches for Roman Catholics). Pugin's third wife, Jane Knill, was an ideal helpmeet. "I have got a first-rate Gothic woman at last, who perfectly understands spires, chancels, screens, stained glass, brasses, vestments, etc." She had the agonising task of looking after him during his decline, when he refused to relax his exacting routine and quarrelled with trusted friends and faithful craftsmen.

His last task was a labour of love. He was asked to design the "Medieval Court" for the Great Exhibition of 1851. This enterprise, however, mingled enthusiasm and indignation. Paxton's original notion of "enclosing everything under the shelter of a huge greenhouse" rubbed him up the wrong way. But the exhibits were even less to his taste than the monstrous edifice that sheltered them. The world came to view the very machines and gadgets that Pugin execrated: it glorified the mechanistic idol that he spurned. The Exhibition put an additional strain on Pugin's over-wrought mind.

He lost his reason during the last few months of his life. He died on the 14th of September 1852, at the same hour and almost within sight of the same locality as the Duke of Wellington. His life was a striking contrast, however, to that of the "Iron Duke."

IV

Several aspects of Pugin's opinions and achievements call for comment. He was one of the first Anglican laymen to go over to Rome when the Oxford Movement was a recent event. His attitude to the Church of England was remarkably sympathetic for so zealous a partisan. He was disappointed by many of the recruits from Anglicanism—"they were three times as Catholic in their ideas *before* they were reconciled to the Church." His attitude to the *Ecclesia Anglicana* never hardened like Manning's. He watched the ferment of Tractarianism with a certain chastened hope. In view of the possibility of a regenerated Anglican Church ultimately seeing the error of its ways, would not Catholics do well to suspend hostility and refrain from exaggerating legitimate papal claims? This seems to have been about the only occasion on which Pugin counselled patience and practised it himself. The *Tablet*, supported by many converts, denounced this dallying with heretics. In his declining years Pugin goaded his failing powers to secure publicity for his view on relations with Anglicans. This book was never published. It was delayed by the advice of the author's ecclesiastical superiors. Had Pugin lived a quarter of a century later, when Tractarianism was passing into its Anglo-Catholic phase, his hope for the rebirth of Catholic colour and pageantry might have kept him within the borders of the Anglican Church; on the other hand, the emergence of the Broad Church party would have roused all his hatred of heresy. Roman Catholics do not yet realise the momentum that their Communion in England owes to Pugin. One of his red-letter days was the occasion when the foundation-stone of his church of St. George, Southwark, was laid on May 28, 1841, on the very spot where Lord George Gordon had harangued a Protestant mob in 1780. Pugin's enthusiastic advocacy of Gothic undoubtedly led to a popular identification of Gothic with "Popery"; before he appeared on the scene medieval styles had been considered as obsolete, reserved for castellated mansions, jails and sham ruins, or "adapted" for neat and econom-

ical churches and chapels. Critics of the Tractarian Movement had no difficulty in proving that what the theologians were doing at Oxford the ecclesiologists were doing at Cambridge in the artistic sphere—following in the footsteps of Pugin. Indeed, a polemical sermon by Dean Close produced such an impression that the Camden Society was dissolved.

Pugin certainly claimed Gothic Architecture for Rome as the only style suitable for a Catholic Church. His writings gleam with intense fervour for symbolism. Thus, "the rood is raised on high the screen glows with sacred imagery and rich devices; the niche are filled; the altar is replaced; the Body of Our Lord is enshrined in its consecrated stone; the lamps of the sanctuary burn bright the sacred portraiture in the windows shine gloriously; and the alt hangs in the oaken ambries, and the cope chests are filled with orphreyed baudekins; and pix and pax and chrismatory are there and crucible and cross." This was enough to make Protestants seared and connect all this ecclesiastical millinery with the cult of the Scarlet Woman. John Ruskin turned his polemics on Augustus Pugin in his 12th Appendix to the *Stones of Venice*. Ferrey spoke of Ruskin's 'venomous malignity,' but Pugin was not likely to expect quarter: he himself gave none. Ruskin was not altogether correct, however, in numbering his adversary among those who are "lured into the Romanist Church by the glitter of it, like the larks into a trap by a broken glass, to be blown into a change of religion by the whine of an organ-pipe; stitched into a new creed by gold threads on priests' petticoats; jangled into a change of conscience by the chimes of a belfry."

Ruskin owed much to Pugin in his detestation of classical architecture (the latter would gladly have rebuilt St. Peter's, Rome) in his admiration of an idealised Middle Ages when every craftsman produced beautiful work that expressed his personality; and further in the conviction that good men build good buildings, Art being vitally related to sound community life. If "the work of an architect lies in the interpretation of a new social order" (Bruno Taut), Pugin's error was to close his eyes to what must have been obvious enough to anyone who built in Birmingham—that a new industrial order was changing the whole basis of civilisation. "Ancient feelings and sentiments" might be artificially resuscitated in clerical and aristocratic circles, anxious to preserve old traditional ways of

life fast disappearing; but medieval ideals and standards could never be restored in a country rapidly passing from the static order of the 18th century to the disordered upheaval of what Professor Geddes called the "palaeotechnic" era. "Pagans and Protestants" were no mere invaders to be evicted; nor were their products a mere iridescent scum that could be cleared away, thus allowing underlying medieval life to grow up in glorious vitality. There was no underlying medieval life. Pugin merely produced a crop of artificially forced imitations that were barren of savour and vitality. He claimed to revive medieval craftsmanship. Actually he helped to destroy the sound craftsmanship of the ordinary builder who knew the "workings" of the classical orders. He valued tradition, but succeeded in fostering only the spurious legend of a "Merrie England" that never was—a line later to be absurdly over-worked by Belloc, Chesterton and others.

"Pugin is the Janus of the Gothic Revival," declares Sir Kenneth Clark; "his buildings look back to the picturesque past, his writings look forward to the ethical future." His crusade against shams was taken up by Ruskin, who in this respect served as Elisha to Elijah; and his attention to furnishings influenced William Morris. In view of the futile attempt of Pugin to resuscitate Gothic and transform it into a living style for domestic, civic and even commercial purposes, it is stimulating to hear Mr. Peter Anson's opinion. He has compared Pugin to a John the Baptist in a mid-nineteenth century wilderness, preparing the way for "functionalism" in architecture. One's first impression is the incredulity of the Gothic Apostle being the herald of "Modernism"—whether architectural or theological. Yet he formulated principles that only came into their own a century after his time. In his twenty-ninth year, he set down the following maxims :—

(i) There should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety.

(ii) All ornaments should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building.

(iii) Designs should be adapted to the material in which they are executed.

These maxims take us from architectural "fancy-dress" to "utility"—from the "period styles" of the mid-nineteenth century to the austere functionalism of the mid-twentieth century, imposed

by two world wars, aided and abetted by technological advance. We are no longer in a position to choose our period "styles" with a finicky sensitivity to what is "correct." If we attempt to build our churches in Gothic it has to be a "near-Gothic" that is *neare* the shoddy early nineteenth century "Commissioners' Gothic" than the genuine Gothic that Pugin laboured so heroically to restore.

It is to his credit that he did not make the mistake of his Anglican "ecclesiological" contemporaries in deprecating "Early English" as the immature phase of Gothic, abusing "Perpendicular" as decadent, and leaving "Decorated" in a privileged position. He was not so absurd as that; indeed, he rather enjoyed the mellow autumn of medieval art. He would have been intrigued to know that a century after his birth an American architect named Ralph Adams Cram initiated a Gothic Revival that attempted to take up the thread of Gothic at the stage where it was dropped at the Reformation; "Perpendicular" was fitted for the needs of a new country and only needed to be transplanted for further, richer, development. Dr. Cram was one of the founders of "The Medieval Academy of America" and glorified the Middle Ages. Modern civilisation and Georgian architecture was "a dark age", a "mere interlude" between the Gothic that *was* and the Gothic that *was to be*. Pugin would have called such a man, brother—with qualifications.

A few months before his death, Augustus Welby Pugin wrote: "I believe, as regards architecture, few men have been as unfortunate as myself. I have passed my life in thinking fine things, studying fine things, and realising very poor ones." His churches are rather disappointing, though he might have done better had he built mainly for Anglicans, who could afford to build sumptuously whereas Catholics generally could not. He seems to have inherited from his French ancestors an undeviating devotion to absolute principles, whatever the consequences; like Calvin and Robespierre, natives of Northern France, he allowed no circumstances to modify *a priori* views. And to the logic of the North he added the vitriolic passion of the South.

Pugin's surviving churches have not stood the test of time like the medieval churches he admired so intensely. His controversial writings, incisive, witty and weighty, are not likely to be read save by specialists. His drawings, exquisite, delicate and precise, will

surely live. His life-work was a notable contribution to the Gothic Revival.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.) asserts: "Apart from his work as an architect, his life presents little of detail to record." On the contrary, he was far more than a professional man. He transformed his career into a vocation and died prematurely, utterly worn out. *Zelus domus tuae comedit me.*

“THE CONTEXT OF LIFE— SITZIMLEBEN”

An Elementary Review of New Testament Criticism

By F. E. VOKES

SCHWEITZER's famous book gained an intriguing title in its English translation, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, but in its original form its title accurately described its nature, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*. It was a history of historical criticism, and in a different field, that of the doctrine of the Church, O. Linton followed his example with his lesser known, but nevertheless important, book *Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung*. It is often fascinating to see, not merely the context of the subject matter in the historical setting, but also the intellectual climate, or context in which the historian was writing.

The nineteenth century critics of New and Old Testaments are usually criticised for their liberal humanism, for their scepticism or their Tubingen-Hegelian interpretation of history. Strauss, van Manen or Baur would be typical figures, but it is not difficult to see the origins of this great period of literary criticism in the context of the Homeric criticism of Lachmann or Wolff. The Bible, first the Pentateuch, then the Synoptics, and then the Prophets and Pauline Corpus, is taken out of its splendid isolation to be subjected to that minute criticism with which we are familiar. It may be that numbers were criticised, as by my own notable and notorious predecessor, Dr. Colenso, but more often than not the search was for the origins and manner of compilation of the various documents. This process of criticism was intensely fruitful, though the result was the seemingly elaborate jigsaw of J.E.D.P. and their subdivisions, and H, and three Isaiahs, and “two” and “four document” hypotheses in the Synoptics, and innumerable fragments amidst the Pauline letters. With the exception of such books as B. C. Butler's *The Originality of St. Matthew*, a remarkable consensus

of opinion on these literary problems was established, but what had been started by bringing the Bible into the context of the literary criticism of the classics became in its time something highly specialised and artificial. Moreover when the tangled skein had once been unravelled, the various sources began to fall apart into loosely connected stories. A. E. J. Rawlinson in his *Westminster Commentary on St. Mark* refers to "little miniatures in wooden frames."

If the object of the form critics' school was to bridge the gap between the writing of Q and Mark and the actual events recorded, and if its chief fault was the presumption to judge the historicity and not merely to examine the process of transmission, yet its virtue was to bring the Gospel stories again into the context of the study of the form of folk traditions. The literary critics treated their documents in isolation from the community in which they circulated, though in the *Four Gospels* Canon Streeter tried to find the Churches in which various groups of manuscripts took their origin and in which the documents of the four document hypothesis were composed. In his *Primitive Church* he continued the process even further with the canonical and sub-apostolic writings, finding their place of origin in the various great churches. The form critics found the *sitzimleben*, the context of their stories, in the historical needs, both apologetic and propaganda, of the community of the Church as whole. The Church was treated as any other human community, and the means of transmission of its traditions as subject to the rules of all such communities. It was, however, of immense importance that the fact of the Church's existence and the needs of its life and expansion were recognised, and yet it is interesting to observe that in such a book as Dom Aelred Graham's *The Christ of Catholicism* the New Testament can be dealt with in isolation, as self contained.

In a sense Schweitzer himself put the New Testament and Christ back into the context of the apocalyptic hopes of Judaism, and Montefiore and others showed the links of the new faith with the religion of the Rabbis. R. H. Charles elucidated much of the Apocalypse by reference to Jewish Apocalypses. C. H. Dodd in the *Apostolic Preaching*, Bishop Carrington in *The Primitive Christian Catechism*, E. G. Selwyn in his *Commentary on I Peter*, and others carried the process even further. Dodd found in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Pauline Epistles evidence that the

proclamation of the Good News, the Christian "Kerygma," took the stereotyped form which underlies the apostolic sermons in Acts and our very Gospels. Carrington found in Ephesians, Colossians, I Peter, James and elsewhere evidence of a stereotyped form of Christian teaching, or *didache*, based perhaps on the model of Jewish catechetical teaching, forms which the Germans call *Haustafeln*. Others have found in the New Testament evidence of credal forms as for example in I Tim. iii. 16, of liturgical forms as in Rev. iv. 8, or in the preservation of the *Magnificat*, *Nunc Dimittis* or *Benedictus*, of hymns as in Eph. v. 14. In all of these theories it will be seen that, as in form criticism, the life of a community is recognised, a community which lives, teaches, preaches, worships. A context is found for the New Testament in the life of the Church, though evidence of that context is found almost entirely in the documents of that New Testament itself.

That the Church was founded within the Jewish people and was itself the new *Israel* has always been realised, but in recent years considerably more attention has been paid to the influence of the Jewish Scriptures, both Hebrew and Greek, on the Old Testament. The luxuriant fantasies of typology and allegory do not hide the fact that the New Testament writers moved in a world of thought moulded by the sacrificial, legal, prophetic, devotional ideas and language of the Old Testament. They not only sought the fulfilment of prophecy, they described the events in phrases and metaphors, in which quotation and reminiscence are mingled, from the book that was always in their mind. Books of *testimonia* may have been in their hand, proof texts were stereotyped. These fields have proved fruitful to critics in recent times, and the popularity of St. Augustine's epigram "*Novum Testamentum in Alto latet, Altum in Novo patet*" is typical of present day interest.

But perhaps the most important field of work is that of lexicography, in which *Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch* is supreme. Here the attempt is to find in Jewish and Pagan surroundings those words which Christians used for the expression of their own faith, words indeed which they often made quite their own. These studies as Hoskyns and Davey remarked in the *Riddle of the New Testament* are fundamental. The words were not only symbols, they were living realities, and even as symbols they were given a new content by the new faith. Lexicons usually treat words as mere

lifeless symbols, these new theological studies must treat them as alive, in the living context of a Church springing up on Jewish soil and spreading far and wide over the pagan Hellenistic world.

And here it is not only the Septuagint and the Rabbis which are relevant, for the New Testament was written in the *Koine* Greek, even if it was coloured by its special Septuagint use. The masses of papyrus fragments, often the letters of uneducated common folk, give us many hints as to the significance and meanings of phrases and words in the New Testament writings. Archaeology does not help us much, but this more specialised study must be more fully made. Here the lexicon in process of compilation, that of Patristic Greek, will be of fundamental importance.

Again it will be noticed that the Primitive Church is being set in the context of its early history. Ramsay did so in his *Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, Deissmann in his *Light from the Ancient East*, Reitzenstein in his work on the Mystery Religions. Sir Frederick Kenyon and others have done so in their studies of the actual transmission of the New Testament text, where we must now not assume that the Gospels were written on rolls, but quite possibly employed the new codex form, for we have a fragment of as early as A.D. 135, and C. F. Hoare has made this fact—or possibility—the basis of a rearrangement of the order of the Fourth Gospel.

Except at the beginning we have been concentrating on the New Testament, but in the field of Old Testament studies similar trends can be discerned. Archaeology has proved so far very little use in solving historical problems or in giving us any evidence of the religious history of Israel apart from the Canaanite worship against which the prophets revolted. Yet the Lachish Letters or the Ras Shamra tablets do give us a background against which to study the development of the literature and ideas of Israel. That people was a living reality, and so in recent times, especially in Scandinavia, there has been the attempt to fix not only J.E.D.P. etc., in the context of the history of Israel, but to attach the stories which constitute these documents to the various shrines and centres of settlement and religion. This often seems to by-pass the classical source document criticism, but can more easily supplement it.

It is perhaps foolish to seek firm patterns in history, to speak of trends, or to consider a certain sequence inevitable, and yet in a

study of recent historical, or literary, criticism of the Bible a common mind and general movement can be discerned. The underlying thought is that of the importance of the living worshipping community, whose words, spoken and written, bear the living thought of that community. It may be that now amidst all the specialisms we have the beginnings of an ecology, if one may borrow a word from biological studies.

REVIEWS

THE CREATOR AND THE UNIVERSE

MODERN COSMOLOGY AND THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF GOD. By E. A. MILNE. pp. viii + 160. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. 21s.

THIS book contains the Edward Cadbury Lectures for 1950, the personal delivery of which was prevented by the sudden death of their distinguished author less than a fortnight after his manuscript was completed. "In these lectures," writes Dr. G. J. Whitrow, who has edited the work for publication, "Milne sums up his researches on the structure of the physical universe and the origin of the laws of nature and brings them into relation with his religious faith. They may," he adds, "be regarded as the scientific testament of one of the most original natural philosophers of our time."

Professor E. A. Milne was well known as the originator and the vigorous advocate of a system of cosmological theory to which he gave the name of Kinematic Relativity. This, both in its fundamental principles and in many of its conclusions, differs markedly from the better-known systems of Eddington and Einstein, over which, Milne claimed, it has many advantages. In particular, Milne asserted that his theory reduced the element of brute fact in the universe to a minimum (even, he sometimes seems tempted to suggest, to zero), and that it made it possible to deduce from *a priori* principles not only the laws of behaviour of the universe but also its physical content.

How far Milne succeeded in carrying out his purely cosmological programme is a difficult and disputed question, to answer which would require more technical equipment than the present reviewer possesses. Each of the rivals in the field of cosmology has claimed to be more successful than his competitors in eliminating brute fact from the universe, each has accused the others of illicitly smuggling in empirical data unobserved, and this last accusation has been fairly impartially levelled against all of them by a number of competent critics. What will presumably be of most interest to readers of this journal will be the theological implications which Milne professed to be able to draw from his work.

Briefly stated, Milne's thesis is that the universe is rational, and that a rational universe implies a rational Creator (p. 23 *et al*). The *fact* of creation—the fact that a universe has been created at all—is admittedly irrational, and no reason can be assigned for it; but, given Milne's initial assumptions, there are reasons, and compelling ones, why this should be so; the epoch of creation is a transcendental singularity. "We can make no propositions about the state of affairs at $t=0$; in the divine act of creation, God is unobserved and unwitnessed, even in principle" (p. 58). But everything else about the universe is rational, and "to say that the universe is rational is to say that its Creator is rational" (p. 23). Clearly before one can discuss the cogency of this argument one must know precisely what, in this context, the word "rational" means; and this is unfortunately not at all easy to determine.

At the beginning of his discussion Milne seems to mean by the statement that the universe is rational that all its characteristics are logically necessary. "It will be a test of the correctness of our path that we should find at no point any *bifurcation of possibility*. Our path should nowhere provide any alternatives. The account of the universe I am about to put forward has this property—that at no point does it give alternatives" (p. 49). And, says Milne, "I think that the argument that the uniqueness of the universe implies an absence of rational alternatives in creation is a genuine argument for both the rationality and the oneness of God" (p. 50). This is very queer, for if the universe is rational in the sense that it is in every detail logically necessary, it is difficult to see how any theistic implication can follow; even if there were no God the laws of logic would presumably still be obeyed. Traditional cosmological theism has, of course, based itself upon the assertion that the universe is neither logically necessary nor logically contradictory; but that it is logically possible and in fact exists. It must be admitted that there are places where Milne seems to be in fact trying to say this. "If," he tells us, "we found objects in nature disobeying the laws deduced by inference as holding good in a rational universe—as I agree it is possible to conceive such a disobedience—then we should admit that the universe was irrational. The fact that we find so many empirical physical laws actually identical with those deduced logically from the statement of a model of the material content of the universe—this empirical fact is

the proof that the universe is rational. But if rational, then its Creator must be rational; that is to say, God is a rational being" (pp. 155-6, italics not in original). The meaning of "rational" here must surely be "systematic, coherent, patterned," but hardly "logically necessary." And indeed Milne explicitly deserts his apriorism when he leaves the realm of physics for that of biology: "I will remark," he says, "that I have not suggested that this determining of natural law applies in the field of biology, nor have I excluded the possibility of divine interference in the details of biological evolution" (p. 133).

There would in fact seem to be four conceivable alternative positions that might be held, and for which arguments might be urged. The first would be that both the existence and the nature of the universe were logically necessary. If this could be shown, obviously no theistic conclusion could be drawn; whether God exists or not, the laws of logic must still hold. The second position is that neither the existence of the universe nor the nature which it in fact has is logically necessary; this has been in general the position of traditional theism, though when it has been at its metaphysical best it has put the emphasis primarily upon existence rather than upon nature. The third position would be that the existence of the world is logically necessary, but that its nature is contingent; I do not know whether anyone has held this, but with the substitution of "morally" for "logically" it would seem to be the view of Dr. W. R. Matthews. The fourth position is that the existence of the universe is not logically necessary, but that the nature which it will have if it does exist *is*; this seems to me, on reflection, to be Milne's real position, though with two important qualifications. The first qualification is that he allowed himself at times to indulge in *per-impossible* speculations about a logically contradictory universe which might have been created by an irrational deity. I have suggested that this is due to an ambiguity in his use of the word "rational." The second qualification is that in the biological realm he seems quite ready to admit a radical contingency in the world and to allow for direct interpositions of the deity in which the existence of God is shown precisely by the fact that He sometimes does things which are *not* logically necessary. This is surprising because, in the realm of physics, Milne clearly finds the notion of a God who intervenes in a logically unnecessary way re-

pugnant not only on scientific but also on religious grounds. A deity who continuously creates matter, he says, "is not a Providence that I for one could worship as God" (p. 77). It seems, in fact, as if Milne reconciled his religious desire for a God who acts and his mathematical desire for a tidy cosmology, by banishing God's activity to the epoch of creation, where, on Milne's theory, He is just beyond the reach of the cosmologist, and to the biological realm, where what He does is not the cosmologist's business.

The following passage gives Milne's own summary of his view of the relation of God to His universe:

"It is more consonant with our idea of an infinite transcendental God, who has created the universe as a transcendental point-singularity, to regard Him as fully employed in the subsequent history of this universe, in causing an infinite number of occasions for the exercise of the occurrence of mutations. God, that is to say, did not wind up the world and leave it to itself; He created the universe, and therewith also endowed it with the only law of inorganic nature consistent with its content, as we have seen in earlier lectures; and then He tended His creation in guiding its subsequent organic evolution on an infinite number of occasions in an infinite number of spatial regions. That is of the essence of Christianity, that God actually intervenes in history" (p. 153).

It is, of course, highly likely that, if Milne had lived longer he would have removed the obscurities from his manuscript or would at any rate have been able to clarify his position in subsequent discussion. It may be hoped that his editor Dr. Whitrow, who must know more about Milne's thought than anyone now alive, will be able to throw some light upon the question. It needs to be emphasised that, even if Milne's real position was that which I have suggested, its validity will depend upon the cogency of his argument that the nature of the universe can be deduced by logically necessary inferences from logically necessary first principles. As I have pointed out, Milne's fellow-cosmologists have not been fully convinced of this; and even Milne seems to have had occasional misgivings. Apart from the biological question, reference may be made to passages referring to purely physical questions on pp. 10, 52 and 101. And it is perhaps relevant to note that some scientists

have seen an element of *legerdemain* in Milne's adroit handling of his two time-scales.

There is an interesting passage at the end of his book where Milne, as a convinced Christian, feels bound to answer the question how the possibility of a multiplicity of worlds peopled with rational beings can be reconciled with belief in a unique Incarnation on one particular planet. His suggestion, which is admittedly tentative, is that when interplanetary and intergalactic communication have become a reality all these worlds will become one interconnected social system. "In that case there would be no difficulty in the uniqueness of the historical event of the Incarnation. For knowledge of it would be capable of being transmitted by signals to other planets" (p. 154). My own suggestion, which I would make even more tentatively, is that there is no fundamental *theological* objection to the notion that, on other planets than ours, the divine Word may have hypostatically united to himself the natures of other rational corporeal beings than man. There would, of course, be objections to this on an extreme kenotic view of the Incarnation, especially if these "incarnations" were simultaneous, but then there are grave objections to an extreme kenotic view. If the Incarnation took place "not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh but by the taking up of manhood into God," are we forbidden to suppose that other rational corporeal natures than manhood, if any such there be, may likewise be taken up into God? It is noteworthy that Milne speaks of "the tragedy of the crucifixion" rather than of the victory of the Cross, and seems to look upon the Incarnation itself as a dreadful necessity. "Was this," he asks, "a unique event, or has it been re-enacted on each of a countless number of planets? The Christian would recoil in horror from such a conclusion. We cannot imagine the Son of God suffering vicariously on each of a myriad of planets" (p. 153). Surely, we may ask, why not? If the idea of the Incarnation is repugnant, how can it happen here? If it is not, why can it not happen elsewhere? All this, of course, is speculative in the extreme. Man may be the only rational being in the material universe. He may be the only one that has fallen. He may be the only one whose nature has been hypostatically united to the Second Person of the Trinity. He may be the only one whose nature needed a crucifixion of the Incarnate Son to redeem it. Or he may not. God may have other,

and perhaps more wonderful ways, of uniting other rational beings to himself. We simply do not know; perhaps when intergalactic communication has become a fact we may find out. But there does seem to be something inadequate in Milne's Christology.

These criticisms must not be taken as detracting from the importance of Milne's book; we can only regret that he is no longer with us. He has provided us with a much needed exposition of his cosmological theory in a compact and reasonably simple form. With the exception of chapters viii and ix, it should present no serious difficulty to anyone who has been moderately grounded in mathematics and science. And it provides a moving testimony to the genuine Christian convictions of a highly original thinker who was in the very forefront of contemporary science.

E. L. MASCALL.

JEW AND CHRISTIAN

TWO TYPES OF FAITH. By MARTIN BUBER. Translated by Norman P. Goldhawk. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1951. Pp. 177. 12s. 6d. net.

THE ancient antinomy between Jesus and Paul, of which not much has been heard in recent years, has been revived by Professor Buber in his latest book, *Two Types of Faith*. While the distinguished Jewish philosopher employs many of the old critical arguments with which we have long been familiar, his angle of approach differs from that of earlier participants in the controversy. It is that of the particular form of existential philosophy expounded in his well-known book *I and Thou*. Readers of this will remember the epigrammatic sentence in which Buber's position is epitomized, "All real living is meeting." Armed with this philosophy of "confrontation," Professor Buber proceeds to analyse the Hebrew term *emunah* and to draw out a contrast between it and the Greek term *pistis*. Of the former term he says, "This 'existential' characteristic of *Emunah* is not sufficiently expressed in the translation 'faith,' although the verb does often mean to believe (to believe someone, to believe a thing). It must further be noticed that the conception includes the two aspects of a reciprocity of permanence: the active, 'fidelity,' and the receptive, 'trust.' If we wish to do justice to the intention of the spirit of the language which is so expressed, then we ought not to understand 'trust' merely in a psychological sense, as we do not with 'fidelity.' The soul is as fundamentally concerned in the one as in the other, but it is decisive for

both that the disposition of the soul should become an attitude of life. Both, fidelity and trust, exist in the actual realm of relationship between two persons." Thus we have clearly the existential I and Thou relationship underlying this description of the kind of faith which constitutes the first of the two types of faith with which this book is concerned. It is this type of faith which Professor Buber claims to be the faith of Israel and the faith of Jesus.

The other type of faith, *pistis*, which Professor Buber claims to be characteristic of Pauline Christianity and Hellenistic in origin is believing that a thing exists or is true. Here the element of confrontation is absent; instead of the I and Thou relationship we have what Buber himself has described as the I—It relationship; "The primary word I—It, the word of separation, has been spoken." (*I and Thou*, p. 23). According to the author "It is that gigantic figure, Paul, whom we must regard as the real originator of the Christian conception of faith." The main thesis of the book is summed up in the words, "The boundary line is drawn again in such a way that, having regard to the type of faith, Israel and the original Christian Community, in so far as we know about it from the Synoptics, stand on one side, and Hellenistic Christianity on the other."

Before we discuss the implications of this position it is necessary that something should be said about what appears to be the author's intention in writing this book. It seems clear that he offers it in all sincerity as an eirenicon, an attempt to find a common ground where Jew and Christian may meet and recognize one another as truly children of one Father. One can also sympathize with his gentle protest on p. 108, "When Christian and Jewish scholars cannot concede to one another, even about this subject that throughout they speak *pro veritate*, then we are seriously going back."

But the very sincerity and transparent goodwill which pervade the book throughout, only make more clear the depth of the gulf that divides us. Professor Buber has many fine and true things to say about Jesus, but he could not say with Thomas, "My Lord and my God." For him Paul originated and the author of the Fourth Gospel completed the Hellenizing process which finally deified a man.

We have no cause to differ from Professor Buber with regard to his distinction between the two types of faith; the distinction is not new, and he has only brought out more clearly the essential nature of *emunah*. The divergence lies deeper, and concerns two entirely different interpretations of history. "We have taken our stand," says Dr. Buber, "at that point in the midst of the events reported in the New Testament where the 'Christian' branches off from the 'Jewish'," and he goes on to assert that "in that period

at the beginning of Christianity there was still no other form of confession than the proclamation, be it in the Biblical form of the summons to the people, 'Hear, O Israel,' which attributes uniqueness and exclusiveness to 'our' God, or in the invocation of the Red Sea song to the King recast into a statement, 'It is true that the God of the world is our King'."

Here the general judgement of New Testament scholars, speaking, as no doubt Dr. Buber will allow, *pro veritate*, is in total disagreement with this assertion. There are many points of detail in which Dr. Buber's interpretation of passages in the Synoptic Gospels and in the Pauline epistles might be reasonably challenged, but in this assertion concerning the confession of the primitive Church lies the *crux*, in a double sense, of the whole position. Professor C. H. Dodd, whose right to speak for the main body of New Testament Scholarship will hardly be disputed, has proved conclusively in his book *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* that when Paul first entered the primitive Christian community he "received," to use his own word, a form of the early apostolic *kerygma* embodying a "confession" concerning the person who had been crucified at Jerusalem and his place in the purpose of God, which entirely belies Professor Buber's assertion about the faith of the primitive Christian community. It is certainly true that in the early years after the death of Jesus we are standing at the point of divergence between "Christian" and "Jewish," but the divergence was not due to Paul, but to the conviction reached by a small group of Jews, mainly Galilean, that the life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth represented an act of God, an event of decisive importance for the history of the world and of Israel. Professor Buber has himself pointed out that in Exodus xiv, 31 we see Israel confronted with a decisive act of God, the victory at the Red Sea, an act which freed them from Egyptian bondage. The result of this confrontation was that, "they believed in the Lord, and in his servant Moses." A "trust" relationship was established between Israel and their God (*emunah*), an experience of reality which could not be stated in terms of "believing that" (*pistis*). In his book *Königtum Gottes* (p. 91) Professor Buber has said, "Israel's trust in God (Gottesglaube) is ultimately characterized throughout by the fact that the trust-relationship is essentially one which holds good for the whole of life, and for every aspect of it."

Now, in the primitive Christian experience we have a similar but far more deeply significant confrontation with a decisive act of God. The small group of despairing disciples joyfully recognize in the resurrection of Jesus God's final victory over all the hostile powers of evil. A trust-relationship was established between this group of Israel's sons and the God who had done this thing, and the all-embracing nature of the relationship was ever more fully re-

vealed as History rolled on. Furthermore, this trust included God's "Holy Servant" Jesus, the "Leader of Life," (Acts iii, 15), the new Moses, through whom the redemption from Egypt had been effected. This experience cannot be translated into terms of "believing that"; it is the same existential type of faith as that presented in Exodus xiv. That it is possible to argue that the resurrection of Jesus was an illusion, based, as Professor Buber suggests, on the tradition of the "removal" of Old Testament figures such as Enoch and Elijah, does not alter the fact that the faith of the primitive Christian community based on it was the same type of faith as Israel's, and that it included in the other term of the relationship the figures of Jesus as Messiah and Lord (Acts ii, 36). This was the gospel, the kind of faith, "received" by Paul when he, as the result of his own experience of "confrontation," became a member of the new community. Nor is it possible to doubt, when we hear Paul saying, "The life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. ii, 20), and again, "Yea, doubtless I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord" (Phil. iii, 8), that we are listening to the language of *emunah*. Paul, no doubt, in drawing out the consequences of the divine act, and in interpreting the Old Testament writings in the light of that act, did lay down a number of positions involving *pistis*; he asked his Gentile converts to "believe that" certain consequences followed from what God had done. But, as Rom. vi, 17 clearly shows, this *pistis* was an act of obedience, "ye obeyed from the heart that pattern of teaching whereunto ye were delivered," and it is a mistake to set Paul's *pistis* in opposition to the *emunah* of Israel and Jesus.

When we come down to the credal period of the Church's history, we do undoubtedly meet a situation where the assent to certain statements becomes a condition of membership of the Church just as Professor Buber admits that the element of *pistis* makes its appearance in the later period of the history of the Jewish faith. But it is an error in interpretation to throw back this necessary stage in the Church's history into the Pauline gospel and so create an antinomy between Jesus and Paul.

It is perhaps a little ungracious to criticize the very difficult task of translating so obscure a writer as Professor Buber, a criticism which is in part disarmed by the translator's modest acknowledgement of the difficulty in his preface. But perhaps it would have been wiser to resort to paraphrase upon occasion. One would be curious to know what meaning can be extracted from the following sentence, and this is not a solitary instance, "For neither the faith which cannot give what it is can be thought of, nor God, Who in that case must have been named, but He does not appear before the verse after the next; in addition however the

objective Greek terminus does not in any way urge the question about the effecting subject, and the second part no more requires such a one than the first which is parallel to it." Of course, it is unfair to take a passage out of its context, but even the context does not afford much help.

S. H. HOOKE.

THE CURE OF SOULS

A HISTORY OF THE CURE OF SOULS. By JOHN MCNEILL. S.C.M. Press. 25s.

"THEN said he, Give me thy hand; so he gave him his hand, and he drew him out, and set him upon sound ground, and bid him go on his way." At this point Bunyan's allegory has a more universal reference than perhaps he himself realized. Not Christian alone, but devotees of every religion and practical philosophy, when struggling in their own particular Slough of Despond, have known the need of Help's firm hand; and, equally, there have never been wanting men convinced of a vocation to provide for their co-believers a spiritual ministry of reconciliation, guidance and consolation. The outlines of this "singular history of human consecration to a redemptive task" have now been traced in the present volume. It is admirably designed to fulfil the author's twofold purpose: to enable the modern physician of souls "to see his own difficult task in something like its true historical perspective and to gain an invigorating awareness of his membership in a unique and sacred profession that spans the centuries"; and also "to introduce to a wider class of readers a province of history of which there exists no other general treatment."

When one considers the vast range of Dr. McNeill's undertaking and the almost limitless material available, one can well believe that the book has behind it half a lifetime of preparation. It opens with an account of the Wisdom and Rabbinical literature in Judaism; then comes a review of the teaching of the principal philosophers and moralists of classical Greece and Rome, followed by a study of spiritual direction as practised in the more influential religious cultures of Asia. After this, attention is concentrated upon the cure of souls in the Christian Church. The Gospels and Epistles are examined, to discover the salient features of our Lord's teaching and method of dealing with individuals, and the kind of guidance that was provided for the edification of the early Christian communities. We are then given a study of ecclesiastical discipline and the pastoral office in the Patristic age, with references to the influences of early monasticism and the great writers of

Consolation literature. Two further chapters continue the story up to the Reformation, and pay special attention to the rise and development of the medieval penitential system and the amazing quantity of technical manuals and treatises produced alongside of it. In treating of the period from the Reformation to the present day, an attempt is made to do justice to the different contributions made by all the more important traditions: separate chapters describe the cure of souls in Lutheranism, in the Continental Reformed Churches, in the Anglican Communion and in Roman Catholicism; and consideration is given to the work of discipline and guidance among Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, and in the Eastern Orthodox and Armenian Churches. Throughout, Dr. McNeill has followed the method of straightforward descriptive exposition and has not attempted to make his work a comparative study. He has preferred to be informative rather than critical, and the result is a useful reference book, its value enhanced by an extensive Bibliography (29 pages) which includes the writings of many Continental and American scholars not widely known in this country. To the fastidious, parts of the book will seem scrappy and many of the general observations commonplace; while the learned will be tempted to enumerate omissions (no mention, for example, of St. Teresa or Bishop Sanderson or Luthardt's *History of Christian Ethics Before the Reformation*) and will note that references for quotations in the text are often absent or inadequate. So much could hardly have been compressed within 330 pages without much simplification and summarizing from secondary sources. The chapter on the Eastern Orthodox and Armenian Churches is professedly only "an elementary account" and that on the guidance of souls in Islam only "brief and inexperienced". On the other hand, Dr. McNeill writes authoritatively on the Medieval and Reformation periods, and the sections on the Celtic Penitentials and on certain aspects of early Protestantism and Puritanism draw upon his own earlier specialized studies in these fields. The orthography (catalog, fiber, etc.) and to some extent the vocabulary (dispeace, confessant, etc.) remind us that the book was first published in the U.S.A. Some misprints might have been corrected for the English edition: e.g., the year of St. Basil's death is given on p. 95 as 479 A.D., but on p. 97 (accurately) as 379.

Readers of Dr. McNeill's book will find themselves reflecting upon many fundamental issues. For instance, one cannot fail to be impressed by the almost universal emphasis upon the necessity of self-examination and confession in some form or other. But it is equally impossible not to see how closely the diversity of methods and aims in discipline and guidance derive from corresponding differences in theological and philosophical presuppositions—from what is in fact believed about the nature of God and the

nature and true end of man. Closely connected with this is the problem of authority, as expressed in the relationship between the individual and the group and, perhaps even more, between the counsellor and his disciple or penitent: on the one hand, systems of corrective discipline exercised by a religious community can all too easily lose their pastoral purpose and become impersonal and legalistic; and, on the other, the confessor or director may be allowed, or even encouraged, so far to magnify his office as to demand of his consultant the surrender of all independence. Again, there is the problem of preserving the right balance between the recognition of sin as a state of the soul from which repentance and the divine grace bring deliverance, and the emphasis upon sinful acts which must be confessed in detail. About these and many other similar matters there is much that can be learned from the history recorded in Dr. McNeill's pages; but, most of all, as he himself urges, if we are to preserve our bearings as Christians we must be looking back constantly into our New Testament: "Even today we have fresh practical lessons to learn from the Gospels and Epistles in the matter of the cure of souls."

We have been told only recently by Dr. Bronowski that if science cannot heal the neurotic flaw in man nothing can. Presumably his words are intended as a bold claim on behalf of science—though they could also amount to a confession of despair for man. In any case, assertions of this kind are not likely to delude readers of this book and would, in fact, be strongly repudiated by many psychiatrists. It is true that psychotherapy has developed to a large extent independent of religious beliefs and practices, yet the mutual loss is acknowledged and regretted by many representatives on both sides. For it would seem indisputable that "a generation that turns from religion is more and more productive of psychopathic personalities and victims of psychoneurosis and psychosis, and is exposed to the dominance of fanatical psychoneurotics who use psychology itself to destroy personality." The conclusion to be drawn is not that the era of the religious guide of souls is over, nor that he should regard his medical and scientific counterpart as a dangerous enemy with whom there can be no truce; it is rather that both sides have need to understand one another more—religious guides have much to gain from the researches of psychologists, and medical science has much to learn from the accumulated experience, insights and well-tried techniques of religious guides. As Dr. McNeill puts it in his Conclusion: "Whoever may be chiefly instrumental in the effective correlation of religious and scientific psychotherapy, it is a safe prediction that the solution of the tension between these will come by mutual recognition and not by the extinction of either."

THOMAS WOOD.

THE SUMMIT OF CONTEMPLATION

A PHILOSOPHY OF FORM. By E. I. WATKIN. Third Edition. Sheed and Ward. 21s.

THE philosopher may try, but will not succeed in seeing everything all at once *sub specie aeternitatis*, from the impartial point of view of ultimate mind, without bias, partiality or perspective. He has an obligation to truth, yes, and overriding obligation, and he must try to see life steadily and see it whole. And yet withal, he must be content to take his humanity seriously, accept his limitations, and learn (as Plato said) to put up with being the measure of things. For whatever he sees, whatever statements he makes, he is bound to a particular time and place, and conditioned more or less by the unconscious assumptions of his temporal situation. Moreover his general outlook on life, and the answer he gives to life's momentous problems, is inevitably coloured by his own *a priori* value-judgment as to what is of ultimate importance and concern. If this latter point means that the philosopher cannot really escape arguing in a circle, that should not unduly alarm him. The circle may be by no means a vicious one. "Every understanding of spiritual things," says Tillich, "is circular".¹ Only let his circle be as wide as possible, an honest circle. He is pretty certain to end up where he started from; but he has a duty to see as much as he can, as clearly as he can, without conscious short-cuts or distortions, correcting his unavoidable partiality by a sustained effort to see things as they are.

In the light of this, the reader of this book will quickly perceive the key-feature upon which the author lays the greatest stress as being of all experiences the most significant, the *a priori* which sets the framework for the rest of his thinking, the place where he apprehends, or rather is apprehended by the really real. This is none other than the possession of God, *amor Dei*, mystical experience, call it what you will. Here is the place of understanding from which he surveys all other human experience and to which he relates everything else.

A note of practical urgency, however, is added to this relatively more intellectual judgment as to what is for us men ultimate in value and being. He draws attention to the serious social consequences which can be shown to accrue to a society which refuses to acknowledge the supremacy of God. Force is exalted above law; expediency and opportunism above truth; man as a producer above man as an adopted son of God; the deification of the state and the asphyxia of the soul. The moral for our times is obvious.

¹ Systematic Theology, p. 9.

These two factors jointly supply the stimulus for the writing of this important and stimulating book. Believing that a false epistemology lies at the root of our modern ills, the author begins at the beginning with a thorough examination of the knowing process. As against what he calls the *proton pseudos* of modern philosophy, the Cartesian assumption that in knowledge the mind knows only its own states, he accepts the Platonic-Aristotelian-Thomist tradition that, in knowing, the mind is aware immediately of what is not itself, assuming an identity, or at least an analogy or proportion between what is inside and what is outside the apprehending mind. He maintains this view as much against the nominalism of Roscellinus as against Locke's division of primary and secondary qualities; and defends it as much against the attempt of Kant to limit the mind's competency as against "the clarity-neurosis" of the contemporary Logical Positivist.

Accordingly Mr. Watkin contends that knowledge of objects arises from two factors, distinguishable in thought but not in practice. These are sense-data and intuition; the sense-data providing the physical occasion, the intuition apprehending the non-sensible "form" embodied in and organising the sense-data, and which enables the knower to recognise a particular object for what it is. Thus our perceptions of sensible objects are not purely sensible. There is an intelligible unsensible factor, not *bestowed* by the mind *on* things, but *discovered* by the mind *in* things—the form, the object-ingredient-in-events, the "horsiness" which enables us to distinguish a horse from a cow, or *the* tree from the fleeting patches of colour which impinge in our retina. Thus the author's epistemology is consciously anti-Kantian and pro-Aristotelian, a moderate Realism; the concept being but the counterpart of that objective form which is recognised by the mind's eye as embodied in things.

Now with this principle the author is equipped to deal with many of the central problems of today; politics, ethics, aesthetics, natural theology, and religious experience. He has much to say that is extraordinarily penetrating and wise and very pertinent—but which, alas, cannot be touched on here. Readers of this journal, however, will naturally expect some mention of the author's natural theology.

He begins with a declaration which is at once a declaration of war and of faith; of war against Kant, and of faith in the power of reason. "The foundations of metaphysics," he says, "and indeed of all our knowledge, are the primary attributes or categories of being—the forms apprehended in all experience, without which experience of any kind is impossible. . . . For Kant, they are not ontological categories of being, but epistemological categories which the intellect necessarily imposes on things. *For a*

philosophy however which accepts as they are given the evident apprehensions of experience, the categories in which the mind apprehends and is compelled to apprehend being are categories of being." (italics mine) With this ontological act of faith affirmed, the author approaches the famous Five Proofs. These he claims to be valid "monstrations" of theism for those who are prepared to accept the fundamental laws of thought (non-contradiction, sufficient reason, causality, etc.) as not merely creatures of the mind but also in some real sense theorems concerning reality—"forms" in fact—as much part of "the given" as sense experience itself. Mr. Watkin admits that the proofs do not convince everyone, but that is because they have wrongly allowed the strength of these metaphysical intellections to be neutralised by the acids of Kantian subjectivity.

And yet when all is said and done, he adds, without the evidence of religious experience these metaphysical monstrations of theism are insufficient for religion. Not only are they too remote to be easily kept in view (for they require deep and sustained contemplation), but they afford no reason to conclude that personal communion with God is even possible. Nevertheless, they have their uses, for without metaphysics religious experience is not only unable to achieve adequate formulation, but is exposed to the imminent danger of being misinterpreted as a purely subjective feeling . . . or of being denied *a priori* by a positivism which refuses to admit its objective reference and validity.

And so, in the moving last chapter, we come back to our starting point, *amore Dei*, the crown of truth and summit of human contemplation, the beginning and end of wisdom, the practice of which helps a man not merely to answer the three momentous questions What can I know? What ought I to do? What may I hope? but also enables him to enjoy the deepest satisfactions of the soul.

I do not propose to add much by way of criticism of this profound book. A reviewer who starts and ends much at the same point as the writer is bound more or less to share his fundamental outlook, even though he may disagree with not a few things and put other things differently. There is however one important difference. M. Gilson says somewhere² that today our only choice is between Kant and Thomas Aquinas. "All other positions," he says, "are but half-way houses on the roads which lead either to absolute religious agnosticism or to the natural theology of Christian metaphysics." Mr. Watkin obviously would agree with this verdict, but his reviewer is not so sure. Poor old Kant, he doesn't deserve such a bad press as he habitually gets from Thomists theologians! He may have poured some pretty heavy broadsides into the traditional proofs, but he was a God-fearing man nevertheless. And did he not positively maintain in his three great critiques that the

² God and Philosophy, p. 114.

reason, whether theoretical, practical or reflective, was always centering the mind upon the *question* of God? The reason may not give a positive answer, but at least it does not lead us *away* from God; and perhaps the answer, anyway, comes from somewhere else. That reminds me. There is nothing in the book about revelation—at least with a capital R. Is it possible to talk adequately about religious experience without it? Or is there another book on the way?

GREVILLE NORBURN.

THE PATRISTIC AGE

A HISTORY OF THE EARLY CHURCH. VOLUME IV. THE ERA OF THE CHURCH FATHERS. By H. LIETZMANN. Lutterworth Press. 18s.

It is sad to think that the history of the early Church projected by Dr. Lietzmann and carried as far as the middle of the fourth volume will never see completion. We can only be thankful that he was able to complete so much, and that the completed part of the Fourth Volume contained the very important section on Monasticism, a subject with such variegated sources and so many doubtful points as to demand a scholar of Dr. Lietzmann's calibre to see his way through it all clearly.

This is in every respect a great work. It combines French clarity of execution with German incisiveness. The nearest approach that I know to it for all round excellence is Duchesne's brilliant History. If the ground has been traversed often enough before, those who perform the historical pilgrimage under Dr. Lietzmann's guidance are sure of an interesting and even an entertaining journey. In a book of good things it is hard to pick out the best and most appealing sections. The external history is traced with a sure hand and we are offered more than a mere catalogue of battle, murder and sudden death. Or if we turn to the tangled skein of ecclesiastical parties, Dr. Lietzmann is at hand to make the story of manoeuvre and counter-manoeuve as intelligible as the state of the sources allows. Individual figures are brilliantly, though briefly, characterised, through the sketches of St. Ambrose, St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. John Chrysostom are especially good.

For all the excellence of the book there must be some points at which hesitation must be expressed. For such a book a reviewer who does so feels almost an ungrateful churl for even attempting to catalogue them and yet no book, however brilliant, can command assent at all points. Dr. Lietzmann appears to accept the view fashionable in Germany that the Cappadocians veered so strongly to tritheism that their synthesis of the Doctrine of Trinity

is less than satisfactory. Granted that their pluralism was strongly tinged and some of their illustrations less than successful, it is possible to feel more content with their achievement than Dr. Lietzmann suggests. Is it really adequate to describe the Photinians as Sabellians and was the favourable judgment given to Priscillianism really justified? In particular were there not more heretical elements in the movement than Dr. Lietzmann allows for? He hints that St. Cyril of Jerusalem might appear less than orthodox. There was indeed a period at which the great catechist was regarded with some suspicion. We could hardly have deduced it from the Catechetical Lectures. The silences and paraphrases which he adopts there do not appear to be more than any sensible teacher of simple folk might adopt. Is it quite a fair statement that "for all its simplicity Cyril's scholarship was somewhat pretentious"? This is certainly difficult to reconcile with the Biblicism of the Lectures to which Dr. Lietzmann so often appeals.

While he rightly connects the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the Council of Constantinople, he does not appear to discuss the interesting possibility that the clauses about the Holy Spirit are content with an affirmation of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit less pronounced or clear-cut than that which the Creed of Nicaea found necessary to make explicit with regard to the Son. In particular the vital word *homousios* is left to be inferred from the previous section. He points out clearly enough that the famous third canon of the Council implied a repudiation of the claims of Alexandria to an Eastern Papacy; he does not pause to notice that the way in which the primacy given to Constantinople in the East deals at least a glancing blow to the basis upon which the claims of the Roman See were coming increasingly to be rested. There are still puzzles with regard to the mystification of the Christian Sacraments which remain unsolved even after Dr. Lietzmann's treatment. The discipline of secrecy with which they were increasingly surrounded is concerned rather with the attempt to keep up the standard of membership within the Church than with any influence of the mystery religions upon them. We do not know sufficiently the extent to which these cults were still a living force to be able to accept such a hypothesis without qualification. Why should a theory which most scholars have abandoned with regard to St. Paul have a greater chance of being true when applied to a period at which the ways of the Church were becoming increasingly formed? Would an acceptance of mystery influence in the fourth century really account for the obvious efforts of the Post-Constantinian Church to keep up rather than drop her standards of membership? We still need to ask how far the discipline of secrecy was really successful. I have sometimes been led to wonder whether the catechumen (for example) who listened to the sermons of St. John Chrysostom would have been left long in doubt as to

what the preacher really believed about the Eucharist. The translation speaks on page 158 of the "transubstantiation of the bread". But it is highly dubious whether the East at this period accepted a doctrine of transubstantiation properly so-called and the final words of the paragraph "not in its true form, but in a form acceptable to human sensibility" shows plainly enough that a theory of change of Form is all that is really involved. And is it quite fair in view of the evidence which Dr. Lietzmann sets before us as a whole to speak of the use of the Bible by the Egyptian ascetics as "a kind of mental mat-weaving"?

There are a few points of detail in the translation which deserve correction in a subsequent edition. "*Callinici, Vita S. Hypatii*" surely cannot stand. "Neo-Nicaeaians" is a cumbersome phrase for which "Neo-Nicene" has become the established usage. One sentence does not appear to construe at all. "Theodosius had no alternative but to offer him asylum, and would have none, even if he had not married Galla" (page 83). Diagnostic on page 178 is barely English. Would not "symptomatic" do just as well? And what on earth is "a kind of eschatological relativity", mentioned on page 189?

But these are minor points, and the Church historian and the historian of doctrine alike have great cause of thankfulness first to Dr. Lietzmann, and to a lesser degree only, to his careful translator and his enterprising publisher.

H. E. W. TURNER

A PERPLEXED AGNOSTIC

LESLIE STEPHEN; His thought and Character in Relation to his Time. By NOEL ANNAN. MacGibbon and Kee, 1951. 25s.

If the spirit of an age (the *Zeitgeist*, as Matthew Arnold taught us to call it) is much spoken against, it may rest content. Like an author who has lost favour, it will return into the light. That is what is happening today to the Victorian period and the men who made it. We have ceased to dread any suspicion that we might be smiling upon it. We actually combined to resurrect the embodiment of its glories in the Great Exhibition. It was natural that 1900 should have nothing to do with 1850. The "greenery-yallery" enthusiasms of the turn of the century were rebuked by the full-blooded enjoyments of the prosperity of fifty years earlier; while, for those who look a little further beneath the surface, when the confidence of having the ships and the money too was still strong, and the misgivings aroused by the Boer War were almost forgotten, there could be but small sympathy with the hesitating questions and paltering uncertainties which hung over the Victorian thinkers.

All that is changed today. What was still solid ground to the later Victorians is shaking beneath our feet. The terrors that they saw as grim possibilities stare us in the face. What were to them only possibilities, if that—the nation's airy navies battling in the central blue, and the rest—are to us common-places, however frightening; and the eclipse, or the nemesis, of faith which they hoped for, or feared, has undermined the foundations of belief which even the agnosticism of fifty years ago shrank from calling in question. Carlyle, Coleridge, Arnold, Newman, Ruskin, Hardy, are being invited back into our world, to give us, perchance, something that will make us less forlorn.

Among the rest, Mr. Noel Annan has singled out Leslie Stephen. One of the most voluminous and typical writers of his time, he is seldom read in these days. But his biographer knew what he was doing. Stephen was austere, forbidding, a man of many limitations. He touched one aspect of life after another, in a manner that easily draws us to him. But there was always a "gracious somewhat" which he missed. He stretched both his hands to the fire of life; but the flames would die down and leave him cold and perplexed.

He grew up in the very centre of the evangelicals of Clapham, as F. H. Bradley did a little later. He moved in all that was most interesting at Cambridge. He took orders and then threw them up, with all that had held him at Cambridge, when he decided to pin his faith to agnosticism. He found two women to love him deeply, and was left twice a widower. His children seemed fonder of one another than of him. He plunged into writing and produced book after book, on literary criticism, the history of thought, religious controversy, and scientific ethics; yet always with an air of rather cold detachment. He knew everyone in his world whom he thought worth knowing; and his world would have been larger, but for his shyness and gaucherie.

All these characteristics Mr. Annan describes with unwearied industry; indeed, the book is almost a history of every man and movement with whom Stephen had anything to do; but he leaves us wondering whether Stephen was not happiest in his annual climbing holiday in Switzerland, before mountaineering had been organized or winter sports invented, and where a man could match his strength and skill with nature without wondering what other people were thinking of him. On all this he could write as admirably as his second wife could write on crumbs in bed.

The book is thus hardly a biography. The sub-title refers to his relation to his time; and his death is described when we are less than one third of the way through the book. But Mr. Annan's method (an excellent one) is to introduce us into the various circles in which Stephen moved. The reader is told so much about the serious and high-minded evangelical family, the miseries that could

be suffered at Eton, the mathematics and philosophy at Cambridge, and all the hopes and fears of journalism in London, that he feels himself everywhere at home with the great and pathetic man. Sometimes, especially if we read all the notes, at the foot of the page and the end of the volume, he will fear lest he should lose Stephen in the crowd.

But all these contrasts are so arranged as to bring out Stephen's way of thinking and living; sturdy, uncompromising to a fault, serious (he tried to enjoy jokes: he would rarely make them), and with a rugged self-reliance never consciously broken by doubt on the one hand or sensitiveness on the other. A sense of humour he certainly possessed. But what we miss in him (was heredity here at fault?) is charm. Nor does Mr. Annan leave us impressed by profoundness of thought, as we may find it in some of the men for whom Stephen had little sympathy. The movement of his thought was horizontal rather than vertical.

Yet, what wide horizons! First, save for his mountaineering essays, he published *Sketches from Cambridge by a Don* (1865) and went on to *Hours in a Library* (1874, etc.), *The History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (1876, etc.), *The Science of Ethics* (1882). The plan of the *Dictionary of National Biography* was due to him, and he edited and contributed to it generously from 1885 to 1891. Many volumes in the *English Men of Letters* series are from his tireless pen. *An Agnostic's Apology* appeared in 1893, followed closely by the lives of Fawcett and his redoubtable brother, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, and *The English Utilitarians* in 1900. In 1895 he became President of the London Library and he was knighted in 1902. The self-complacent worthies of the eighteenth century drew out his best. He was less successful with Wordsworth. He was never one like Matthew Arnold to take dejectedly his seat on an intellectual throne and lay bare all his store of sad experience.

Paradoxical as it might appear, he was a genuine descendant of the Clapham evangelicals; more genuine, indeed, than F. H. Bradley. In those days, and not in those days alone, genuineness of descent was often marked by revolt. Matthew Arnold, for all his veneration for the apostle of Rugby Chapel, was in revolt against what had made the Oriel Common Room, as his father knew it. Leslie Stephen was in revolt against the sternness, the intellectualism and the "grace" of the Christian gospel as it was understood in Clapham. But to its unbending loyalty to what was conceived as orthodoxy, Clapham, like all that was of value in Victorian religion, added the veneration of a high moral standard and the sense of a charge to keep for the service of mankind. And those who found themselves unable to hold the faith of their fathers in the written word clung the more firmly, and not without some sense of Pharisaic pride, to the ideals of duty and service; even when duty (was she laying a trap for her converts?) took the shape of no-

believing any statement save on compelling evidence, and when service meant the service to the community in overthrowing beliefs of which reason could not approve and science could only deplore.

Fascinating as are all the pages of Mr. Annan's book, he himself attaches most importance to Stephen's attitude to the religion in which he was brought up, and from which, seven years after his ordination in 1855, he definitely broke away. Most of his readers will agree with this choice, Stephen was thirty years of age when he resigned his orders, and for the remaining forty, in spite of his literally encyclopaedic interests, he waged war against the immorality he detected in the tenets of the Christian faith and defended the basis of morality as entrenched in utilitarian ethics. Six of Mr. Annan's ten chapters deal with this crusade: "Evangelicalism," "Cambridge Rationalism," "Leslie Stephen loses his Faith," "Agnosticism", "The Moral Society", "Moral and Immoral Man". What Stephen had himself to say is found at its best—one would like to be able to add, at its clearest—in the two books, *An Agnostic's Apology*, published with three other essays, and *The Science of Ethics*.

The title of the first suggests at once Newman and Herbert Spencer. It would be unkind to press the suggestion. Compared with Newman, Stephen's defence is knocked together like a lawyer's brief. Compared with Spencer, his agnosticism claims no philosophic or scientific basis. The argument of the forty pages is that we cannot know the truth of what Christianity teaches; we are, therefore, told that we must act as if we did. This is the meaning of the command to believe. If the reader asks what it is that he must believe, he will find that Stephen is still living in a world where Christianity is understood to demand adherence to the letter of every part of the Bible; Noah, Balaam, and Jonah as much as the teaching and miracles of the New Testament. The appeal to revelation is an appeal to ignorance. The divine justice, as Stephen sees it, is no better than injustice; and in effect he says, with Mill, if refusal to accept this means hell, "to hell I will go".

Did he not see that he was caricaturing the gospel? Did he know nothing of F. D. Maurice? He did; but, surprisingly enough, Maurice, humanizing or, as we might be allowed to say, personalizing the gospel, was to Stephen, in Mr. Annan's words, anathema. Maurice's great work was to point out that the crudities of which the *Agnostic's Apology* makes so much were no part of the gospel as it is found in the New Testament. Why this want of sympathy and understanding in Stephen? One is forced to conclude, either that Stephen could not comprehend Maurice's profounder interpretation (and Stephen was not alone in this at the time), or that, seeing how such an interpretation cut the ground from his line of attack, he would have none of it.

But it is not a question simply of the more or less profound.

In Stephen's tract there is no mention of Jesus as the Saviour of the world. Christianity is a matter of rewards and punishments. Faith is a formal assent to a creed, a plan by which some are saved and some are "damned". As a personal commitment, working by love, it is never thought of. Is this a reflection on the school in which he grew up? Certainly, he seems to have had no firm grasp on the essentials of the gospel at his ordination. True, he could find authority for his contentions in what he heard in pulpits and read in books. But the evangelical faith could never have lived as it did on such husks. It was not the first time that the wise and prudent saw less than the babes. The danger is not past even today.

In *The Science of Ethics* we are presented with a paradox that runs through all English Utilitarianism. Pleasure or happiness (the two are seldom distinguished with any care) is the one aim and standard of conduct; and therefore we *ought* to produce the greatest amount of it that is possible. The moral is thus the prudential. The moral sanction is that the act contemplated must bring happiness. On the other hand, I am told that I cannot but sympathize with others. I am more than an egoist. I must believe in others' emotions, or I am an "idiot". Therefore the desire to relieve others' emotions must be real. The great forces which govern human conduct are fixed for us; the supply of our bodily and mental and social wants. Morality can only supply us with reasons "if we are already good".

But what is "good"? Prudent, cautious, self-restrained, sympathetic, unselfish? On utilitarian principles, conduct cannot but be self-regarding. Yet to Stephen, explain it how he will, it must be other-regarding as well. Like Mill and Spencer, he persists in making this *salto mortale* from the self-regarding to the other-regarding. To quote Stephen's words with respect to truthfulness, "the ultimate ground, to me, in a scientific sense at least, of its moral value is that it is an essential condition of the welfare of society as known to us". But to define welfare is as hard as to define the good. Perhaps if Stephen had lived for another half-century, and had seen the rise of the "welfare state", he would have agreed that an essential, if not the essential, for welfare is the recognition that rights and duties must always go together, and that no group, from the family to the United Nations, can survive which is not composed of persons, that is, a society in which he that receives is one with him that gives.

So confident, I have said; yet beneath the surface, so perplexed. How well that is seen in a portrait, reproduced on the dust-cover, of Stephen and Virginia Woolf; where father and daughter sit looking into the future; calm, and yet as if they saw a shape arising to ask a question which they had lost the means to answer.

The book is provided with a very useful index. Some sentences read a little awkwardly; others are slightly deficient in taste. In so

comprehensive a work it is natural that a number of judgements should arouse question. But the subject of the work may well congratulate himself on the knowledge, the sympathy, and the insight of his exponent.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

THE NEED FOR ROOTS

THE NEED FOR ROOTS. SIMONE WEIL. (Routledge and Kegan Paul.) pp. 288. 18s.

THIS book, which includes a fine preface by T. S. Eliot, is the second book of Simone Weil's to be translated into English. It should unquestionably be read by anyone who has already felt the appeal of the author's personality through the pages of "Waiting on God". I think it should also interest a wider public than that book—a public which believes itself to be indifferent to questions of religious philosophy but alive to questions of social reform. Not that Simone Weil for a moment admits that these points of view can be distinguished. The book's sub-title is, significantly, "Prelude to a Declaration of Duties towards Mankind"—at the very core of her personality is the conviction that there is nothing so practically useful as the search for truth.

"Such books do not influence the contemporary conduct of affairs" writes T. S. Eliot. But "contemporary" necessarily refers to a span of time, and in an important sense we still seem to be living in a "post-war period" and to be contemporaries of Simone Weil. This book is essentially a product of the French "Resistance" and a vital document for anyone studying the question of the efficaciousness of its ideas in post-war France. But apart from this historical question, on which I am not qualified to make any judgment, I believe the thought of these Frenchmen is well worth our attention because, as Bertrand de Jouvenel shows in his "Problems of Socialist Britain", they were forced to think about certain social and moral problems to which we, owing to our war-situation and our war-propaganda, have so far turned a blind eye. "Post-Socialist" Britain may be ready, perhaps, to consider them.

The book then should be of interest for its subject-matter, as well as for the personality of its author. In the grand Stoic-Catholic tradition of natural Law, it starts with the affirmation that we must and can distinguish wants from needs. The needs of the soul, which are the object of unqualified obligation, include indeed Liberty and Equality; but they include also Order, Obedience, Responsibility, Hierarchy, Security, Risk, and above all Truth. This section of the book is followed by one on Uprootedness—in the Town, in the Country, in the Nation. These two sections give one the impression of an extremely original linkage of acute observation

with thought about first principles, such as one finds in her model Plato and not very frequently elsewhere. A sort of drastic common-sense fastens upon the real human issues that usually get overlooked in the dreary debates between Socialism v. Conservatism, Liberalism v. Communism, Science v. Religion. It is not without a certain whimsicality and naïvity; one is conscious that it is the work of a young woman of 33, but of one who has lived the life of factory and vineyard and thought deeply about it.

Many of her concrete proposals were as a matter of fact common ground in Hitler's Germany, before that was turned sour by nationalistic ambition and—I think it must be said—the blind hostility of the West. Such for example as making a legal distinction between the dissemination of ideas and the furthering of interests; the legal qualification and responsibility of management; the arrangements for giving workpeople property in and about the factory; the great emphasis on the abolition of the unskilled worker, on the reconciling of town and country, on the importance of travel, on the “transposing” of culture into the medium of factory and farm, on special professional courts. She reminds one in many ways of the young National-Socialist writer Moeller van den Bruck. Whereas the war put an end to the objective study of such matters in England, Simone Weil living as she did in Pétain's France until the summer of 1942 was bound, and was spiritually able, to reflect on the values of the anti-democratic forces and relate them to the values of 1789. Her thesis is, very roughly, that the all-absorbing State and the cult of national grandeur destroyed the values of the French Revolution during the XIX century as they had previously destroyed the values of aristocracy and Catholic Christianity. We must get back to the idea that the loyalty owed to the State is sacred indeed, but “limited and conditional”, as to an instrument “like the font or the altar”; and to the “spirituality of work” which can be undermined by “working-class imperialism”, as the spirituality of the nation has been, by state imperialism.

Her philosophy of history is certainly not “sound”—she reaches the limit of whimsicality in her speculations on the sons of Noah in “Waiting on God”—but it is full of flashes of insight, and that is, I believe, all we can hope for in this field—the pattern is concealed from us forever.

The last section, entitled “The Growing of Roots”, is not equal to the rest; but it has a delicious chapter on the *savants* “whose word we accept without the least check, though we don't know whether they love truth”. The conclusion touches upon her ultimate philosophy of life, more fully developed in “Waiting on God” and “Pésanteur et Grâce”, on the beauty of “mechanical” Nature obeying the thought of God. It would be out of place to discuss this here, but we may mention its political corollary. The state cannot ignore religion, but it must treat Christianity “as one

treasury of human thought among others". The Christian must indeed regard the whole of history as the field of action of the universal Christ, but that mystery may not be imposed. "*Anathema sit*" were the words that debarred her from entering the Church.

"To undertake a philosophical cleansing of the Catholic religion" wrote Simone Weil "one would have to be both inside it and outside it at the same time". She took up her stand at quite a definite point on the threshold; her work on religion and on society, unfinished as it remained, is all of one piece.

The translation is vigorous, but unfortunately marred by some un-English words and expressions.

CLAUD SUTTON.

JOHN BUNYAN

JOHN BUNYAN. THE MAN AND HIS WORKS. By HENRI TALON, Professor of English Literature at the University of Dijon. Translated by MRS. BERNARD WALL. Rockliff.

OF all English writers we might have expected Bunyan to be the most difficult for a Frenchman to understand or appreciate. For he is English of the English and precisely in those qualities in which the English are most remote from the French. And his religion, the strict sect of Baptists, would hardly appeal even to a French Protestant. Nevertheless a study of Bunyan and his work which for sympathy, penetration and comprehensiveness could hardly be bettered, has been given to us by a French Catholic. Bunyan's spirituality and spiritual progress, his type of thought and imagination, his artistic achievement and its limitations, his literary gift as a stylist, spontaneous not studied, his morality and social teaching, the environment in which he grew up—all these are studied and illuminated by Professor Talon. His work may confidently be expected to remain the authoritative and standard study of its subject.

One may question whether *The Pilgrim's Progress* is as widely read today as Professor Talon supposes. Alike in its truth and its limitations, the theology it propounds is alien to most of our contemporaries. We may hope that this book may not only revive our appreciation of Bunyan as a literary artist, but disclose the depth of positive religious insight contained in ideas and doctrinal formulas in many respects inadequate to their content.

Following Bunyan's religious autobiography, *Grace Abounding*, Professor Talon traces his progress from a state of dereliction and darkness to the peace, light and joy of conscious communion with God in Christ. In this process of conversion from an unregenerate selfishness to experienced union with God in the new life of supernatural grace, Bunyan travelled the same road as the mystics. But,

as the author truly points out, though on one occasion at least he enjoyed a direct experience of God's presence he did not permanently attain the heights of contemplative prayer. He was held back by his preoccupation with the conceptual scheme of salvation as stated in scriptural texts.

Professor Talon disposes of those who would explain away Bunyan's religious experience as the mere product of psycho-physical factors. "We know that conversion can follow or accompany bodily phenomena and physical or mental upheavals; but between the ascending curve of the spiritual life and the accidents of the body we do not see the relationship of cause and effect . . . Divine grace may perhaps" (I could dispense with the perhaps) "work through a psycho-physical determinism which, however, it infinitely surpasses." Bunyan's account of his spiritual state and stages as related in *Grace Abounding* is accepted as substantially reliable. But it has been modified by the influence of later ideas. This, the author argues, is shown by the fact that the first edition says nothing of escapes from drowning and on military service later introduced as providential interpositions of God. I do not question that it is impossible to relate the story of the past without some unintentional modification. But I do not think that there is such a modification where aspects of past events which unquestionably occurred are recognized later, though unperceived at the time.

Professor Talon rightly sees in Bunyan's art a release of capacities and human interests otherwise repressed by his rigid theological and moral code. "To this . . . liberation of repressed artistic ideas are due the equilibrium and serenity which become more marked as the Pilgrim advances, particularly in the second part. A psychologist would say this work of art worked a *catharsis* in Bunyan. By uniting the profane marvellous with the sacred marvellous, and making a moral or religious symbol of adventure, he could abandon himself to his delight with no scruples and experience the new spring or second adolescence which, according to Goethe, is the artist's privilege." When his imagination has free rein he creates living characters like those in a successful drama or novel. When, however, conscious preaching gets the upper hand they are replaced by abstractions or mere mouthpieces of Bunyan's judgements. This is true even of certain characters and sections of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Mr. Badman is nothing but an impossible collection of every sin known to his author. And the beauties of *The Holy War* are few and far between and within too heavy a framework". That is to say, since life is short, and worthwhile books so many, the lover of English literature would be well advised to read only *The Pilgrim's Progress*, but to read it with the care it deserves and richly repays.

We are shown in detail how the natural beauty, within the bounds of Bunyan's native county, visible images and music, re-

fused, not in Bunyan's life—in gaol he improvised a violin and a flute—but in religious worship, take in his *Pilgrim's Progress* their proper place in the service of religion, how the familiar human scene is related to the profoundest spiritual realities, how the strong and colourful idiom of daily life in Bunyan's master hand assumes rhythms suggestive of the experience he portrays. I cannot, however, agree with Professor Talon that the music at the interpreter's house was concealed propaganda, in favour of singing Psalms in chapel. For there are also sacred pictures on the walls, and Bunyan most certainly detested such Popish images in a place of worship. There is, in fact, an inconsistency between the wider vision of the artist and the prejudices of the Baptist preacher. Indeed this tension runs through Bunyan's imaginative works, and as is shown here, is successfully overcome only when the artist for the time has the better of the preacher. However, given Bunyan's religious environment of the narrowness was no doubt the indispensable price of the depth and strength without which the work of art could not have come into being. And after all tension of one kind or another seems to be a condition of all great artistic achievement.

Moreover, it is far from certain that an abundance of images must stimulate and feed the imagination better than a restricted supply. Where the supply is comparatively restricted the images available may strike the imagination and hold it more powerfully than in a greater opulence. Bunyan, therefore, was not the only Puritan whose rejection of the universe of Catholic imagery made the sole images permitted those of the Bible the more living and the more potent. How his imagination seized upon these scriptural images, indeed, the very vocabulary of scripture, and adapted them to his artistic purpose is studied in detail by Professor Talon.

We are given a remarkably fair and understanding picture of Puritan religion. In particular, it is made clear that the Puritans were not the inhuman killjoys they are too often depicted and that Puritanism as a religious tendency existed before the Reformation. But he possibly exaggerates the terrorism in Puritan religion (p. 36) though in a footnote he seems to modify this judgement when he says that "Bunyan preached Christ and love as much as Jehovah and the Law." (The contrast, however, drawn here is grossly unfair to the Old Testament picture of the Divine Father and Shepherd).

The religion, in fact, of many Puritans, notably Independents favoured by Cromwell, was remarkable for its tenderness, its emphasis on love, and on the love of Christ, on loving and trustful communion with the Father. I cannot understand, however, why Professor Talon speaks consistently of predestination as an erroneous doctrine peculiar to Calvinists. It is a doctrine to which the Catholic Church is fully committed. Even the stricter presentation of it, that predestination is antecedent to the foreseen merits of

the subject is at least as orthodox as the view which makes it consequent upon them. Calvin did but dot the i's and cross the t's of Augustine. And the English Calvinists paid tribute to the medieval theologian Archbishop Bradwardine because his view of predestination resembled their own. I commend to Professor Talon's consideration the extract from St. Augustine's *Enchiridion* read at Mattins on Septuagesima Sunday. The language here officially prescribed by Giant Pope is not so unlike Bunyan's in his sterner vein.

Professor Talon's study of social and economic conditions in Bunyan's lifetime is most illuminating. It is painful to read of the wretched conditions in which the poor lived. Professor Talon cannot explain how on a weekly wage of only four shillings an agricultural labourer could keep from sheer starvation a family for which Chief Justice Hale reckoned ten shillings a week the minimum on which it could subsist. Presumably common rights and garden produce eked out the wage. But the gap seems beyond closing by such expedients. He shows how Bunyan's commercial morality was still the code, based on simple agricultural conditions, which had come down from the Middle Ages and was opposed to the new morality of acquisitive capitalism shortly to be accepted by Protestant moralists, for example, by Wesley. Nevertheless it seems impossible to uphold the view that money cannot breed against Calvin's objection, quoted here, that money's worth can and does.

I cannot believe that Bunyan felt any desire, however "obscure" to "assure himself of his own identity" (133). No one in those days of healthier thinking would have thought of questioning the obvious, least of all the robust-minded Bunyan. Naylor did not believe himself to be God. In his misguided enthusiasm he misconceived the Christian's identity with Christ, which rightly understood is a fundamental Christian truth. It is dangerous to rediscover a neglected truth in isolation from its doctrinal context. Naylor learned this to his cost. But he was never a pantheist, still less a pretender to exceptional or unique deity.

"His soul *beating* its own inimitable mark" is bad English. It should be "stamping" its mark (87). And the phrase on the following page "Their will proceeding from grace" is infelicitous, to say the least. "Their goodwill itself the product of grace" would surely express better the author's meaning. A misprint has introduced a superfluous "con" into a quotation from Dante (139).

E. I. WATKIN.

THE RESTORATION AND THE LAUDIANS

THE MAKING OF THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT; THE INFLUENCE OF THE LAUDIANS 1649-1662. By R. S. BOSHER. Dacre Press, 1951. 30s.

EDWARD Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, thought the restoration of Church and King to England after the troubles of the interregnum to have been an act of Providence such as had not been seen since the miraculous passage of the Israelites dryshod through the Red Sea. The service appointed in 1662 to give thanks for that happy restoration spoke of the "miraculous Providence" which had "delivered us out of our late miserable confusions".

In this excellent, important, interesting, well-written, learned, and judicious work of original scholarship, Dr. Bosher has illuminated the activities of some of the most important human agents in this process, namely the divines and laity of the Laudian school. By a tactical skill in political manoeuvre, by cool-headed timing of the steps they took (not without moments of unnecessary panic), they must have proved to their own profit and satisfaction that the children of light are not invariably less wise in their generation than the children of darkness.

It was by no means inevitable that when the King came back the Church of England should come back with him. For one thing, what Dr. Bosher calls the "inconvenient truth" has to be recognized, of "widespread Anglican conformity to the Cromwellian Establishment". Two thirds of the old beneficed clergy stayed put. On the other hand the most gifted of the younger men were overwhelmingly disciples of Laud, and refused to conform. For them the Church of England existed visibly, in the nonconforming remnant. These younger men were important in the remote preparation for the days when the hierarchy should be restored. By their controversial writings Hammond, Thorndike, Pearson, Taylor and others made "the Interregnum . . . a golden age of High Anglican theology and apologetic". By securing posts as chaplains in country houses, they helped to create that numerous body of young men who in the Convention of 1660-1 and in the Cavalier Parliament were zealous for episcopacy. Another group, chief among them Cosin, maintained Anglican principles and practice at the court in Paris, and in other places of exile, discredited, poor, uncomfortable, but courageously persevering.

It is remarkable to observe how in retrospect even the disappointments of the Laudians worked in the end to their benefit. Wren and the other bishops in 1652-3 timorously refused to give any lead to either the conforming or the nonconforming Anglicans in the difficult question how to treat the liturgy in the face of government prohibition. The conforming Anglicans thus remained without organization. In consequence "the authentic voice of

Anglicanism came more and more to be identified with the Laudian group". Again, Charles II's journey to Scotland to be received there as a Presbyterian king seemed the end of all the Anglicans in Paris hoped for, but he came back in 1651, hating the Scots ministers, and decidedly favourable to bishops. An attempt to proselytise the young Duke of Gloucester into the Romanist fold caused Charles to declare clearly for the Church of England.

As the Dixie Professor remarks, in his elegant bush to this excellent wine, the important achievement of these clerics in exile was "the conversion of Edward Hyde to their principle that the *Ecclesia Anglicana* must be restored with the monarchy and without concessions to Presbyterians at home". In a detailed examination of the events of 1659-61, Dr. Bosher shows how the high churchmen both kept the Church settlement out of the hands of the Convention, and at the same time manoeuvred themselves, with Hyde's help, into the strategic positions in the Church, into bishoprics and chapters. The Puritans were contained, at moments of alarm, by negotiations, and by vague hints that Puritan scruples might be heeded. Consequently everything was settled in favour of the Laudians, before the Cavalier Parliament met. "The nature of the settlement was not determined by negotiations with the Puritans, nor by the deliberation of Parliament, but by the *fait accompli* which was the crowning achievement of Laudian policy, and which the nation had tacitly accepted before the Savoy conference opened or the Cavalier Parliament convened." This success, Dr. Bosher observes, was in no small measure the reward of rigid principles, combined with flexibility of tactics.

Once settled in power, the triumphant high churchmen, as Dr. Bosher brings evidence to show, were disposed to meet Puritan difficulties as far as they could. The Savoy conference seems, like some earlier meetings, to have been called in government alarm at Puritan displays of strength, but, none the less, correcting Baxter's account by a letter of Dr. Henry Ferne, Prolocutor of the Canterbury Convocation, Dr. Bosher holds that the Anglicans only gave up negotiating as futile after trying honestly to reach some agreement. They were stiffer, once the law was made. Sheldon (like St. Ambrose, as it was said at the time) stood in the breach against an attempt by Clarendon to mitigate by dispensation the force of the act. The Chancellor was moved (as it seems) to this attempt by alarm at the prospect of a stormy St. Bartholomew's day.

Perhaps the settlement was in the end less Laudian than this book seems to suggest. Dr. Bosher mentions, but perhaps does not sufficiently emphasise, that the Church was restored, with Laudian divinity no doubt, but without the Laudian engines of discipline. It was restored more as gentry wanted it, than as the clergy. Sir Robert Shirley's interesting plan of 1655 for free episcopal elections, and no *praemunire*, was in no way realised. Perhaps it would be

true to say that the Restoration was only as Laudian as the Chancellor would allow it to be. In the light of Mr. Wormald's *Clarendon*, the Chancellor appears as distinctly less strictly Anglican in fundamental principle than either the high church bishops, or the laity of a prosecuting Commons. He was, on Mr. Wormald's showing, still wedded to the principles of Great Tew. This being so, he held to the Laudian thesis of the entire restoration of episcopacy on grounds that were less than Laudian. To restore the old constitution (even allowing for the legislation of the years 1640-2) involved for him the restoration of the Church, not so much on any Laudian ground that episcopacy was a Catholic essential, but simply as part of the old constitution of the realm, with "the power of the clergy in the state and in society . . . curtailed, the government of the Church . . . subjected to Parliament, and the law of the Church adjusted to the supremacy of the Common Law".¹

R. W. GREAVES.

THE DOCTRINE OF MAN

MAN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. By WALTHER EICHRODT. Translated by K. and R. GREGOR SMITH. (S.C.M. Press). 6s.

PROFESSOR Walther Eichrodt has long been well known to those who read German for his great *Theologie des Alten Testaments*. He has been one of the pioneers in the revival of theological interest in the Old Testament, and this study of how the Old Testament views man and the purpose of human life is important out of all proportion to its size. For it is with its doctrine of man that Christianity perhaps most decisively confronts and challenges the modern world, and that doctrine, especially if we go on to consider the sociological and political consequences which flow from it, is based on the Old Testament even more than on the New. To some extent, this present study is complementary to what Eichrodt has already written on the Old Testament conception of man in section 16 of the *Theologie*: in particular, he there treats more fully of the place of man in creation than he does in his latest work. He recognizes the difficulty of isolating out complete and self-consistent doctrines from the pages of Scripture—for, even apart from the different "levels" of religion which it exemplifies, the Old Testament is not a theological manual. Nevertheless, there are certain basic assumptions which are the same at all periods of Israel's history and it is precisely the recognition of this fact which has led to something like a "re-discovery of the Old Testament" in the last thirty years.

The basis of the Old Testament view of man, according to Eichrodt, is the demand for utter obedience to the will of God—what he calls the "unconditional ought". This obligation is con-

¹ B. H. G. Wormald, *Clarendon* (Cambridge 1951), p. 297.

stituted by the Covenant, the notion which has always been the guiding thread in Eichrodt's Old Testament theology. Creation, itself, of course, involves such a Covenant, but more central for Israel, as the witness of the prophets makes clear, was the event of Mount Sinai, which was enshrined in the Torah. It is to a study of the character of the unconditional obedience to God, laid upon each individual by the Law, that Eichrodt devotes the first section of his work, and this is certainly one of the most illuminating and important. In particular, he points out the centrality of individual moral responsibility in the early Book of the Covenant, especially by contrast with other ancient Near Eastern Codes, though it is doubtful whether the example Eichrodt gives of the law about the goring ox in Exodus xxi, 28f really advances his argument, since this law occurs in virtually identical form in the Codes of Bilalama and Hammurabi. But at least Eichrodt makes clear what should long have been recognized that the idea of solidarity of guilt plays a very small role in the Israel's legal and judicial system, and that the most striking instances of it, such as Achan or the Gibeonites, are rather to be explained, as Eichrodt himself notes, from the "primitive belief in a curse which demands extraordinary means of expiation". Every part of the Torah proclaims the message of complete obedience to God and finds there its sanctions: so it is noteworthy that even the realm of what we should consider secular law and custom is invaded by those apodeictic commands which originally probably had their origin in the cult. Pursuing a line of investigation parallel to that of Noth, Eichrodt holds that the great danger which this conception of the Torah had to overcome was the introduction of royal secular law, after the common Near Eastern pattern, with the establishment of the monarchy, and in this context we are to view the prophetic antagonism to the king. It is perhaps at this point that the critic will be most aware of diversities within the Old Testament itself. The prophetic attitude towards the monarchy and even the cultus is by no means simple and uniform—Hosea does not speak with the same voice as Isaiah—and many scholars would assign a far more positive role at least to the ideal of the Davidic dynasty as the upholder and embodiment of *zedek*.

In his second chapter, Eichrodt passes to assess the significance for the Old Testament view of human life, of the belief in God as creator and of His Covenant, by that relationship, with man as such. On the one hand, man is responsible for his whole natural existence and for the lordship over nature which has been committed to him: on the other, the responsibility of the Israelite extends to all mankind and cannot merely be limited to the chosen people constituted by the Covenant on Mount Sinai. Then, in the longest section of the book, the author discusses the various hindrances which the Bible sees may stand in the way of the unconditional obedience the Torah demands. Every page here develops several stimulating

suggestions, but perhaps the most interesting are those which touch on what it is usual to call the problem of suffering. In particular, Eichrodt reminds us that the Hebrews never aimed at a full-blown theodicy after the Greek manner, and that the various "explanations" of suffering given in the Old Testament—retributive, or corrective punishment and so on—were never meant completely to "justify God's ways to man". Ultimately the Bible always witnesses to the mystery of the divine majesty and to God's unconditional freedom which parallels man's unconditional obedience. Whether Eichrodt's interpretation of the book of Job, where he follows Sellin closely, and of certain of the psalms is altogether satisfactory may be disputed. Is it not a question of Yahweh's salvation *from* death rather than *in* death? while Stevenson's Schweich Lectures, even if we cannot accept their thesis *in toto*, suggest that it is a mistake to view the speeches of Job's friends in a wholly negative way. But this is only to say that this book probes very deeply, and it is in every way a most valuable addition to the Studies in Biblical Theology, of the S.C.M. Press.

J. R. PORTER.

THE VICARS-CHORAL AT YORK

LIFE IN A MEDIEVAL COLLEGE. By FREDERICK HARRISON. Pp. xiv + 349. John Murray, 1952.

THIS book is a most interesting study, based on a series of records preserved in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of York, of the college of vicars-choral attached to York Minster. This college, known as the Bedern, was founded in 1252 and existed as a corporate body until 1936. Although the great period of its history ended in the late sixteenth century when the vicars, now for the most part married men, ceased to live as a community and remained a corporation chiefly for the purpose of holding property, the records of the Bedern provide a valuable illustration of the way in which the forms of English ecclesiastical administration remained practically unchanged from the thirteenth century until comparatively recent times.

Canon Harrison's many years of work among his manuscripts are reflected in the ease and skill with which he deals with a large amount of difficult material. He describes the duties and the common life of the vicars, their living-quarters and the activities of the officials such as the bursar, steward and maltster who supervised the running of the house. He then deals with their property and estates, quoting many valuable details such as the list of expenses incurred on a journey made to take over the advowson of Nether Wallop in Hampshire (pp. 105-9) or the account of rates of pay and hours of work among builders and carpenters at the end of the fourteenth century (pp. 153-63). Payments for obits and

chantries (in commemoration of the dead) also formed a substantial part of the vicars' income before the Reformation.

The duties of the vicars were, as Canon Harrison shows, not unlike those enforced in similar communities attached to other secular cathedrals, although at York the vicars were expected to learn by heart, in addition to the services and psalms, two curious and interesting "histories". The first of these began with the Creation and ended with the archiepiscopate of John Thoresby in the fourteenth century (intervening events were, mercifully, recorded rather briefly) and the second dealt with what was known or conjectured about the origin and liberties of York Minster. Discipline among the vicars was strictly enforced, and offences appear as a rule to have been venial. The presence of an occasional black sheep serves only to indicate how good was the general record of this community. As owners of property the vicars seem to have been at once provident and merciful, often remitting or decreasing rents payable by widows or other distressed persons.

In such a work as this, the author is of necessity hampered by the very bulk of his material, and by the fact that in making it available to the reader who is not a trained historian he must modify or explain his technical terms. It is to be hoped that Canon Harrison will produce, for the use of scholars, a critical edition of the texts on which his present book is based, since without a knowledge of the original manuscripts some passages in his work are obscure. It seems probable, for example, that the "Benedictine" provided for the vicars (pp. 56-7) was a "grace-cup" or ration of wine from the common funds rather than the drink which is so named today. "Garbage" (pp. 76, 89) is a misleading word to use in describing the greater or garb tithes. The dispute over the vicars' rights to dine with the canons of the cathedral (pp. 189-90) cannot fairly be described as "childish", since it involved a long-standing privilege which must have been of considerable financial importance. The offence of vicars in "uttering fables" (p. 72) might more aptly be described as gossiping, and a confusion between the Latin "*sex viri*" and the English "six men" (p. 63) has produced the rather unfortunate term "sex men" to describe the senior members of the Bedern. These and other slips may cause a good deal of confusion in the minds of readers unacquainted with Latin. The entry referring to the death of Henry Mace appears both on p. 253 and on p. 255, once with a misprint, and other misprints occur on pp. 169 and 269. These mistakes might be remedied in a future edition.

Canon Harrison's book is, however, one to be warmly recommended, both to the historian and to the general reader. It is illuminating, well-written and humane. A long familiarity with the records of the Bedern has given to the author the power to see the vicars as real people, working out for themselves, in spite of

considerable difficulties, a system of collegiate life which should be at once dedicated and practicable. Such a work, written by one who has a peculiarly intimate knowledge both of the duties of cathedral clergy and of the local details of the buildings and lands possessed by the college of vicars, has great value in the study of English ecclesiastical history.

ROSALIND HILL.

THE ATONEMENT

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT. By LEONARD HODGSON.
Nisbet. 10s. 6d.

THIS is not an historical survey of doctrinal theories but a personal exposition, and interpretation, of Biblical teaching. The theme is no new one for Dr. Hodgson, and there are numerous references to his earlier books. Indeed these are so frequent that anyone who is unfamiliar with Dr. Hodgson's thought might well feel that he should turn first to these other books before completing his study of this one. Such a plan would prove rewarding, for Dr. Hodgson is a systematic thinker, and the structure of his thought could be grasped more clearly if its characteristic pattern were traced in his earlier writings. Yet this book will amply repay independent study, for its argument is fully elaborated and it is expressed with enviable clarity.

Dr. Hodgson sees a cosmic significance in the atonement. It is "God's answer to the problem of evil . . . the action taken by God in the history of this world in order to rescue His Creation from the evil with which it had become infected". Evil was present in the world in the form of ignorance, ugliness and suffering before man appeared, but in man it emerged as sin—the inner corruption of a being who was capable, through surrender to God, of sharing in God's creative activity. Evil thus became, in man, an active source of further corruption, since man, in his freedom, could influence the further development of the creative process. Sin is thus revealed as "the hard core of the problem of evil" and the Old Testament records the steps by which God led His people Israel to an understanding of that fact.

A stimulating and profound study of punishment and forgiveness in community life prepares the way for a fresh treatment of divine wrath and divine love. Punishment is not vengeance. It is an activity in which the community repudiates the actions of one of its members and thereby vindicates and safeguards its own moral standards. Forgiveness is a creative attitude towards the evildoer which bears the pain of the injury without bitterness, thus neutralising the effects of the evil action. Punishment and forgiveness have a parallel significance in the relations between God and man. Man's

hope of redemption from evil requires a doctrine of divine wrath which guarantees the enduring reality of goodness as well as a message of forgiveness which assures us of restoration.

That doctrine and that message are both given us in the atoning work of Jesus Christ. God's wrath against sin is manifest in the suffering which it causes, and God's forgiveness is revealed in the Cross, where God Incarnate bore that suffering "with love unconquerable and unconquered" even to the point of death. By entering into history the Eternal Love of God won a victory over evil which radically and permanently altered our human situation. The self-giving love of Christ, which was manifest in its perfection on the Cross, continues its redeeming work through those who have themselves been redeemed.

Dr. Hodgson summarises his account of evil and of God's work of redemption in two striking figures. The history of evil is likened to a parabola graph. From an origin shrouded in mystery it rises through pre-human evolutionary stages to its height in pre-Christian history. From the death and resurrection of Christ the graph turns downwards as the power of evil diminishes. God's redemptive activity is compared to an hour-glass which narrows and widens again. From the universe as a whole, the interest is focused first on this planet, then on man, then on the people of Israel, on a faithful remnant and, finally, on one man in Whom God Himself entered the human story. From that point the hour-glass broadens again in all directions, as the redemptive work of Christ reaches out through His Body, the Church, into every sphere of human life and every nation of mankind. Dr. Hodgson leaves the final issue open although he adduces cogent reasons for belief in a cosmic redemption. We cannot know with certainty what the ultimate destiny of the space-time universe may be but our redemptive vocation as followers of Christ is clear. "It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his Lord".

This brief summary does scant justice to the complexity of Dr. Hodgson's closely-knit and clearly stated argument, but it may show that there are original elements in it which deserve, and repay thoughtful consideration. The closing pages of the book show, in a moving way, the relationship between theology and life, and make it clear that Dr. Hodgson's closely reasoned argument has a message for the heart as well as for the head.

In a brief survey of the main theories of the atonement the author shows that they may be classified according to the differences in general outlook of the theologians, and according to their emphasis on the godhead or the manhood of Christ. Dr. Hodgson's own contribution has the merit of avoiding any one-sided treatment of the Person of Christ and brings out very clearly the important truth that in Christ "Punisher and Punished are one". Those who do not share Dr. Hodgson's own "general position", however, will

inevitably feel that this book, despite its profound and original insights, has certain limitations which have their source in his view that Hebrew religion and Greek philosophy entered into a fruitful union which "was, and is intended of God to be, of benefit to both partners". What are we to understand by such statements as "What appear to us as four different kinds or species of evil (i.e. ignorance, ugliness, suffering and sin) are the coexistence, at the human stage of evolution, of the forms in which one fundamental evil has been able to infect different levels of creaturely existence", or "What we actually observe is the creative process infected by evil which at each stage produces the kind of corruption that creatures at that stage can manifest". Are such statements not evidence of "philosophical" rather than "existential" thinking?

There is no merit in obscurity but some readers may share the reviewer's feeling that the turbulent waters of continental protestant theology offer some satisfactions to the Christian angler which he misses in the persuasive clarity of Dr. Hodgson's argument.

J. W. D. SMITH.

OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

THE SERVANT OF THE LORD AND OTHER ESSAYS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT. By H. H. ROWLEY. Lutterworth Press. 25s. net.

IN this volume of over 300 pages with full indexes of subjects, authorities and texts, as well as copious footnotes for the more advanced readers, Professor Rowley, one of our foremost Old Testament scholars has collected together some of his essays hitherto published only as monographs. The first and only unpublished chapter gives the book its title, and is a study of a much discussed and controversial subject in the light of three decades of criticism. The other essays are "The Suffering Servant and the Davidic Messiah"; "The Nature of Old Testament Prophecy in the Light of Recent Study"; "The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah"; "The Marriage of Ruth"; "The Interpretation of the Song of Songs"; "The Unity of the Book of David"; and "Recent Discovery and the Patriarchal Age". These essays have been published separately in Leiden, Harvard, Budapest, Oxford, London, Cincinnati and Manchester. It is as well that they should be gathered together in a single volume for much in them will become standard references for future writers.

In a short review of such a volume it would be useless to discuss each chapter, but one may be taken as a sample of the others. In the 45 pages devoted to the Song of Songs the author reviews in masterly fashion its inclusion in the Canon; its treatment as a common and erotic ditty; or a collection of love songs sung at banquets or in taverns; its allegorical interpretations (Jewish

or Christian); whether it is a "divine pastoral drama" as Milton called it, and if so how many were the characters in it; its authorship, whether one author or several; and if any outside influence such as the Adonis-Tammuz cult is recognisable. Prof. Rowley reviews all these theories and others in a clear concise way, putting them fairly and impartially before his readers and summing up his own views which are that songs of pure human love, even if frankly expressed, are not undeserving of inclusion in the Canon, and that these are the work of one hand; he cannot, however, find in the book an ethical or social tract, teaching a loftier view of woman than prevailed in contemporary society, nor does he sympathise with the many extravagant allegorical interpretations which have been suggested.

Some idea of the author's immense industry may be gathered from the fact that the authorities from ancient Rabbis to modern times whom he quotes total up to over 750, some of them are quoted over and over again; among those of English origin are S. A. Cook, G. R. and S. R. Driver, Hooke, North, Oesterley, and H. W. and T. H. Robinson, all of whom have been, like the author, Presidents of the Society for Old Testament Study to which he inscribes the volume.

A. D. POWER.

A FORM CRITICAL COMMENTARY

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Index. By VINCENT TAYLOR. Macmillan, 1952. 50s. net.

THE appearance of a large-scale English commentary on the Gospel of Mark is long overdue. It is over 50 years since Swete's commentary appeared, and, although Dr. Rawlinson's commentary on the English text in the twenties made allusion to the work of the Form critics, there has been no serious and detailed examination of their views so far in any English commentary. Dr. Taylor's new commentary on the Greek text of Mark, written on the ample scale of earlier Macmillan commentaries, has therefore, a double importance, for its value as an up-to-date and scholarly commentary on the Greek text, and for the detailed exposition of Dr. Taylor's views on the historical value of the Gospel in the light of Form criticism. It can be said at once that the commentary on the Greek text, with introductions to each paragraph and a series of detailed notes, is admirably done and will ensure that this book becomes standard reading at universities and theological colleges for a long time to come. Dr. Taylor has set out to make it serviceable to readers who hold different views from his, and he has succeeded admirably in providing a balanced and fair discussion of textual

readings, possible interpretations, and incidental problems. The introductions to the paragraphs, in particular, acquaint the reader with the implications of Form criticism, but without forcing down his throat one particular line of interpretation only; they do, however, compel him to take notice of the serious historical problems that Form criticism has raised, and which Dr. Taylor is the first English commentator to discuss in great detail.

The introduction and a series of additional notes at the end of the book are more controversial in character, in that Dr. Taylor develops here his own particular view of the genesis of the Gospel at a time when many different views are held. He expressly disclaims in his preface any intention of writing a *definitive* commentary on Mark "when many vital questions are still the subject of debate," and the appearance, since his words were written, of new books on Mark by Drs. Lightfoot, Farrer and Carrington, has underlined the present vigour of that debate and its fundamental importance for our knowledge of the Jesus of history. Dr. Taylor's contribution, it is needless to add, although controversial, is in no way polemical, and is made with a fine scholarship from which even his opponents will most thankfully learn.

The clue to the understanding of the Gospel lies, according to Dr. Taylor, in an acceptance of the methods of Form criticism combined with an acceptance of the tradition of Marcan authorship. Mark wrote his Gospel, probably at Rome, c. A.D. 65-7. It is not a mere transcript of the recollections of Peter, but reproduces much other material from tradition, especially Roman tradition (not all scholars will agree with Dr. Taylor's verdict that "the external evidence is far from suggesting that Peter was Mark's sole source of information"). He argues at length that Mark was an editor exceptionally faithful to his sources and exceptionally objective in his freedom from personal theological bias. The tradition itself, although generally reliable, contains elements, especially in the narratives of nature-miracles and in the Apocalypse of ch. xiii, which in a measure reflect the hopes and fears of the second generation of early Christianity. The Gospel as a whole must be adjudged a writing of first-class historical importance, with relatively few legendary and apocalyptic "tendencies," and its outline of events, in spite of many gaps and the evangelist's use of a framework "factual rather than chronological in the true sense," is based on a broad knowledge of the course of events as well as of details.

Dr. Taylor develops his thesis with a wealth of learning, and with an acute analysis of certain features of the Gospel. He argues, for example, that the numerous vivid details in the Gospel are not illustrative of the evangelist's style, but marks of a tradition from which he drew; he contrasts with passages containing such "touches" others where they are lacking and which he holds to be Mark's own constructions. He focuses attention, too, on the

Semitisms present in certain narratives, notably the Feeding of the 5,000 and parts of the Passion Narrative. In this latter case he adduces reasons for thinking that Mark has supplemented the Passion Story of the Roman community with Petrine tradition. In an interesting section on the theology of the Gospel he distinguishes between the occasional traces of later interests and developed doctrines and the great mass of theological references, notably the christological and soteriological ones, which he accepts as derived unaltered from primitive tradition and as historically true to the thought of Jesus.

By reducing the rôle of Mark to that of a faithful and objective "tradent" of Petrine and early community tradition Dr. Taylor is enabled to use the methods of Form criticism in a largely conservative interest, separating the wheat of the figure of the Liberal Protestant Jesus from the chaff of Jewish-Christian apocalyptic and legend. Such an interpretation of the Gospel evidence will not command universal assent, and some of his conclusions, e.g. from possible Semitisms, must remain, in the nature of things, hypotheses. Yet Dr. Taylor has made a real and weighty contribution to the problem of the historicity of the Gospel, and any future discussion of the subject will have to take into serious account many of his arguments.

RICHARD HEARD.

EPISTLE TO EPHESIANS: AUTHORSHIP

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS, ITS AUTHORSHIP, ORIGIN AND PURPOSE. By C. L. MITTON, 1951. Clarendon Press, 30s.

ANYONE familiar with Dr. Mitton's articles not long ago in the *Expository Times* about the problems connected with the Epistle to the Ephesians will turn eagerly to this full-scale treatment by him of these problems and he will not be disappointed. Professor Moule of Cambridge answered some of the points made in those articles and with complete impartiality offered at least one further point not against but for Dr. Mitton in his support of Professor E. J. Goodspeed's theory of Ephesians. (Professor Moule's name does not occur in the index here).

This book is divided into four parts: the first gives the "findings of the past" up to the time of Professor Goodspeed; the second, the relationship of Ephesians to the other Pauline Epistles; the fourth, a consideration of the date; while valuable appendices comparable with those of Goodspeed himself give parallel passages between Ephesians and other New Testament epistles. The author shows himself to be a master of the subject, who has studied the relevant literature fully and while he accepts in the main Professor Goodspeed's theory, he is capable of making some shrewd criticisms

of it, separating the wheat from the chaff in the rich harvest of Goodspeed's *The Meaning of Ephesians*, *Introduction to the New Testament*, and *New Chapters in New Testament Study*, to name no more.

According to the preface Dr. Mitton's work took the form of a thesis originally for a Doctorate of Philosophy at London and it included two essays now omitted, one on H. J. Holtzmann's complicated theory of the relationship between Ephesians and Colossians, the other on Goodspeed's theory of the formation of a Pauline corpus of letters. It is to be regretted that the present work, large as it is, does not include these essays. The former, on Holtzmann's view, would be especially valuable because although many of us would agree with Moffatt's dismissal of it as "filigree-criticism" based on subjective opinions, M. Ch. Masson has revived that theory recently in his French commentary, which presumably appeared too late for account of it to be taken here. The remark (p. 72) that no modern scholar seems at all disposed to champion Holtzmann needs modification. The other essay not included presumably deals with an important subject, for the usual assumption since Harnack has been that the growth of the canon of Pauline Epistles started as a thin trickle in different areas, slowly culminating in the steady stream that may be called "canonical", while Goodspeed postulates a period of complete aridity until the author of Ephesians (he suggested Onesimus tentatively) following upon the publication of the Book of Acts was responsible for the sudden outpour of Paul's letters upon the Church, prefaced with an introductory letter, Ephesians itself, written by one who knew Colossians almost by heart and many other Pauline letters too. It is to be hoped that Dr. Milton will publish both these essays separately.

It is also to be regretted that Ernst Percy's *Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe* (1946) was accessible to Dr. Mitton too late for consideration, especially as it takes a surprisingly conservative view on some points, many of which Dr. Mitton considers.

The student will probably turn first to Dr. Mitton's section on the "Case against Pauline authorship" (pp. 7-24), where the evidence is considered under five heads, linguistic, stylistic, literary, historical and doctrinal: then to the discussion of the "Case for Pauline authorship" (pp. 25-40) where the material is presented under the same five heads: one need hardly add that this case is presented fully and fairly: thirdly, unless he reads about "open verdicts," the student will turn to Professor Goodspeed's contribution, a masterly summary of which is given on pp. 45-54. If the student's appetite is now whetted, as it should have been, he will turn to some of the later sections, which demand closer attention from him, especially to the "treatment of the significance of theological differences" (pp. 82-97); here it seems to be proved that certain words like "mystery," "fulness," "dispensation," had a far more

definite and concrete meaning to St. Paul when he wrote Colossians than they have to the author of Ephesians. It is to be hoped that every student will have read all this at least before he turns to "Conclusions" and any serious student will work through parts 3 and 4 too.

Dr. Mitton deplores the fact that comparatively few British scholars have yet treated Professor Goodspeed's theory with the attention that it deserves. May one reviewer at least—without provoking the mirth that some recent reviewers of other books in the North have caused by always referring to "your Reviewer"—as though the views of the author of the book under review were invariably less important than his own—make the modest claim based on lectures that he has been converted for some time to a modified form of Professor Goodspeed's theory, having (reluctantly) abandoned the theory of Pauline authorship for some of the reasons presented so ably in this book? Also, if it is not impertinent to do so, may one congratulate the author upon the production of so learned and valuable a book "amid the busy life of a circuit minister in the Methodist Church"?

C. S. C. WILLIAMS

THE CRITICS CRITICISED

JOHN WHO SAW. A layman's essay on the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. By A. H. N. GREEN-ARMYTAGE. Faber and Faber, 1952. 10s. 6d.

PROFESSIONAL scientists and critics create a jargon, a technique, almost a world of their own, in which they have a vested interest. Mr. Green-Armytage is a layman and, like the common man of the jury, claims the right to sit in judgment on the critics of the Fourth Gospel. Such judgments and such criticism may be salutary in recalling the professional to the essentials of the problem, but explorers and mountaineers need native guides and jurymen need judges and counsel.

Mr. Green-Armytage strides boldly into this world of the critics where, he says, no book is written by a single author but by a group, every prophecy is a *vaticinium post eventum*, no two accounts of the same event are independent but must be the result of borrowing, no numbers are accurate but must be allegorical inventions. With this world of the critics he contrasts his own everyday world, where only Government reports are the work of teams, where Mr. Churchill forecasts the inevitability of war in 1935, where *The Times* and *Telegraph* report the same Boatrace and must often use similar language, where fishermen regularly count

their catch as their livelihood depends on it. A fair retort, but there is a third world, the world in which the Fourth Gospel in Mr. Green-Armytage's own opinion was written, the world where there was no copyright and historical writing was regularly compilation, where apocalypses were mosaics of borrowings, where the report of a prophecy is seen being revised to conform more closely to its fulfilment, where, if Mr. Green-Armytage is correct, the very author of the Fourth Gospel in his Apocalypse delights to play with numerology, for he was a Jew and a Rabbi.

It is this world which it is so difficult for us to penetrate. Mr. Green-Armytage has well pointed out the nineteenth century critics' obsession with progress, which made them unable to see that the Gospel started with a bang, not a slither (his own words), though his words here are very inaccurate, for he refers to the Gospel Narrative and of that it is surely true to say that we can see the evolution and development. He has also marked the contrast between book production then and now, but ancient publication almost defies definition. The Gospel documents spread quickly, and their problems are different from those of classical writings, but the nature of the writings as addressed to an individual or group must be borne in mind. The problem of what constituted history or historical truth or fiction is the fundamental problem of all Biblical criticism, for it is there that we move in a foreign world.

Mr. Green-Armytage discusses the text, the external and internal evidence, the relationship with the Synoptists, the problems of "John the Elder" and the suggested rearrangements of the order of the Gospel. He accepts the traditional view of the authorship of the Gospel by John, the son of Zebedee, the beloved disciple, and supports the Gospel's order against the Synoptics, finding only Chapter V out of chronological order but in that intended by the Evangelist. John and Mark are on the whole not contradictory but complementary, and many difficulties are solved if we remember that the Twelve were often divided, so that John was not always "John who saw". The particularising as to which apostle spoke, or the picturesque details, as for example Nathanael's fig tree, are the result of an eye-witness reporting. Mr. Green-Armytage does not reject the symbolical interpretation of the Gospel, nor the symbolical nature of much of its language, but does reject the view that it is symbolical and not historical. It is the drawing out of the symbolism of actual events.

Mr. Green-Armytage easily rejects the late evidence for an early martyrdom of John, and stresses how much early discussion of the authorship of the Johannine writings was tendentious. He therefore accepts the consensus of early evidence as to the authorship of the Gospel. One feels, however, that all such discussions treat the evidence for the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel in

watertight compartments, accepting the one and rejecting the other quite arbitrarily, and that much of the patristic evidence is derived, as is our own, largely from a study of the documents themselves and not from independent tradition.

One interesting feature—another is a “who’s who” of Johanne critics!—is a comparative table of rearrangements of the Fourth Gospel. Against all the manuscript evidence, which varies only in the case of the *pericope de adultera*, many critics persist in rearranging the order to improve the sequence, but without unanimity. As has been said, Mr. Green-Armytage accepts the Fourth Gospel, apart from the *pericope*, as coming from the hand of John as it stands. Chapter V, he suggests, was inserted by John to fill a gap in time between the events of Chapters IV and VI, and consists of material of which John did not remember the context. To allow this exception is to make difficult the accepting of the chronological framework of the Gospel, and it is significant that there are three connecting passages, IV, 1, 2; VI, 22, 23; XI, 1, 2; where the grammar is involved and difficult, and here alone is Jesus referred to in narrative as ὁ κύριος.

Mr. Green-Armytage deals with the language of the Gospel and its Arimaisms, and the artistry of the writer’s use of Greek, but he is out of sympathy with the Hellenistic Greek. It is but a “cracked piano” compared with the “full orchestra” of fourth century Greek. Alexander’s conquests spread the Greek of Pericles over a wide area but “spread it lamentably thin”, St. John’s is “almost pidgin-Greek—a one-stringed fiddle”. Such judgments are unwise—they are like the comparison of Damon Runyon’s English with that of Thomas Browne. It was still Greek, but it was a new Greek, and a Greek in which grammar, e.g., *πιστεύειν ἐς* and a vocabulary, e.g., *ἀγάπη*, are being moulded as the means of conveying new religious truths.

A quick reading of the Gospel confirms Mr. Green-Armytage’s view of its character as consisting of life-like, natural, vivid recollections. It seems to flow naturally, but if one stops to think one feels the abruptness of the transitions, the artificiality of the connections, the very stylised form of the discourses and events recorded. To what extent is the naturalness the result of our familiarity with the English, and how would one to whom the Greek was his native language react?

But having said all this, we must be grateful to this layman for his essay. It takes us out of our studies and reminds the parson and the professional of what he knows full well but forgets too easily, how close this Gospel is to the heart of the Christian faith, and how its one-stringed fiddle plays in harmony with the full orchestra of Christian devotion and spirituality.

F. E. VOKES.

A LITURGICAL COMMENTARY

THE PASCHAL MYSTERY. MEDITATIONS ON THE LAST THREE DAYS OF HOLY WEEK. By LOUIS BOUYER, Orat. Translated by SISTER MARY BENOIT, R.S.M., St. Xavier College, Chicago. Pp. xxiiiv + 348. London: George Allen & Unwin. 1951. 18s.

EVERYONE who has read the works of Père Bouyer in the original will rejoice at the appearance of one of the most illuminating and inspiring of them in an English translation. For Père Bouyer is one of the most important of that body of French Catholic scholars who are doing so much today to bring together patristic, dogmatic and liturgical theology into a coherent whole and, by so doing, to show their relevance to the concerns of the modern world. Furthermore he is a master of that *genre* of writing which is known in his own country by the term *haute vulgarisation*; he addresses himself, not primarily to the technical scholar—though his work is based upon a profound technical knowledge—but to the educated man or woman whose specialisms lie elsewhere than in the theological realm. For him, *lex orandi lex credendi est*—the faith of the Christian is rooted in his liturgical worship as a member of the Body of Christ—and it was therefore peculiarly appropriate that he should cast his most popular book—that which is now under review—in the form of a devotional and liturgical commentary on the rites of the last three days of Holy Week, the annual celebration of the act by which the Christ of God, the Second Adam, by His death and resurrection re-created the human race and established the new Israel, the redeemed people of God.

Père Bouyer's aim is strictly practical, and he therefore takes the rites of Holy Week as they stand in the present Roman Missal, with only the bare minimum of historical discussion. No doubt in his next edition the restored rite of Holy Saturday will receive detailed attention, to the great enrichment of his theme. His aim is clearly to enable the devout Roman Catholic layman, in attending the ceremonies of the *Triduum*, to share in the action as an active participant and not merely as a passive spectator of the mystery of his redemption. Père Bouyer is particularly skilful in the way in which, without unduly interrupting the course of his liturgical commentary, he uses the various ceremonies as spring-boards for the exposition of the great Christian truths. Thus, he links up Maundy Thursday with a magnificent statement of Eucharistic doctrine, in which he follows the trail that has been blazed in recent years by de la Taille and made into a firm highway by Vonier and Masure; he expounds the Atonement and the Priesthood of Christ in connection with the rite of Good Friday; and

he splendidly interprets the theme of the New Creation as the mystery of the Paschal Vigil. In view of the extent to which the traditional ceremonies have been restored in the Anglican Church in recent years, his book should be of great assistance to many who are not of his own communion and who have the additional advantage of worshipping in their vernacular; and parish priests, on whom falls the task of adapting the rites to the needs of their people, will be saved from many possible mistakes by Père Bouyer's profoundly theological insight.

Père Bouyer has a remarkable gift for striking theological epigrams, of which a few examples may well be given. Contrasting the ancient mystery religions with Christianity, he writes: "There was nothing ethical in this mysticism, since there was nothing ontological in it. Those gods who offered themselves to sanctify man were too human to divinise him." "Since the death of Socrates," he tells us, "men may be more enlightened about reality than they were before; but since the death of Jesus, reality itself is wholly transfigured." "He, the just One, has borne all the weight of our sins; and we, the sinners, can possess His sanctity. His cross is *our* salvation. There is, however, this capital difference between Him and us: it is He who gathers us to Himself to recreate us, and not we who assimilate Him to ourselves. Thus, our sins have not made Him a sinner, but His sanctity will make us saints." "The 'body' of Christ is not only His individual humanity; it is, besides, the collective humanity whose incarnation has made Him the Head [incidentally, a mistranslation; it should read "whose Head the incarnation has made Him"] . . . This explains why the resurrection is collective. We cannot rise, in the full sense of the term, unless we all rise together. For resurrection is admission into full life in the unity of the Head, shared by all the members."

It is much to be hoped that this is only the first of Père Bouyer's books to be translated into English; his brilliant study of St. Anthony of Egypt would receive an enthusiastic welcome. It is, however, regrettable that the translator has not been more successful than she has in rendering Père Bouyer's beautiful French into English. The Anglican reader is, of course, prepared for such unfamiliar renderings as "Pasch" for "Passover" and "progressive psalms" for "gradual psalms"; but there are places where a too literal following of the original has produced something which hardly reads like English at all. Readers who wish to recapture the real flavour of Père Bouyer's thought will do well to turn from the English translation to the original, which, under the title *Le Mystère Pascal*, appears in the series *Lex Orandi* issued by the admirable Parisian publishing house *Les Editions du Cerf*.

E. L. MASCALL.

STUDIES IN THE PSALTER

HYMNS OF THE TEMPLE. By NORMAN SNAITH, D.D. S.C.M. Press.
7s. 6d.

THIS short book consists of five studies of individual psalms, prefaced by a chapter on the Psalter as a whole in the light of modern study. The Psalms play a very large part in the private devotion and public worship of Christians, especially among Anglicans, and over the centuries the Church has developed a traditional interpretation and use of them, with the liturgy as its base. At the same time, perhaps no other book of the Bible has had so much critical attention devoted to it in the present century, and the investigations of scholars, along with the discoveries of archaeology, have transformed our understanding of the Psalms in a great variety of ways, so that, as has recently been said, "Psalm criticism now stands on the threshold of a new day." It is therefore of great importance that these two approaches to the Psalter should be brought together and that the ordinary Christian reader should be helped to discover the value of scholarship for his faith.

Professor Snaith is in many ways well fitted to give this help. He combines excellent scholarship with a great talent for popular exposition and a very fresh approach to the theological relevance of the Bible. There are many good things in his book, but, as a whole, it is disappointing. Perhaps this is because Professor Snaith never seems quite to have made up his mind about what he was aiming to do. He describes his work as a "running commentary" on the psalms he has selected. But the commentary is often only very loosely connected with the texts it is supposed to expound: indeed, in many ways, these chapters remind one of nothing so much as sermons, which take advantage of all the licence the pulpit may claim, and perhaps this may in fact have been the original form of some of them. Professor Snaith justifies his procedure by reference to the ancient Jewish commentary on the Psalms, the *Midrash Tehillim*. But the chief result of Biblical criticism has been to make impossible for us precisely that atomistic and moralistic exegesis of Rabbinic Judaism, which, to quote Moore, "interprets sentences, clauses, phrases, and even single words, independently of the context or the historical occasion, as divine oracles." This is hardly what the modern reader ought to be given in the guise of exegesis, and sometimes one cannot help feeling that Professor Snaith, in spite of his close attention to the findings of scholarship, occasionally likes to draw a neat religious picture which does not in fact find much support in the text that is sup-

posed to justify it. Thus he links Ps. 44 with Ps. 42-43 and Isa. 63, 7f. as the protest of Israelites rejected by the returned exiles and expelled from the Chosen People. But what about Ps. 44, 9, "and goest not forth with our hosts," which does not fit with anything in the other two passages and clearly suggests defeat in battle and not the situation postulated by Snaith? Similarly, many will feel that what Professor Snaith has to say about sacrifice on p. 96f. has to be read into Ps. 50. Quite apart from the strained interpretation of v. 8 did worshippers, at any stage we can now see in the Bible, think of themselves as "eating God", when they partook of the *zebach*? or even that they partook of "life", since according to Leviticus, the life was in the blood and just this it was entirely forbidden man to drink? Professor Snaith's mention of Robertson Smith only serves to emphasize that great scholar's considerable caution on these points. Again, to say that Christians think they "eat God" in the Holy Communion can at best be called misleading. No doubt the scholar can easily understand and correct Professor Snaith's particular emphasis, but the ordinary reader cannot, and it is for him that this book is primarily intended.

The introductory chapter has little connection with the rest of the book and the information it gives is rather scrappy and unclear: in this respect, it compares unfavourably with Paterson's *Praises of Israel*. Perhaps its most interesting section is that on the poetry of the psalms, where Professor Snaith makes use of the evidence from Ugarit. In spite of his remarks on parallelism, he misses the opportunity of bringing home to the non-expert the real character of Hebrew poetry, along the lines of Professor Theodore Robinson's remark that parallelism is controlled not so much by sounds as by ideas. But we badly need a good *literary* study of Hebrew poetry, taking full account of the new material.

We must conclude that Professor Snaith hardly provides the kind of popular exegesis of the Psalter that is needed at the moment. Perhaps the S.C.M. Press, which has done so much for a theological understanding of Scripture by its *Torch Commentaries*, will persuade some scholar to undertake a work on the Psalms in the same series.

There is a certain amount of careless writing and errors in this book. Perhaps two are worth mentioning. The author of *Thirty Psalmists* is Fleming James, not James Fleming. On p. 53. Professor Snaith writes "The native Pharaohs evidently continued the practice [of maintaining a Jewish garrison at Elephantine] after the Persians had been driven out." It is difficult to see exactly what this means and in its context it suggests that the Elephantine Jews of the fifth century B.C. were not a garrison under the Persian Empire, which is of course quite incorrect.

J. R. PORTER.

SUFFERING IN CHRISTIAN AND EASTERN THOUGHT

SUBMISSION IN SUFFERING AND OTHER ESSAYS ON EASTERN THOUGHT. By H. H. ROWLEY, D.D., F.B.A. University of Wales Press, 1951. 12s. 6d.

UNIVERSITY presses are fortunate in being able to publish many scholarly works which commercial publishers would find uneconomic propositions. This collection of three careful comparative studies of religion is that kind of book. The first essay, *Submission in Suffering*, was originally published as a monograph by the University of Wales Press in 1942: the second, *The Chinese Sages and the Golden Rule*, and the third, *The Chinese Philosopher Mo Ti*, based on two lectures given at the University College of North Wales, Bangor, and at the Rylands Library, Manchester, appeared in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* in October 1940 and November 1938.

These essays have now been revised, notably in the expansion of the many footnotes and of the thirteen pages listing the works consulted, as well as in the addition of an index of subjects, modern authors and references. Dr. Rowley points out that "for the texts of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism the writer has been compelled to depend wholly on translations, but for the texts of Judaism and Islam, and of Chinese writers, he has consulted the original wherever it has been available". Dr. Rowley is perhaps best known as an Old Testament scholar; but here we find him delving into the study of the religions of the Far East, particularly of China, where at one time he was a teacher in Cheeloo University, Tsinanfu, to whose *alumni* this book is dedicated.

The fact of suffering is one that has always baffled human beings. Dr. Rowley has traced the leading theories of it and attitudes toward it in the religions of Israel, Babylonia, China and India. He quotes liberally from the ancient literature and from modern commentators and apologists. Beginning with typical illustrations from the Old Testament, where he finds innocent suffering admitted as well as the more widespread doctrine that suffering is the result of sin, individual or social, he proceeds to show similar views in Babylonian writings and, with even more variations, in the utterances of the Chinese philosophers. Hinduism and Buddhism introduce a complicating factor in their doctrine of *samsara* or metempsychosis; but even here, while innocent suffering is often admitted, the notion of suffering as a form of retribution for sin persists. These religions teach that fate is self-determined within the inevitable limitations that man must endure in this world. "Deeply embedded . . . is the belief that life itself is evil, and that the great end of being is to get out of life, as

an individual existence, and to be absorbed in the great underlying reality behind all the illusion of phenomena." Buddhism, in particular, sees all life as suffering, and, except in the case of some forms of Mahayana, which are not noted here, sets out to end suffering by ending *tanha*, the thirst for life.

In treating of the Muslim view of suffering Dr. Rowley points out that, unlike the Indian and Chinese, "it is not based on philosophical or practical consideration, but on fundamentally religious grounds." Passive resignation is the attitude, because, despite the attempts of such liberal apologists of Islam as Sir Mohammad Iqbal, and despite the difference between doctrine and practice in Islam, *qismat* is the will of God.

There are, however, more constructive reactions to suffering. Dr. Rowley points out that "not infrequently suffering is teleologically explained, in terms of an educative or purifying purpose." Traces of this are to be found in Mencius, in the Upanishads, even in the Quran, and in the Book of Job, though there the penal purpose of suffering seems to predominate. The Christian view of suffering is certainly teleological; but it is more than that. "Innocent suffering may yet again be conceived of as a form of service, either of man or of God, and here once more the quality of the submission with which it is faced will be affected by this view." Dr. Rowley concludes his survey on this note. He finds it in embryonic form outside the Judaeo-Christian tradition as, for example in the Chinese philosopher, Mo Ti; but it is in the Cross of Christ that the sublimest expression of vicarious suffering is to be found, adumbrated as it was in Isaiah's Suffering Servant. Dr. Rowley sums up: "The causes of suffering are undoubtedly many and various But whatever the cause it can be met in a spirit which yields not alone resignation It can be met in the spirit which finds God in the suffering, sometimes to chasten, always to instruct." He paraphrases Our Lord's cry as meaning. "Thy will be done in me, and through me," adding, "It is that supreme consecration of spirit that can dignify every experience, and that can turn life into a high adventure in the service of God."

The two other essays are shorter studies. In that on the Chinese sages and the Golden Rule the author points out how several writers have tried to equate the teaching of Lao-Tzu, Confucius and Mo-Tzu with Christ's in this respect. It is important, in making such a comparison, not to treat the maxim in isolation from other religious teaching; and Dr. Rowley rightly maintains that "among China's sages there is none who can offer a true parallel to the Golden Rule of the Gospels." A discussion of verbal similarity must not distract from the recognition that Christ's ethic is inextricably bound up with Christ's teaching about God and man's relation to Him, as well as to his fellow-beings. The third essay is a useful piece of work in that it introduces to

the reader, in a relatively compact space, the hitherto little-known Chinese philosopher Mo-Tzu (or Mo Ti), perhaps as great a figure as Lao-Tzu, Confucius or Mencius, a particularly noble example of a religious teacher of great unselfishness and sincerity.

This book, characteristic of Dr. Rowley's scholarship, is no impressionistic survey, and puts before the reader the result of a considerable amount of investigation. For its purpose, it is perhaps somewhat overburdened with footnotes which add little to what the reader wants to know; but many of these can, with discernment, be disregarded. Such is often the outstanding merit of footnotes! The publishers are fortunate in being able, in these days of economy, to put out in more permanent book form these essays which have already appeared as monographs.

D. W. GUNDRY.

THE RELIGION OF ISLAM

ISLAM, BELIEF AND PRACTICES. By A. S. TRITTON, M.A., D.LITT.
Hutchinson's University Library. 1951. 7s. 6d.

THIS recent addition to an admirable series designed for undergraduates and general readers is of the same high standard as most of the preceding volumes: like them it combines authoritative knowledge with popular representation. In an age when scholarship is apt too often to disguise trite or turbid conclusions under a meretricious cloak of pseudo-scientific jargon, it is a relief to find an account of a great religion built up as far as possible on the concrete anecdotalage that accords so well with its history. For Islam has come to us with many tales of more vitality than most of the generalisations upon its beliefs and practices, even those of the not distant past. Prejudices are outlived and jargon is ephemeral, but the story lasts. And Professor Tritton tells us an interesting story, though unfortunately he has been required to crowd the happenings and ideas of thirteen hundred years into 300 pages.

The subjects to which the student is introduced embrace the style and readings of the Koran, the five imperative duties of the Moslem commonly described as the pillars of his faith, the history of the traditions about Muhammad and their authenticity, the growth of doctrine (which included an atomic theory), the belief in a *Mahdi*, the philosophy of Averroes, Avicenna and Ghazali, the four schools of Moslem law "all equally orthodox" and their bases, thirteen sects, mysticism, a small selection of the 175 mystic orders and the Islamic state with its officials, preachers and education. A chapter on social life describes ethics, food, marriage, adoption, slavery, trade, the arts, apostasy, saints, vows, magic and the next world. This chapter is followed by one on modern trends. The writer's attitude, if in places critical, is dispassionate and fair: he

stresses, for example, the comparative tolerance of Islam. He is particularly happy in his quotations from original authorities, though want of space has too often prevented him from citing sources. One wonders, indeed, if he has not attempted too much for the pages at his disposal and if the outline of a vast subject could not have been clearer for the omission of reference to such esoteric detail as the *Zahiri* school of law, the *Hurufi* sect and the *Momnas* of Cutch. Enforced conciseness may make the uninitiated conclude that in places the author is talking of the whole world of Islam when actually his facts may fit only Arabia. A few phrases, too, like "the house of might" (p. 21) need explanation for all but experts. Very rarely there are obvious omissions, but they are trivial. On page 49 the passages devoted to *Luqman* and *Khadir* do not say that the former was "a hero of popular story" mainly from his magic and *Khadir* largely as the adviser of Alexander the Great in the Muslim legendary account of that monarch.

About the Moslems of China little is known but Professor Tritton has included much information on Islam in India and Indonesia, a subject on which volumes have been written, though few are now accessible. On p. 155 he wrongly terms Indonesia (or Malaysia) Malaya, a word usage has confined to the Malay peninsula. On pp. 68 and 133 he does an injustice to the vast majority of the Malays of that peninsula, as it is only in the smallest state that there are *Minxangkabaus* who stick to matrilineal custom and reject much of the Moslem law on marriage and property. The provisional divorce described on page 134 came to the Malays from India.

Professor Tritton corrects some popular errors, telling us for example how a holy war could be proclaimed only if unbelievers started aggression and how a sheep or trained dog is not unclean, and game caught by it is lawful food.

He points out how Christian influence probably led to nocturnal prayer in imitation of monastic practice; how Neo-Platonism enters largely into Islamic mysticism and how Roman law coming by way of Byzantium introduced the principle that a plaintiff must bring proof, while a defendant may take an oath.

Some of the problems and incidents of early Islam sound strangely modern; the problem whether a man should distribute his own alms or the state collect and distribute; the denial of the pavement to Jews (and Christians) in Damascus down to 1800; the ideas that teaching is a vocation and should not be paid; the provision of food as well as drugs at free hospitals. This small but encyclopaedic volume is of interest not only to students of Islam but to all students of history. Certainly it ought to be kept at the elbow of every non-Moslem living among followers of the Prophet.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

OECUMENICAL PROBLEMS

THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH. Edited by R. NEWTON FLEW.
S.C.M. Press.

INTERCOMMUNION. Edited by DONALD BAILLIE AND JOHN MARSH.
S.C.M. Press. 21s.

BOOKS of this character are almost the despair of a reviewer. His work may either evaporate into a kind of "class list" of contributors, or degenerate into a mere "thoughts suggested on reading" the type of review which will in fact tell the reader more about the reviewer himself than about the book which he is pretending to study.

The volume on the "Nature of the Church" cannot by any standards be called exciting. Indeed those who want fresh thinking about the Church would be better advised to turn to some of the contributions in the second volume. It represents rather a series of statements, careful, documented and objective of the various traditions of the doctrine of the Church. Here is Roman Catholicism with what many regard as the serious ambiguity in its treatment of the problem of separated Christians, Orthodoxy with its resolute insistence upon itself as the "Una Sancta," the Lutheran stress upon the orthodoxy of the Gospel preached and its suspicion of pelagianism in any form. Here again is the attractive "High Churchmanship" of the Presbyterian tradition, the Anglican dialectic of tensions, perhaps a similar tension of emphases within the Baptist tradition and the cautious groping after a unity wider than that of the local Church in the Congregationalist tradition. But this quality of objectivity represents exactly what the book was intended to present. We now have in a single volume a definite answer to the question "What do the various Confessions believe about the Nature of the Church?", a source book which deserves a wider circulation than the membership of the Lund Conference which it was certainly designed to help.

The parallel work of the American Committee inevitably gives the work an air of repetition. But in many cases there is a refreshing complementary character about its contributions. The Anglican contribution here is almost the necessary complement to Canon Hodgson's work. If he tells the reader what the Articles and the Prayer Book express, or imply, of the Doctrine of the Church with a cautious and balanced presentation of some of the chief differences between the three great traditions within Anglicanism, Mr. Leycester Lewis gives a better picture to a non-Anglican of what it feels like to be an Anglican, even if certain Anglicans would have offered different interpretations on some lines.

The significant feature is the extent to which Oecumenical thinking is serving to modify the opinions which are held about the things which other people believe. The doctrine of the Invisible

Church does not, for example, imply a "flight from visibility" as has often been suspected. We are at least all talking about the same thing. The concept of the "gathered Church" though still cherished in some traditions does not represent the bulk of Protestant thinking about the Church. Nor are these traditions (if we can lump them rather loosely together for the moment) averse to thinking about the Church as the Body of Christ though this is far from implying that they would feel at home with such an interpretation as that of Emile Mersch of "*Le corps mystique*." It is to be hoped that Protestants will have the same sense of delighted discovery of elements akin to their own traditions in the accounts of the beliefs of Churches which differ most widely from them. Here is the sort of progress that only a book of this kind could reveal.

Differences indeed still remain. There are still the obvious divisions such as between Churches which claim to be the *Una Sancta* and those whose claims are more modest and less "exclusive." There is still the tradition which sees a particular pattern of ministering as essential to the very existence of the Church and those who regard the form of the ministry as a matter of relative indifference. But there are subtler differences which need more careful consideration. It is evident that many Protestants are worried about what exactly is implied in the stress upon episcopacy with which they are confronted in oecumenical discussion. Why will not South India do as it stands? and why are the Episcopal Methodist Churches of America not more favourably regarded from the point of view of many Anglicans than those Methodists who retain explicitly a more Presbyterian Church Order? Anglicans sometimes forget that this is not self-evident to many Free Churchmen. But do Lutherans really understand the hesitation of many Anglicans on their insistence upon the preaching of pure Gospel as one of the chief marks of the Church? Certainly many Anglicans will want to know what Gospel is considered pure and whether a particular theology is in fact being summarised in a single word. Is a different content being poured into a common term? Again there are many passages which an Anglican could accept as they stood but which provoke comments "M' Yes" or "All right, but I should not have put it that way myself" or simply "Would you please elaborate a little more precisely?" I am referring not so much to differences inevitable between one theologian and another, but to differences of confessional emphasis. Confessional emphasis and orders of priority deserve more careful discrimination than they have yet received.

The second volume is far more than a consideration of a practical problem from a utilitarian standpoint. The book is adorned with much new thinking about the Church. Here is an Orthodox Professor deserting the vocabulary traditional to ortho-

doxy to make his position clear to those who are accustomed to use a different terminology. Here is a Methodist genuinely and in many ways successfully trying to enter into the minds of those who differ from him with a truly catholic spirit. Canon Hodgson offers a timely warning that the Anglican emphasis upon Apostolic Succession is no mere fad of a group of determined extremist deviationists which seek to sabotage oecumenical enterprises. Fr. Congar's suggestive article makes us regret that he could not develop many points more fully than he felt free to do. With his customary clarity Canon Greenslade expounds some of the corollaries which appear to him to emerge from the modifications of the Cyprianic and Augustinian positions in recent times. Dr. Torrance's brilliant though difficult application of eschatological categories to the doctrine of the Church is perhaps the most original part of the book. Even those who are not completely convinced will value its attempt to restore a missing dimension in much contemporary thinking about the Church. Not the least important part of this article is its incidental attempt to apply Chalcedonian categories to the doctrine of the Church. The more Catholically minded reader will do well to consider the powerful pleas for the opposite point of view set forth in Professor de Groot's contribution rather questionably entitled "Intercommunion in the Non-Clerical Tradition."

Limitations of space and considerations of the matter appropriate to a review make it impossible here to join in this "Amica Contestatio." Protestants should reflect that their more Catholically minded brethren do not in the least differ from them in their emphasis upon the importance of Apostolicity in faith, witness and spirit. Our special emphasis lies on the other side of these agreements. They must also realise that difficulties about intercommunion are not simply a breach of oecumenical good manners but depend upon positive principles which appear to be jeopardised by the practice of two-sided Intercommunion. Catholics on their side must re-examine the positive theological pleas put forward by those who differ from them which deserve more careful consideration than has sometimes been accorded to them. They have not always considered with real care the distinction made by Canon Greenslade between conditions for Organic Reunion and for occasional Intercommunion under carefully framed conditions. Fear of the "thin end of the wedge" has sometimes been made an excuse for not taking a step forward which on other grounds might appear to be justified.

The books are well produced. There are a few misprints, only one of which might possibly prove misleading. In note 3 to page 22 of *The Nature of the Church* the author quoted is, of course, A. D. Sertillanges.

H. E. W. TURNER.

BISHOP PATRICK FORBES

THE TIMES, LIFE AND THOUGHT OF PATRICK FORBES, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN, 1618-1635. By W. G. SINCLAIR SNOW. S.P.C.K. 1952. 20s.

THE considerable and significant part played by Scotland in bringing about the overthrow of Charles I is generally realised, but far too little attention is usually paid to the events across the border which made this state of affairs possible. Yet the Church policy of James I was vitally affected by his experiences as James VI of Scotland. "No bishop, no king" is repeated in all the text-books, but the implications of episcopacy for Scotland have been little considered. The wide issue of the place of bishops in the Church was too much bound up with political and economic considerations to receive impartial consideration and, after 1688, Presbyterianism became orthodoxy and the Episcopal Church in Scotland was with difficulty kept alive. That it was kept alive at all was in no small measure due to Patrick Forbes who by his life and doctrine showed what a bishop of the Scottish Church could be and do.

Dr. Sinclair Snow has done much more than writing the biography of a notable ecclesiastic: he has shown the essential weakness of Charles I's position in Scotland, where opposition to the government became involved in questions of the administration of Baptism in private houses, the reception of the Holy Communion, Confirmation of children and the commemoration of Whit Sunday. Patrick Forbes was elected bishop of Aberdeen in 1618, on the nomination of James VI, a choice which Dr. Snow thinks is "unique in the annals of Scottish Episcopacy and perhaps of the whole Anglican Communion"—because of the active popular acquiescence in the selection. Had his advice and example been followed, much trouble must have been avoided, for he was a representative of a compromise solution in the matters dividing Episcopalians and Presbyterians and one who was trusted by both sides. He was in constant opposition to the Roman Catholics, who had numerous and powerful adherents in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen and his controversial writings against them were widely read. Illness prevented him from taking sides actively on behalf of the Anglican Prayer Book introduced by Laud and Charles I and, in general, he took little part in secular affairs.

His main concern was for his diocese, and Dr. Snow succeeds in demonstrating not only his devotion to pastoral duties but also his valuable achievements on behalf of the King's College and Marischall College, Aberdeen. By his care for their endowments, by his active intervention to secure the choice of the best scholars available and by his constant insistence upon sound learning he did much for the University of Aberdeen. It was largely because of this tradition and because of the teaching of Forbes (well ex-

pounded in the chapter on his thought) that episcopalianism was able to survive the indifference and the attacks of the eighteenth century and to remain a force within the Scottish Church. Dr. Snow ends this learned and modest biography with a series of appendices, some of which amplify, and partly repeat, statements in the text. But they—particularly appendix VII on the significance of Conventions under James VI and Charles I—are neither quite detailed and thorough enough to make them contributions to historical scholarship, nor quite suggestive enough to form the basis for further investigation. The bibliography, while extensive, would be more helpful if arranged strictly alphabetically with fuller detail and with some critical notes upon the value of the authorities used. The index, too, is incomplete, and in a sense hides the amount of reading and thought that the author has given to a successful volume which deserves attention.

GEORGE RICHARD POTTER.

CRISIS IN AFRICA

ATTITUDE TO AFRICA. By W. ARTHUR LEWIS, MICHAEL SCOTT, MARTIN WIGHT AND COLIN LEGUM. Penguin Books, 2s.

THIS is a small book of less than 150 pages of text and containing about 50/60,000 words in all, but the importance of its subject must not be gauged by its size. The object of the authors is to explain to the electorate of the United Kingdom the main problems of British Africa and to suggest the lines of policy which any British Government should follow. Africa, say they, is "the field in which British political institutions and good faith will face their most serious challenge. It is in Africa that we may suffer our most moral defeat or win our greatest moral victory."

W. Arthur Lewis, now Professor of Political Economy at Manchester, devotes a whole section, reprinted from an article in the *Three Banks Review* of 1949, (about a fifth of the book), on A Policy for Colonial Agriculture, and Michael Scott a slightly longer one on Britain's Responsibilities in Southern Africa. The other two authors are responsible jointly for the first and second chapters—a survey of the general situation in Africa and Britain's political responsibilities there. These have received the imprimatur of the other two authors.

Michael Scott skates very lightly over the delicate subject of the Union of South Africa's attitude towards the colour question and says little or nothing about her mandated territory, South West Africa, but deals mostly with her Naboth's vineyards, the High Commission Territories, of which he takes Bechuanaland as a typical example.

The book does not pretend to deal with any part of Africa other than those territories which come under British influence,

and confines itself chiefly to those countries in which Europeans can settle. There is very little about West Africa or Uganda, and only passing reference is made to such countries as Egypt and the Sudan, or Abyssinia, Libya and Liberia. Nor is any comparison made between those colonies which are controlled by France, Belgium, Portugal and Spain, and our own.

In reading a book of this sort, one naturally looks to see what are the problems and what is to be done about them? Among the many problems are colour consciousness and class distinction, soil erosion, detribalisation, over and under population, the need for increased productivity, the fear of Communism over-riding Democracy (as it has done in parts of Asia), the uniquely difficult problem in Eastern and Southern Africa of the multi-racial societies of Europeans, Indians, Arabs and Negroes. These are not all necessarily universal throughout the Continent and that perhaps is why the authors chiefly concentrate their attention on East and Southern Africa. The solution of these and other problems is not made easier by the ever increasing speed of inter-communication by air and radio to say nothing of the spread of education. Examples are not wanting of a colliers' strike in Nigeria having repercussions in Uganda, or the banishment of a Chief in Bechuanaland creating suspicion in Nyasaland, while greater political freedom in the Gold Coast almost immediately has a reaction in Northern Rhodesia. Nor are such examples confined to the African Continent, for any glaring instances of Negro suppression by Europeans quickly find their way to the West Indian and Afro-American Press. So too the realization of nationalism in Asia does not pass unnoticed in Africa.

Among the solutions suggested are political and educational equality and opportunity, European leadership, based on African sanction, rather than dominance, the narrowing of the existing gap by raising the educational and economic standards of the Africans as rapidly as possible. Another and very important point is that more Europeans,—teachers, technicians, nurses, artisans, builders and engineers, are wanted in Africa who have a vocation to disinterested service, are free from self interest, professional jealousy or racial pride, and will gain the confidence of the Africans, instead of their suspicion.

Let us hope that the authors of this book and those of others who write about Africa are mistaken in stressing the fact that lack of confidence is now becoming bitter hostility between Africans and Europeans, and, as Michael Scott puts it, "fanning the fires of hatred and contempt for the white man's God, his justice and morality."

A word must be added about Arthur Lewis's section entitled "A Policy for Colonial Agriculture." He talks glibly in millions about its cost and says a mere 100 millions or more would not even be noticed by the taxpayer in these days when national income (and expenditure) increase at the present British rate. These millions

will be needed for roads and railways, supplies, irrigation and conservation of water, livestock, implements, marketing, drainage, fertilizers, pest prevention and what not.

Eleven pages of appendix are given at the end of the book which provide information about the size, status, population, constitution and principal races of the 14 States which comprise British Africa, together with similar information about the Union of South Africa.

In conclusion a vote of thanks should be passed to the Proprietors of the Penguin Press for issuing in these cheap forms special books such as this and, for example, S. A. Cook's *Introduction to the Bible* and his other three volumes in this series, besides many, which are of serious interest to Churchmen, by other authors.

A. D. POWER

THE GERMAN ARMoured FORCE

PANZER LEADER. By GENERAL HEINZ GUDERIAN. Translated from the German by CONSTANTINE FITZGIBBON. Michael Joseph. 35s.

THE late Field-Marshal Lord Wavell in his lectures on Generals and Generalship delivered at Cambridge before the war advised the student of military history to read, not books on strategy or the principles of war, but biographies, memoirs and historical novels. These memoirs of General Guderian should be studied by all military officers who take their profession seriously: they are also of considerable interest to the general reader.

In 1922 Guderian became absorbed in the study of the use of armoured vehicles in war, and was much influenced by the writings of Liddell Hart who, appropriately, contributes an eulogistic Foreword. He soon became convinced that, to obtain decisive results, tanks must be treated as a principal arm of the service and concentrated in armoured divisions, instead of being used merely as an adjunct to infantry divisions. Despite the prolonged opposition of the other arms of the service, who saw in this innovation a blow to their own prestige, reinforced as it was by the excessive traditionalism of the German High Command, the German Armoured Force was created, with the strong support of Hitler. By the autumn of 1938 the German Army possessed 5 Panzer Divisions and 10 were available by May, 1940 for the attack in the West. It indicates a weakness in the military preparations of the Allies that at the latter date the British could not muster a single complete armoured division in France; and although, according to Guderian, the French tanks outnumbered the Germans'—in this, as in some other respects, his account is at variance with Mr. Churchill's—the French Command had dispersed most of them among their infantry divisions.

As commander of a Panzer Corps, Guderian had ample opportunity for putting his theories into practice in the campaigns in Poland and France in which the German armoured force was a decisive factor. As is well known, the completeness of the success of the Blitzkrieg in these theatres induced a false optimism in the German High Command and a conviction that eight to ten weeks would see the triumphant conclusion of the attack on Russia which started in June, 1941. Their confidence in a quick victory, which was shared at the time by many military experts outside Germany, led them to make inadequate preparations for a winter campaign and Guderian describes vividly the conditions of mud, ice and snow with which his troops had to contend in Russia and their lack of winter clothing, shelter and fuel. Convinced of the impossibility of a rapid outcome of the Moscow offensive, he withdrew his Panzer Group to a defensive line and this caused his first dismissal by Hitler at the end of 1941. He was never again entrusted with the command of troops in the field.

A Prussian, born and bred a soldier, Guderian is deeply versed in the military craft and an outstanding exponent of it. Frederick the Great is, naturally one of his heroes. He records with solemn emphasis—and evident satisfaction—that when occupying the castle of Finkenstein in the course of the Polish campaign he slept in the room which had been Napoleon's.

He never held an independent command like Rommel and, incidentally, is severely critical of Rommel's dispositions to meet the Allied assault on the Atlantic Wall in 1944. But, as he reveals himself in these pages, he has many of the personal qualities of a great commander; imagination, energy and determination, the capacity for rapid decision, physical courage—he was often in the front line of the fighting—and care for his troops; and, above all, boldness in planning and in execution and a willingness to take risks. It is this last quality which continually brings him into conflict with his superior officers such as von Kluge who reluctantly approves his plan for the immediate crossing of the Dnieper with the words "Your operations always hang by a thread!" To judge from his letters (quoted on pages 249, 251, 260 and 263) written towards the end of his command in Russia, it is not equally clear that he possessed staying power and the robustness of mind which remains unperturbed by obstacles and defeat: but by this time his health was evidently failing.

Guderian's judgments on matters outside the military sphere are naïve and unconvincing. He poses as a simple soldier who is unconcerned with politics: his picture of the German generals as imbued with a sincere desire for peace but powerless to influence Hitler's policy is frankly incredible. This "pacific" attitude proves to be based on nothing more than a belief that Germany would be able to expand its territory at the expense of its neighbours without the necessity of fighting. When, during the Czech crisis, Beck, the

Chief of the Army General Staff, resigned his appointment as a protest against Hitler's dangerous foreign policy, his example was not followed by any of his fellow generals. Guderian does not appear to recognise that a soldier is also a citizen and though precluded from taking an active part in politics, has an equal responsibility with the civilian for attempting to secure the good government of his country. It is to be hoped that the rigid barrier which has isolated the German Corps of Officers from the civil population in the past will at length be broken down.

As Inspector-General of the Armoured Forces and later Chief of the Army General Staff, Guderian was in close touch with Hitler from March, 1943 until his second dismissal two years later. In the second half of his book he gives an illuminating description of the strains and stresses of the Nazi régime, Hitler's mistrust of his generals, the clash of personalities, the confusion of leadership and the weakness of organisation at Supreme Headquarters, and the profound differences of opinion on the strategy to adopt for the defence of the Fortress of Germany. His chapter on the personalities of Hitler and his associates, passing from the incompetent Goering to Himmler, Goebbels and the "sinister guttersnipe" Bormann is a striking piece of characterisation.

Of the numerous Appendices, the diagram in Appendix XXIII showing the organisation of the command of the Armed Forces in 1944 is of special interest. It illustrates the astonishing fact that the responsibility for the Eastern theatre and the other theatres was divided between O.K.H. (Army High Command) and O.K.W. (Supreme Command Armed Forces), a system of dual control which carried in itself the seeds of failure. 37 sketch maps are incorporated in the text. They are not all easily legible and their usefulness is limited as they cannot be pulled out and read simultaneously with the narrative.

FRANK WHITTLE

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS. By H. P. V. NUNN. Basil Blackwell.
3s.

MESSRS. Basil Blackwell have done well to give us a reissue of Mr. Nunn's useful little collection of Christian Inscriptions which first saw the light in 1920 as Number 11 of *Texts for Students*, published by the S.P.C.K. It is three times its original price, and the two illustrations together with the uncial lettering of the Greek inscriptions of the original edition have gone, probably as a sacrifice to rising costs. But we welcome, in their place two excellent introductory essays. The principal inscriptions of the early Church are all there, the Epitaph of Abercius, the Autun Inscription and the whole range of the epitaphs set up by Pope Damasus. Other typical inscriptions are selected and arranged to illustrate topics like

Christian Baptism, prayers for the dead, and the intercession of saints.

I should have welcomed the inclusion of the curious word square *Arepo-Sator* with a discussion of the theories which have claimed for it a Christian origin. The commentaries on the Abercius and Autun inscriptions might with profit have been extended. On page 14 the criticisms of E. T. Merrill on the early Christianity of the *Flavii*, *Acilii Glabriones* and *Pomponii Graecini* might perhaps have led to a modification of the opening words of the sentence "There is no doubt".

But these are minor defects and every student of the Early Church is glad to have made available to him the material which Mr. Nunn re-edits for us here.

If only Mr. Blackwell, or some other publisher, would undertake the risk of sponsoring a series like the *Kleine Texte* edited by Hans Lietzmann in Germany some years ago, he would put us all in his debt.

H. E. W. TURNER.

NOT ONLY A DEAN

NOT ONLY A DEAN. By D. H. S. CRANAGE. The Faith Press. 15s.

DR. CRANAGE gives us the reminiscences of his long life, chiefly at Cambridge as an undergraduate and afterwards in connection with University Extension; and at Norwich as Dean for nearly 20 years. This book of 220 pages has many passing references to distinguished contemporaries, as a glance at the full index of names will show, indeed it might almost be called a "Who was any one" in university or ecclesiastical circles during the last 60 or 70 years. It also has some interesting sidelights on such subjects as the abolition of Greek in the Little-go, and degrees for women, archaeology, architecture and history.

An illuminating example of the lapse of Biblical knowledge among "educated" people is the story he tells of a reference made by him to Ahitophel's suicide, an allusion which none of the distinguished persons present recognised.

The last 60 pages are devoted to his "leisured" life when Dean of Norwich, but his work was by no means confined to his duties as Dean, for he was also Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation and Chairman of the House of Clergy, and still is Chairman of the Central Council for the Care of Churches and of the Cathedrals Advisory Committee. Beside all this his keen interest in architecture kept him busy in many other ways lecturing and writing. He has indeed led a full and useful life, and still, hale and hearty at the age of 85, continues his preaching and writing to the edification of his hearers and readers.

A. D. P.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lorenzo Scupoli.—*Unseen Warfare*, being the *Spiritual Combat* and *Path to Paradise* as edited by Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain and revised by *Theophan the Recluse*. (Translated from Theophan's Russian text by E. Kadloubovsky and G. E. H. Palmer.) Introduction by H. A. Hodges, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Philosophy in the University of Reading. London, Faber and Faber. 280 p. Price 25s.

These spiritual writings of Scupoli have long been known and recognised in Western Europe as invaluable. The story of translation into Greek by Nicodemus and of subsequent revision and publication in Russian is not generally known to English readers.

An outstanding ornament to this edition in English of the famous work is a full introduction by Professor Hodges which contains both an account of Christian ascetic theology—lucid and comprehensive—showing its development from the days of the desert fathers, and a justification of the Orthodox amplification and revision of Scupoli's work.

F. C. Copleston.—*Medieval Philosophy*. (Home Study Books.) Methuen & Co. 194 p. Price 7s. 6d.

The appearance of Fr Copleston's wide knowledge of Medieval philosophy in the form of a popular handbook is an event of great significance. Philosophy is finding its way into journalism and preaching, but of those who talk glibly of St. Thomas or decry Descartes—and they are numerous—few are qualified to speak at first hand of either master. By his larger works Copleston has brought home to his readers the continuity which has been maintained through the changing history of Western thought. The Scholastic concepts did not perish with the Reformation any more than the Gothic spirit in Art. Descartes, Leibniz and even Locke were the debtors of St. Thomas, Scotus and William of Ockham.

Medieval philosophy was both comprehensive and subtle, but it presupposed the Christian revelation. There is no other comparable body of speculative thought which so consistently recognises the paramountcy of spiritual values.

St. Thomas Aquinas: Philosophical Texts. Selected and translated with notes and an introduction by Thomas Gilby. Oxford University Press. xxii + 405 p. Price 22s. 6d.

St. Thomas left nearly 100 works. The editor has drawn widely on this extensive corpus of Christian thought. "The translation is a compromise between a paraphrase and an exact and literal rendering."

Philip E. Fothergill.—*Historical Aspects of Organic Evolution*. London, Hollis and Carter. 426 p. Price 35s.

This learned and comprehensive survey of evolutionary theories

shews the variety and controversy which has marked their progress and the inconclusiveness of their present situation. Whatever view is taken of evolution as an interpretation of biological change there is no excuse for the common fallacy that the implications of evolutionary change are either materialistic or deterministic. It is a poor philosophy to confuse mechanistic development with spiritual processes.

Leslie Paul.—*Angry Young Man*. Faber and Faber. 302 p. Price 18s.

Mr. Paul has already won a considerable reputation by his books on the social crisis—*The Annihilation of Man*; *The Meaning of Human Existence*—in which he betrays a profound understanding derived in part from exceptional and testing experience. In this volume he writes about a phase of his own life when he was interested in Youth movements and their effect on current social history.

James Parkes.—*God at Work: In science, politics and human life*. Putnam. 178 p. Price 10s. 6d.

Dr. Parkes—whose writings on Christian apologetic are better known through his pseudonym of "John Hadham"—deals in this small volume with the scientific humanism which fulfils, he declares, a divine purpose which neither Judaism nor Christianity have provided. In this book the author is concerned to prove, not the existence of God, but God's action is history and the consequences of recognising or of failing to recognise Him.

Margaret Kornitzer.—*Child Adoption in the Modern World*. Putnam. xiii + 403 p. Price 16s.

A valuable aid to all who are interested in this social problem. It covers the legal, practical and psychological aspects of adoption and it is written by a competent expert.

Anonymous.—*Priest Workman in England. A Study in Life*. S.P.C.K. 237 p. Price 10s. 6d.

A vivid and sympathetic account of life in a factory written by a priest who became a manual worker in order to understand the problem of evangelism. The book merits study in company with the better known works recently written by French Roman Catholic priests on the same question. It recognises the inadequacy of parochial work which makes no impact on the bulk of the people. This book deserves to be more widely known. It is unfortunate that original books dealing with a topical issue not seldom suffer neglect by the great reading public.

School of Religion. Parochial Courses. (Foreword by the Bishop of London.) 128 p. A. R. Mowbray.

In the Diocese of London parochial Schools of Religion were held in Lent, 1952 and some thirty thousand persons were enrolled. Those who acted as instructors used this book, in which will be found a clear and reliable account of the central themes of the Christian faith.

Such work represents a practical movement of the utmost importance. We hope that it will develop and prove an example to others.

T. Henshaw.—*New Testament Literature: in the Light of Modern Scholarship*. London, George Allen and Unwin. 451 p. Price 25s.

A clear and comprehensive review of the present state of New Testament studies intended for the student who is not necessarily a specialist in theology. The main theories of different schools of thought are fully considered. Also will be found valuable chapters on the situation of the world in which the New Testament was written, the Canon of the New Testament, and the period before the earliest written sources. There are useful appendices dealing with special topics.

H. H. Rowley.—*The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the O.T.* Lutterworth Press. 327 p. Price 25s.

A valuable survey of the latest research on many O.T. problems. Of special interest to the general reader are the two essays on the Suffering Servant, a study in the nature of O.T. Prophecy, and the results of recent archaeology in relation to the Patriarchal Age. *This work is reviewed on another page.*

W. J. Phythian-Adams.—*With Unveiled Face*. A short course of Bible Study for Christians. 70 p. Price 3s. 6d.

This modest volume of some 70 pages is written to show "how 'the scriptures' were interpreted by those who 'from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word'". It is intended for study and meditation, and is richly furnished with valuable references.

E. Louis Backman.—*Religious Dances in the Christian Church and in Popular Medicine*. Translated by E. Classen. George Allen and Unwin. 364 p. Price 35s.

An attempt to assess the role which religious dancing has played in the history of medicine. A work of great research exemplified with voluminous information and unusual illustrations.

G. W. Leibniz.—*Theodicy*. Essays on the Goodness of God, the Freedom of Man and the Origin of Evil. Edited with an Introduction by Austin Farrer. Translated by E. M. Huggard. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 448 p. Price £2 2s.

This famous treatise in which Leibniz expounds his philosophy is now available for English readers, who will find also much profit in the Introduction.

Geddes MacGregor.—*Christian Doubt*. London, Longmans, Green. xv + 160 p. Price 15s.

"Quid est enim fides nisi credere quod non vides?" said Augustine. Faith implicates doubt: it must walk where it cannot see. That there is always a sceptical element in philosophical inquiry would be

generally accepted. But ordinary opinion would be surprised to hear religious belief so characterised. Yet, in the contention of this able piece of critical writing, belief without the implication of doubt is insincere. Scepticism is more likely to point the way to truth than a conventional apathy about ultimate issues. Professor MacGregor in this and his former treatise on *Aesthetic Experience in Religion* offers a manner of philosophical exposition which is too uncommon and of which we should like to see more. It will appeal to readers of this review.

E. A. Milne.—*Modern Cosmology and the Christian Idea of God*. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 160 p. Price 21s.

The author before his lamented death in 1950 had finished ten lectures which he was to have given at Birmingham in the Edward Cadbury Foundation. These lectures sum up the work of a great and original natural philosopher. *This work is reviewed on another page.*

Duncan Forbes.—*The Liberal Anglican Idea of History*. Cambridge, at the University Press. x + 203 p. Price 21s.

An original and very well-documented study of a neglected development in historical thinking, the effect of which was profound. The current debate on the philosophy of history and on the idea of progress will find invaluable food for thought in this study of Thomas Arnold, Whately, Thirlwall, Hare and Milman. To these men the idea of progress could not be accepted, as the Liberal rationalists—and many less intelligent people—accept it, without criticism. Their outlook derived from Burke and Coleridge was “to connect by a moral copula natural history with political history”.

Hans Cnattingius.—*Bishops and Societies*. S.P.C.K., for the Church Historical Society. Price 21s.

A learned and valuable study in an important aspect of Anglican history, dealing with the relations between the colonial bishops and the great missionary societies. It will be of particular interest to those who are occupied with questions of administrative policy in the Church overseas.

J. R. H. Moorman.—*The Grey Friars in Cambridge, 1225-1538*. Cambridge, at the University Press. viii + 277 p. Price 35s.

The Coming of the Friars—what did this mean for the University of Cambridge, then in its infancy? It had been far from the intention of St. Francis to found an order of learned men, but the order attracted and developed some of the keenest minds, and learning could not long be banned. An alliance between learning and poverty had far-reaching consequences in the life of England.

Dr. Moorman has once more placed the learned world in his debt. “An absorbing work, capable of delight and edification equally to the student and the common reader” wrote *The Guardian* of his previous book. We could repeat these words without injustice.

P. T. Forsyth.—*The Principle of Authority*: in relation to certainty, sanctity, and society. Independent Press. 430 p. Price 18s. 6d.

The Independent Press have done a considerable service to religion by the re-publication of this and other works by Forsyth—now some forty years old. "The question of spiritual authority is very closely bound up with that of public authority" he writes. Like Burke, Forsyth was able to read the signs of the times. He saw the trend of all that was to follow. It is a pity that only when it is too late thoughtful men are beginning to appreciate the work and teaching of this able theologian. "He knew" Dr. Whale has written "that an undogmatic Christianity is a contradiction."

D. E. Harding.—*The Hierarchy of Heaven and Earth*. A New Diagram of Man in the Universe. Faber and Faber. 268 p. Price 21s.

Nothing, we suppose, is so likely to scandalise some rationalist readers of this journal as an apology for Angels. And yet Mr. Harding has marshalled all the resources of a well-stocked mind to write one.

That Man has in our recent thinking been assigned a questionable primacy is a reflection which must often have arrested the reader. Why should it be assumed, as we assume, that all which is not human is inferior? Inferior—by what criterion? It has become one of those dogmas which the most undogmatic accept that the cosmos consists of a natural order annexed in some way to man's particular scheme of categories.

But suppose this paradoxical assumption regarding a world, or universe, of immense size and baffling intricacy, proves, after all, to be erroneous, and the vast creation proves to be far other than the conception which with our poor faculties we at present take for granted, then our speculative inquiry, limited as it may be by the relative smallness of our interests, would not logically rule out the possibility of a spiritual hierarchy in which man's place is not very eminent.

Such considerations are prompted by Mr. Harding's original piece of thinking.

Arthur Gardner.—*English Medieval Sculpture*. The Original Handbook revised and enlarged with 683 photographs. Cambridge, at the University Press. 343 p. Price 55s.

This magnificent book can be made a subject of appreciative comment from many points of view. No student of the history of art will be allowed to neglect it, and for the historian of social and even theological trends the sculptures are invaluable.

Mekki Abbas.—*The Sudan Question*. The Dispute over the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. 1884-1951. Faber and Faber xix—200 p. Price 21s.

A very useful survey of the political and economic conditions with

an up-to-date account of the rise of a party in the Sudan which aims at full self-government.

Theodor Klausner.—*The Western Liturgy and its History*. Translated by F. L. Cross. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 63 p. Price 4s.

A lucid and comprehensive survey of recent research by a German scholar of standing and good judgement.

Fr. Bruno de J. M., O.D.C.—*Three Mystics*. Sheed and Ward. 187 p. Price 25s.

Extracts from the works of St. Teresa of Avila and of St. John of the Cross accompanied by many beautiful illustrations taken from paintings by El Greco.

St. Bernard.—*On the Song of Songs*. Translated and Edited by A Religious of C.S.M.V. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 271 p. Price 12s. 6d.

The gifted translator has so abridged and arranged the text as to reduce it to a form suitable for devotional reading. Many readers of the classics of Christian devotion will welcome this volume.

Austin Farrer.—*The Crown of the Year*. Weekly Paragraphs for the Holy Sacrament. Dacre Press. 72 p. Price 6s.

This book contains a series of short passages, exquisite in both thought and expression, arranged for the weeks of the Christian year. They were written for use at a said eucharist in a college chapel, where it is felt that a sermon would be unsuitable to the special character of a simple rite. Every one of these passages has a direct bearing on the occasion assigned to it. "The composition of my weekly paragraph" writes Dr. Farrer "has laid on me the necessity to express the central truths touching the sacrament with such clarity and concentration as I am capable of." This book not only meets a general need. By deep insight into the full meaning of the Sacrament aided by a certain characteristic quality and lucidity of style it is raised to the highest level of devotional writing.

Father Douglass of Behala. Oxford, at the University Press. Price 10s. 6d.

A short account of the life of F. W. Douglass, one of the first members of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta. A life of devoted service.

*Fecisti nos ad te et inquietum est cor nostrum donec
requiescat in te.*

EDITOR'S ANNOUNCEMENT

The Church Quarterly Review is a cooperative undertaking designed to promote sound learning and a deeper understanding of the Christian Revelation. Essays and reviews are invited for reading and consideration. Philosophy, Theology, and disquisitions relevant to the present intellectual and pastoral problems of the Church will be given priority. Literary and Historical studies, if of high quality and of current interest, will also be acceptable.

Articles exceeding 5,000 words in length cannot generally be published. But exceptions to this rule may be permitted if an article is of great interest.

As in the past, contributions will usually be accepted as given voluntarily unless a contract has been arranged. Every care will be taken with authors' manuscripts, but no responsibility can be accepted. Writers are strongly advised to retain a copy of every article submitted.

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As the amount of material submitted exceeds the capacity of the journal, writers will understand that a decision will often be delayed. In the circumstances of a journal which is published quarterly considerable delay may be unavoidable.

EDITORIAL

MAN IN ECLIPSE

"THE overthrow of the wisdom of the world was one of the earliest, as well as the noblest of the triumphs of the Church; after the pattern of her Divine Master, who took his place among the doctors before He preached His new kingdom, or opposed Himself to the World's power." So wrote Newman in recounting the achievements of Christian intellect through the ages. But a hundred years have passed and it may be asked: What in regard to the wisdom of the world is the position to-day? Is it to be assault or capitulation? For those in the Church are faced with a problem which they cannot evade. They are faced with a new and grave situation caused by the present secularisation of culture.

Never before did civilisation openly impose such restraints on spiritual development. Some of these restraints are already a matter of common talk. We are familiar with the threat to those freedoms which the bureaucrat under any regime is always prone to violate. But less generally acknowledged, although far more destructive, is the enslavement due to the limitless demands of an aggressive culture, materialistic and inscrutable, knowing no conscious spiritual purpose, but implementing the irrepressible requirements of an expanding technical development, to which public opinion bows in blind and unquestioning subservience.

The question now is not one of overthrowing the wisdom of the world; it is rather, to inquire by what means man may be able—confronted as he is by powers which have grown beyond his control—to survive at all. What aims and tactics should direct the Christian in his present situation is a difficult and urgent problem. Few, however, are there who have appreciated its nature.

This issue has been underlined with Gallic penetration in a memorable tract,* entitled *The Presence of the Kingdom* by M. Jaques Ellul, a distinguished French jurist. In a ruthless diagnosis of current trends he has uncovered the stark horror of a world situation achieved by a culture without spiritual roots. Under the

* S.C.M. Press, 9s. 6d.

direction of applied science we are witnessing the unregulated growth and purposeless elaboration of a system of living the consequences of which are neither predictable nor controllable. There is no real test of values. Things have run away with man. The means have usurped the authority of the end. Production, whether for peace, or for war, an accepted necessity, has become the justification of any affront to human dignity and independence. No wonder that Dr. A. V. Hill, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, declared that science had opened up the possibility of unprecedented good or unlimited harm.

The situation is tragic. Technical advance is accepted without weighing its possible consequences and with indifference to any accompanying spiritual retreat. There is no selection. And, as Ellul shows, the great machine once in motion is self-reproducing. Man the originator is now the instrument of his own instruments, strangled in the grip of an economy which he no longer controls. Technology has the bit between its teeth. The multiplication of machines has become not an aid to living, but an end. None reflect on the implications of this, although a murmur may be heard whenever the system requires a too drastic violation of human decencies. In his prophetic pronouncement Ellul has shown some of the ways in which truth and justice are being sacrificed in the supposed need of material progress—progress to what end?

In the field of politics discontent with the human situation is already evident, and some, casting about for relief, are advocates of revolution. In the face of so many unprecedented events which have disturbed the familiar institutions of society it is natural to suppose that revolution is inevitable. And political theorists speculate on the course things will take when the principles of democratic government have to be adapted to the continual growth of large-scale social and economic planning.

But closer inspection would show that no real revolution is likely, or, indeed, possible. For between one political system and another there is no radical division. Whatever parties may profess—socialism, or individualism—in practice, when it comes to decisions instead of mere oral controversy, there can be no radical change. The great Leviathan moves onward, and the wills and personalities of men and women are more and more limited and confined. It is the bureaucrat who wins every election. And the

difference between one policy and another is one of degree and not of kind. For both schools of thought are at the mercy of an accepted cultural order which is taken for granted, and, even if not taken for granted, can by no means be controlled. Revolution itself would but end in dictatorship and a further destruction of those human rights to which we pay lip-service. And whatever party assumes power it cannot alter the inevitable advance of a system dedicated to a kingdom of this world. To this kingdom politicians of whatever creeds, are "conformists." "Man," says the author "has set out at tremendous speed—to go nowhere!"

Many will demur to this diagnosis of the world's sickness. Progress, it will be said, is infallible. The manifest benefits of modern culture, secular as it may be, are not easily to be set aside. By any yardstick the changes due to Western civilisation show a measure of improvement. To ignore these achievements is paradoxical and absurd.

And yet to what end is it leading? In M. Ellul's opinion we do not know. In the present movement of cultural advance there is no visible direction. But of certain consequences there may already be discerned ominous signs. And it is these omens, not easily to be evaded, which ought to occupy the anxious attention of religious thought.

To the issue raised with such clear-sightedness by Professor Ellul the Christian philosopher is obliged to direct his deepest reflections. The Scientist himself has begun to betray misgivings about the trend of events. The philosophical aspects of scientific discovery are now competently debated by scientific thinkers. But at bottom the question involves "last things" and is essentially religious.

NOTES

The History of the Times, Part IV, an outstanding document, puts on record—among much else—the great change in the position of the Press. The *Twentieth Century* for July publishes a well-informed article on the subject. The serious press is dying. Owing to the growth of “frivolous” journalism the popular paper with an immense circulation has become a quasi-monopoly. None is rich enough to found a competitor. In England the established dailies thus enjoy a privileged position. But the hand-full of serious journals is declining. *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* are still here. And it would be a sad day when they ceased to attract readers. But no serious journal has as much influence as, for example, the *Manchester Guardian* enjoyed in the first decade of the present century.

Many things have contributed to this situation. It is the fault of the public rather than the editors. The conditions have not been favourable to serious journalism, and men of parts are no longer attracted by that craft. The Radio is an important competitor. But there is one way in which serious journals could regain their hold on the attention of the public. Let them find, if they can, an outstanding editor and give him a free hand. All the great journals began as the voice of some man of marked personality. The lives of Delane, Scott, Greenwood and others show this clearly. But the conflict of proprietor and editor is a recurrent theme in the history of the last hundred years. Even the recent history of the *Times* throws a flood of light on that subject. And as journals become more and more dependent on finance, the likelihood of finding another Greenwood or Scott becomes smaller. In the past a good paper bore the impress of personality throughout its unsigned columns. To-day the pages are bespattered with the names of nonentities basking in the glamour of a transient reputation while the editor remains unknown.

The death on August 22 of Albert Mansbridge marks the end of a chapter in social history, but it also leaves a sense of desolation in the lives of those who enjoyed his friendship. His career was one of those which show that temporal circumstance is a minor factor when sheer quality of mind and heart are present. The creation of a necessary social service—of world-wide implications—through the energy and originality of one man unaided by any special advantages, is not lightly to be passed over. It has a very English sound about it. But whether in the future we shall see another Mansbridge is doubtful. Too many contro's afflict this nation now.

His general ability and constructive imagination will not be forgotten by those to whom he brought the blessing of higher education. He not only brought the Workers' Educational Association into being. His was the College of the Sea, and to him, also, we owe the National Central Library, the Church Tutorial Classes Association and the World Association for Adult Education.

What we find in the world depends on what we look for there.

Talking to Mansbridge of the many outstanding people with whom he had worked you found that he had discovered in every one of them some specially valuable quality which reflected his own Christian sincerity. He had *anima naturaliter Christiana*. And he was a man with a penetrating eye, not easily impressed by popular estimates, or conventional standards. He carried in an unassuming way an air of grandeur. His spiritual force was sometimes terrific. The religious background was a significant element in his career of sustained public achievement. Some of his earliest colleagues were men with deeply religious minds—Temple, Gore, Haldane among them. He desired to see a living church, and would always lend his aid to that end. He preached in many cathedrals throughout the English-speaking world. He wrote also. During the last phase of the *Guardian* he became a writer for that journal. In spite of failing strength his invention did not flag, and further work had been planned also for this journal. He was always concerned to emphasize those truths of the Christian faith which are fundamental, rejecting with impatience the minor occupations of a conventional ecclesiasticism.

Albert Mansbridge left school at fifteen, one of a considerable family born of parents who were not wealthy. He ended his long and strenuous life a Companion of Honour and the holder of numerous honours conferred on him by the universities. *In caelo quies.*

Readers of the *Manchester Guardian* have benefited for many years by the religious commentary of *Artifex*, a wise and scholarly guide. In a recent number he spoke about a parson's reading. "No man can go on preaching if he neglects reading. So each should have his own subject—philosophy, ethics, dogmatics, history, sociology, natural science, or what not." *Artifex* has the experience and achievement of a very busy man to draw on. His practical advice is to have a favourite subject "in cut"—like the ham on the sideboard—so that it is waiting for immediate attention in the rare and irregular moments of leisure.

Some clergy are fond of saying that they have no time to read. (We have received such communications at this office). But *Artifex* a man with many responsibilities, evidently reads much. Others should follow the example which he so admirably has given us.

The books of the Old Testament were not written purely as history. They were written to show the religious significance of certain events. But the history is there, and with the aid of archaeological research much more is being learnt. It is intended to publish in this journal occasional articles recording such discoveries as may assist Old Testament studies. These studies have been much advanced in recent times and their value needs no emphasis here. For these articles we shall be indebted to Professor S. H. Hooke, who is known to many of our

readers as Emeritus Professor of O.T. Studies at London University. In the present number Professor Hooke discusses certain products of the potter's craft which confirm an ancient Hebrew tradition.

History To-day, a half-crown illustrated monthly, is a welcome addition to the small number of really high-class productions which are designed for popular reading. In the August number we find much to interest us. Mr. Trevor-Roper writes on the Restoration of the Church in 1660. Lord Acton is the subject of a study by Mr. Roland Hill. In an article of exceptional interest Mr. Seton Lloyd throws new light on the legend of St. Paul and Thekla and its possible foundation. Mr. Lloyd is Director of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. Some readers will remember his delightful book, *Foundations in the Dust*. A feature of this unusually informative and scholarly periodical is a monthly Calendar of Commonwealth History briefly recording outstanding events of the past.

Canterbury Calling deserves the widest publicity. In some sixteen pages the reader may learn from its narrative and illustrations much about the character and life of the Church of England. The simple, elementary truths are set out with a force and clearness which will appeal to every type of reader. It is an example of popular treatment, yet exempt from the banalities of much popular journalism. We are glad to read in the *Canterbury Diocesan Notes* that there is a steady sale. We believe that there are many among our readers overseas who will be glad to have it. Copies (price 1 shilling) may be ordered from *Kent Messenger*, Maidstone.

IN OVER 80 pp. the Society for Old Testament Studies has published its 1952 List of Books dealing with the Old Testament on subjects such as Archaeology and Epigraphy, History and Geography, Text and Versions, Exegesis and Modern Translations, Criticism, Theology, Philology and Grammar as well as 12 pp. on General and Educational subjects. Such a Book List should be invaluable to all students of the Old Testament, for the brief reviews of these books (some 265 in all) give the reader a clear idea which he will want to include in his library or to borrow from another. The Book List is obtainable, price 5s., from the Rev. Prof. G. Henton Davies, "Melrose", Church Street, Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham.

ALBERT MANSBRIDGE—AN IMPRESSION

I SUPPOSE I must first have come across the name of Albert Mansbridge in my first two terms at Balliol. For the college required that freshmen during their first two terms should write an essay on some general subject which they then read either to the Master or to some other don. And it was in writing such an essay on, I think, "recent popular education" that I first learned of the W.E.A. and inevitably of Albert Mansbridge, who had helped to bring it to birth. But this at that stage was mainly theory and Albert Mansbridge was only a name. He did not become more until some years later when I was staying with my friends the Holts in Liverpool, who would talk from time to time of someone they called Bert, who I judged to be a person of some considerable consequence. It was not however till I went to Cuddesdon in 1931 that I learnt for myself how right they were.

Every term, I discovered, it was the custom of Dr. Mansbridge (as I was now to know him) to come down for a night and a morning, and instruct us in what the notice on the board described as civics. And when he came that very first term, I can still remember the impact he made on my mind. I had been very much my own master in the two years between Balliol and Cuddesdon. I had among other things worked my way mostly round the world, and had already (unknowingly) been indebted to him for the library his Seafarer's Education Service had put aboard our ship, in which I had sailed before the mast. I was to some degree in consequence an independent young man. The discipline therefore of Cuddesdon and its cloistered seclusion were both strange and I must admit in the early days somewhat exasperating. But to most Dr. Mansbridge in that frame of mind was immediately reassuring. It took me back into a world I had been learning. It was uncommonly like breathing the air of ships and sheep runs and such familiar places. It was in fact extraordinarily exciting.

Why he should have come into my room that first evening I cannot imagine, except that I must have claimed acquaintance with Lawrence Ho't. That would instantly have forged a bond, for we both felt the same about this man. Indeed I remember Dr. Mansbridge once remarking "if Lawrence stopped asking me to stay, I should feel I had dropped".

I cannot remember much of that first evening now except a sense of extraordinary exhilaration. It was not merely that he made you feel he was interested in you and in what you had to say, it was that he made everything *real*. Besides he was supremely what I often heard him hold up to be prized—"the fine creature". And I do remember it was a long time before I went to sleep that night. My brain was working much too fast.

Next morning he began by giving us what was officially described as a lecture but it was like no lecture I had ever heard. He just talked—talked mostly I fancy about men he had known—Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Jimmy Thomas and inevitably Charles

Gore, talked about the cooperative movement, admiringly yet humorously, especially when he admitted he had found their tobacco hard to smoke. And then after a suitable period, we would all adjourn to the Common Room and the conversation would begin. And what conversations they were. He would listen carefully to what we said, and then out it would come in full spate like a Scottish burn after rain—original (intensely original), penetrating, humorous and perfectly illuminating. Any balloon of pretentiousness he would prick instantly. ‘Dr. Mansbridge’, asked one of us, “don’t you think it’s a good thing to wear a cassock when we get into a parish? Won’t it magnify our office?” “Ow,” he came back like lightning, grimacing characteristically, “what does Saint Peter say, Be clothed with humility.” Or, ‘Dr. Mansbridge don’t we need to be careful not to use old fashioned words?’ “What d’yer mean?” said the Doctor, peering over the spectacles set half way down his nose. “Oh—true and lively word”, the young man replied “isn’t it much better to say ‘living’?” That fairly drew him. I can hear him now drumming his fist and saying “It’s much more than living. It’s lively—*lively*”—so that we almost saw it hopping about. In this vein it would go on till by the time the morning ended, we felt like a piece of rag squeezed dry, so much had gone to it.

That was the first of many memorable mornings, and bit by bit a friendship was built that grew stronger with every year. “Refuse not counsel” he would often say, quoting his beloved Ecclesiasticus. And that was precisely what one did with him. Indeed it became unthinkable to make any major decision about one’s life without getting his mind. Always the judgement was strong and true and needless to say deeply Christian. Indeed I have never known a man who was more completely “in the spirit” (another favourite phrase of his). His experience was so wide. In those days he seemed to know everybody. And invariably he had time—even if it was only an odd ten minutes, eating buns and drinking tea at Marylebone Station before his train left.

For the rest, one remembers especially his sense of beauty—which found such deep satisfaction in the skill of his son John and which showed itself in the perfect harmony of the surroundings he and his wife would make around them—in the flat at Hampstead for instance, where his friends would visit him in the days before the second war. The beauty of holiness was really his and of compassion supremely, “like steel with himself but uncommonly gentle with everyone else”. Which explained why he was instantly at home with all sorts and conditions of men and why he could say “it doesn’t matter where you are”.

The contribution of Albert Mansbridge to the life of England—more—to the soul of England was remarkable, as the various notices have made clear. But when all is said and done his greatest gift was of himself “good measure, pressed down and running over”.

A. K. M.

*CHRONICLE***THE FAR EASTERN SITUATION****Facing the Facts**

CONTEMPLATION of the Far Eastern political scene is not at present a very popular occupation with the British public. The scene is so depressing in appearance and the problems it presents are apparently so intractable that the average newspaper reader almost instinctively turns to the news from Europe which, though often unpleasant enough, at least shows many bright passages to offset the dark ones. Yet it is essential that the public should contemplate it, not only because of its direct importance—the area contains at least a quarter of the world's population—but also because it is there, more than anywhere else, that the relations between the European and the American partners in the anti-Communist front have been and are still being tested and the pattern of their future cooperation is being worked out.

When Moscow gained control of China the event was given much less prominence in the British press than the almost contemporaneous events by which it lost control of Yugoslavia: yet from the purely material point of view, though admittedly not from the moral one, the gain far outweighed the loss. Some “wishful thinkers” (including those apologists for the Labour Government who defended on this ground the diplomatic recognition of the Chinese Communist régime) even argued that Moscow had not really gained control and that the Chinese Communists would soon strike out a line of their own; but subsequent events have provided no support for this theory and there is no reason to suppose that there will be any appreciable difference between “the Moscow line” and “the Peking line” for several years to come, at least—and that is as far ahead as anyone concerned with foreign policy can safely look.

Nor is there any reason to expect the emergence, in the foreseeable future, of any effective opposition to Communism within China. There may be — there doubtless is now — much passive resistance, but more than that is needed to shake the hold of a

totalitarian régime; and those who know China best can see no present rallying-point for anti-Communism there. The destruction of the old system of education based on the Chinese classics and the precepts of Confucius, which had begun even before the end of the Manchu dynasty, left a spiritual void which was not filled by nationalism (always a negative rather than a positive force with the Chinese) nor, in the time given them, by the Christian missions. We may be confident that Communism will not fill it permanently, but for the time being there is nothing else.

The non-Communist world, then, is faced with a situation in which the resources of China, the most populous country in the world, are now for all practical purposes at the disposal of the *Politburo* in Moscow and are in fact being used in furtherance of its aggressive designs. This is not only true of Korea: it is true also of French Indo-China, where Chinese support of the insurgents is quite as open and unashamed as was Bulgarian support of the Greek insurgents when the Communist revolt in Greece was at its height a few years ago, and if it is less obviously true of Malaya and Burma that is only because of geographical difficulties of communication and, in the case of Burma, the necessity for political caution in view of the possible reactions of the Indian Government. Even the apparently more independent Communist movements in Indonesia and the Philippines show signs of following Moscow directives transmitted via Peking.

This coordinated attack takes the form of regular warfare in Korea, large-scale guerrilla warfare in Indo-China and small-scale guerrilla warfare in Malaya, with less systematic activities of the last sort in Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines and political agitation and rioting in Japan; and to contain this—at present it is no more than contained—the Western Powers and the local non-Communist governments have to employ in the aggregate several hundred thousand men and expend the equivalent of many millions of pounds and seem likely to have to go on doing so for an indefinite period.

For the prospects of an early victory are, frankly, not bright. In Korea a truce may or may not be secured, but in either event Communist agitation against the South Korean Government is likely to continue in one form or another; and Mr. Syngman Rhee is, from the propaganda point of view at least, a very vulnerable target. In Indo-China the Bao-Dai régime evokes no positive enthusiasm

and could hardly endure without French support on a scale which the French taxpayer finds increasingly burdensome, while in Burma the government, almost a model of incompetence even by oriental standards, have created so many enemies for themselves, apart from the Communists, that they have all they can do to keep their heads above water. The native governments in Indonesia and the Philippines are not much more competent, while that of the Philippines is also notoriously corrupt; and even in Malaya, where some successes are at last being gained against the "terrorists" (as the guerrillas are somewhat euphemistically called), the task of establishing a position which shall be politically as well as militarily stable is proving lengthy and difficult.

Only in Japan can the outlook be said to be comparatively bright. Communist agitation there may make much noise at times; but, as the greatest British authority on Japan, Sir George Sansom, has remarked, "if things quickly flare up in Tokyo, they also quickly flare down again," and so long as there remains an Emperor, "democratised" or not, the Japanese peasant masses are not likely to be much influenced by "dangerous thoughts" among the townsmen. The very fact, however, that political and social stability in Japan depends in the last resort upon Emperor-worship shows how little such a country can be counted upon as a secure ally of the West. The superficial "democratisation" imposed during the McArthur régime has not, and could not have changed the leopard's spots (and what "democratisation" meant in practice can be seen from that devastating commentary, *Kakemono*); and Japan will play the Western game so long as she thinks it pays her and no longer.

In such circumstances it is easy to understand the impatience of the Americans, who are bearing the brunt of the main attack, with a situation in which they are not allowed to hit back against the head and front of the aggression—or rather it should be easy though, to judge from some of the arguments used in Parliament against the bombing of the Yalu power plants, it is to be feared that there is a section of opinion in this country which does not want to understand it. As *The Economist* has pointed out, the question whether any particular military action, such as the Yalu raid, is wise—that is, likely to hasten the end of the war—is quite distinct from the further question whether the United States authorities should consult the British and other interested govern-

ments before taking it. It is now clear that the Yalu raid, whether or not it did anything to hasten the end of the war, has had, at any rate, none of the disastrous consequences predicted by Mr. Bevan and his friends and that the outcry against it as a military operation was, to put it mildly, unbalanced and hysterical: so long as there are Chinese troops in Korea an operation against their sources of supply is legitimate and reasonable, and if it also inconveniences Chinese civilians in Manchuria, that is the fault of their own government for sending troops into Korea and inviting reprisals.

The question whether the British Government should have been consulted in this case and should in future be consulted in all similar cases is one to which nobody in this country can give any but an affirmative answer. To Americans, however, the answer is not quite so obvious: not only are there practical objections to making military action dependent upon previous international discussion (and, in theory at least, every nation with forces in Korea could claim the same right of consultation), but there is a feeling, not confined to supporters of General McArthur, that a British Government, even as friendly as the present one, would be inclined to judge such action, not on its merits but, partly at least, on consideration of how far it would be likely to raise a "Bevanite" storm against them at home. Nevertheless most responsible Americans—certainly including the members of the present administration—would be inclined to agree that, as Clémenceau said, "war is too serious a matter to be left to soldiers" and that steps involving possible political consequences should be taken only after Anglo-American consultation at the highest level.

This, however, does not dispose of the general, long-term problem: how long can the present situation be allowed to continue before other measures are taken to put an end to it, and what other measures could be taken? It is not a question of Korea alone, nor is it only the Americans who are losing patience: the case of Indo-China is at least equally urgent, the "stalemate" there being even more serious for the French than the "stalemate" in Korea is for the Americans, for the French resources are less, and critics of government policy are politically stronger in Paris than in Washington. It is true, no doubt, that the strain on Chinese and indirectly on Russian resources must also be considerable; but a Communist government has no articulate public opinion to con-

sider and can raise money and men by methods not available to a democracy, and there is no sign that those in power at Peking, still less those at Moscow, feel in any danger from the indefinite continuance of their warlike and "cold-warlike" activities in this quarter of the world. America, France and Britain, on the other hand, have to consider their taxpayers and their soldiers (the former, as usual, much more restive than the latter); and the temptation to contemplate some alternative to a continuance of the present series of costly and bloody campaigns in the years 1953 and 1954 and perhaps even to 1960, inevitably grows stronger with each month that passes without a decision.

The temptation takes two opposite forms. For the French it is a temptation to evacuate Indo-China and "write off" the whole Far East as far as France is concerned: for the Americans and for many Englishmen it is a temptation to declare open war on the Chinese and try to bring them to their knees, or at least to terms, by a blow at the mainland of China. It is easy enough to show by logic that the evacuation of Indo-China would be fatal, not merely for that territory itself but also for Siam (which has a large Chinese minority and a government dependent, like so many Eastern governments, on the leaders of a not very efficient army), would probably lead to the collapse of Burma and would, at the very least, double or treble our own difficulties in Malaya; but to the average Frenchman, frugal and stay-at-home (not to say parsimonious and parochial), this prospect is no more terrifying than the alternative prospect of an endless drain of French lives and French money into a remote and unattractive country which, now that it has been granted political autonomy, is only attached to France by a nominal allegiance and presents her with none of the material advantages of an exploitable colony. If the cry for evacuation is not to reach a dangerous height France's allies — which means in practice the Americans, who alone have the necessary resources — must do much more than they have done hitherto to help take the burden of defending Indo-China off her shoulders.

The Americans, for their part, cannot be expected to welcome an increase in their Far Eastern commitments and expenditure if they see no prospect of these ever diminishing, to say nothing of coming to an end. The histrionics of General McArthur, the mendacities of Senator McCarthy and the unscrupulous methods of the "China Lobby" have so antagonised the British press and

public that the true strength of the case for further action against the Chinese Communists is hardly realised here: yet it is important, if not essential for the future of Anglo-American relations and of the whole anti-Communist front that it should be realised.

For the American "man in the street" (usually Main Street in a small town) the present situation is one in which America is fighting with one arm behind her back and her allies, who are doing very little fighting by comparison, are trying to make her keep it there because they are afraid of having to fight seriously: and though the instructed minority knows that this is, to say the least, an over-simplification of the issues involved it feels none the less that America as the chief belligerent has the right to ask her allies not to reject out of hand any plan for taking the offensive against an enemy who has never yet been made to feel the weight of war on his own territory, and to put upon them the onus of proving that no such plan will succeed. There are, as many authorities, British and American, have pointed out, considerations which justify the view that it would not in fact succeed; but they are considerations of military strategy and political psychology and can be set out without conducting the debate in that self-righteous tone so strongly and so rightly resented here when employed by the Americans in other disputes. The assumption that there is something morally wrong about the very idea of attacking China, which underlies so much British Left-Wing discussion of this question, is quite untenable except on the further assumption that the Communist aggression is in some way justifiable or excusable. This, of course, is not really believed by any but conscious "fellow-travellers" and most of those who employ the "moral indignation" technique do not realise that it cannot be defended on any other basis; but they have only themselves to blame if Americans assume that they know what they are doing and label them all as Communist sympathisers.

Another line of argument which is very prevalent here but will not bear examination is based on the assumption that an attack on China would immediately let loose a third World War. All previous experience goes to show, on the contrary, that if Moscow thinks the moment propitious for a general war it will be provoked and if not, it will not, regardless of what happens in China or elsewhere; and action against China could not transform an unpropitious into a propitious moment unless it used up so large a

proportion of Western resources as to leave the West fatally weakened in Europe or the rest of the world. No one, not even General McArthur, is proposing to invade China with a large land army nor to transfer the whole striking force of American aircraft from Europe to the Far East; and short of such measures the military position could not be altered so decisively as to make it seem in the Kremlin a safe gamble to start a war which it is clearly not thought safe to start now.

The real argument against the "Activists", which has hitherto been enough to convince President Truman and his advisers, is that no practicable action against China, neither air bombing, naval blockade nor raids against Shanghai and other ports, is likely to stop either the Korean war or the aggression in Indo-China: in the latter case, indeed, it might lead to a full-scale Chinese invasion which the present French forces there would hardly be adequate to resist. It might conceivably so weaken the Chinese armies in Korea that these could, by a great effort, be driven out of the country; but that in itself would not stop the war. On the contrary, the war would have been extended and intensified and the present expenditure of lives and money might be doubled or trebled with no more likelihood of ending than there is now, for we may be sure that the Russians will continue to supply the Chinese with means for continuing the war; and what would the American taxpayer say then?

This is a cogent argument. It does not follow, however, that there is nothing at all to be said on the other side, nor that it will remain valid in all circumstances; and if we are to expect an objective American attitude towards our own problems in other regions—the Middle East, for example, where it has hitherto been conspicuously lacking — we must be prepared to consider on its merits, and without any ideological *parti pris*, any proposal for modifying the present strategy in the Far East which may be put to us from a responsible American quarter. We are more than likely to receive some proposal of this sort by next year if the Republicans win the forthcoming Presidential election in America; and even if the Democrats remain in power, it is doubtful for how long American public opinion will permit them to leave things as they are. Precisely what, if anything, should or can be done in the Far East which is not being done now is another and a very difficult question, which it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss: all that is

here urged is that the British public should look the facts in the face, understand the American point of view and be ready, if asked, to examine impartially the case for altering our present policy.

The Communists, indeed, may soon force us to make such an examination, if their recent threats against Hong Kong and their truculent attitude in the Korean armistice talks can be taken to mean what such signs often, though not always mean—that are about to launch a new offensive somewhere (not necessarily in Korea). For one cannot safely assume that if we remain on the defensive our enemies will do the same. The temptation to make a further move must be very strong both in Peking and Moscow, and we may be sure that nothing but the fear of immediate and vigorous reprisals is keeping it in check, while any sign of serious disunity in the Western camp may remove the check and give it free rein. For this reason if for no other the Far East should claim our attention now.

CHRONICLE

CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY

As far as can be stated at the time of going to press, the chief item in the Agenda for the October Group of Sessions will be the presentation in Full Synod of the Report on "Church Relations in England", which deals with conversations between representatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury and representatives of the evangelical Free Churches in this country. After presentation in Full Synod this will presumably be referred to the Upper House. Meanwhile, the Lower House will discuss the Report No. 676 of the Joint Committee on Relations with the Church of Scotland, together with the Report of the Commission on Relations between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. The Resolutions already passed by the Upper House are designed to give effect to the proposals in this Report, but were drastically amended in the Upper House to bring them into line with the existing Acts of Convocation of 1933 and 1943, controlling relations with non-episcopal Churches.

Apart from these two important matters, the Convocation will be mainly concerned with the revision of the Canons. Certain outstanding differences between the two Houses or the two Convocations in regard to Canons 52 to 82 will probably be adjusted, and the Upper House is to consider the verbally small but doctrinally important amendments made by the Lower House in Canons 84 and 85 on Deaconesses. The Upper House has dealt with Canons 87-95, but most of these were referred to the Steering Committee and it is uncertain whether they will come before the Lower House at this Group of Sessions. It is also uncertain whether the Upper House will now go on to consider Canons 95 onwards, or whether both Convocations will turn back to discuss the first group of Canons, 1-9, consideration of which was previously deferred.

Finally, the Upper House will consider two Resolutions from the Lower House, the first asking for a committee to consider the drawing up of a form for private confession and absolution, and the second asking his Grace the President to consider the summoning of Convocation for two instead of three Groups of Sessions in each year. It is rumoured that certain other motions may be laid before the Lower House by individual proctors, but no formal notification of these has as yet been received.

A. F. S.

LET THE PEOPLE TEACH

Education and Evangelism

By GUY BOWDEN

SINCE the publication of *Towards the Conversion of England* the magnitude of the task of Evangelism in this country has been well known. About 10 per cent of its population are connected with either Church or Chapel; the percentage of communicants is a great deal smaller. But on this handful of the faithful few lies the responsibility for evangelising the rest of the nation. The task is not quite so formidable as it sounds, because what they have to face is not active hostility so far, except from another small minority. Their chief enemy is the vast and amorphous giant of Ignorance who keeps the great majority in a state of bewildered indifference. Ignorance rather than religion is now the opium of the people. "England will not be converted to Christianity till it has been converted to Reason".

The British Religion, as distinct from Christianity, is a curious amalgam of inconsistencies, prejudice, and misconception. Any chaplain in the services could produce a long list of the misunderstandings of Christianity currently held by our contemporaries which would come as a shock even to their fellow-countryman, Pelagius. There is a general, though confused, belief in "One Above" who exists to see Fair Play, a widespread suspicion of Dogma of all kinds and an ineradicable conviction that Good Living is really the only important thing and that, while Religion may be a help to it, Prayer is almost an optional extra and any kind of Corporate Prayer or Worship betrays a dangerous and often weak-minded fanaticism. Ideas of what in fact constitutes Good Living vary considerably because the general impression gained from a superficial acquaintance with modern physics and psychology is that morals like everything else are merely relative, there are no fixed and absolute standards and sin is an outworn conception. A Christian is not very different from a Boy Scout; this definition was

actually given by a student at a Church Training College who explained that "both of them do a good turn every day". It is not surprising therefore that the general opinion of our Lord is not so much heretical as pagan, i.e., that He is to be revered as a great Teacher who taught a magnificent but unfortunately impracticable system of ethics and who was unjustly murdered by His fellow-citizens, like Socrates, thus giving us an example of noble and courageous self-sacrifice. The miracles, including the Resurrection, are on this view looked upon as exploded by the combined efforts of the scientists and the more progressive-minded Churchmen.

This British Religion is widely diffused. It can hardly be consciously, or rationally, held because it is completely illogical and inconsistent. But it is the unconscious, unformulated belief of the majority of unthinking citizens, and it is held with characteristically British tenacity so firmly that the attacks of Reason, whether from the Religious or the Marxist angle, may shake but cannot easily uproot it.

In a way it is a safeguard against a nice logical atheism since it has bits of truth mixed up in it, but the false constituents are an equally effective barrier against the assaults of a reasoned religion. It is this fact which makes Fr Gibbard say that Secularization rather than Ignorance is the greatest enemy to-day. He means by this formidable word a habit of mind from which any reference to God is so completely excluded that any view of life *sub specie aeternitatis* is not only foreign to it but entirely unintelligible. It is not that people are antagonistic, or unfriendly, to Christianity, but rather that they do not know what it is, and are incapable of finding out. It is as if they had been so gently inoculated with a feeble imitation of Christianity that they can never catch the real thing. This does not mean that the teaching of Christianity can be given up as hopeless; rather that it must be intensified and in a sense redirected.

CAN EDUCATION BE A FORM OF EVANGELISM?

Ordinary education has been secularized, if not from top to bottom, at any rate almost to its foundations. The experiment at Cumberland Lodge is a courageous effort by one who is an expert in the educational field—Sir Walter Moberly—to counter the secular-

ist tendency of the modern University where knowledge of various subjects is being disseminated, but their relationship to one another and the relation of whatever knowledge is learnt to ultimate truth are matters hardly touched upon in the curriculum. The result is, according to Archbishop Temple, that as a nation we are well able to deal with machines, not much good at dealing with people, and quite inept at dealing with ideas. The old-fashioned non-scientific education certainly had its limitations, but it was not so actively dangerous as the modern purely scientific non-literary education. The result of it all is seen in the case of the man quoted by C. S. Lewis, whose reaction to Lord Haw-Haw was: "Well, the man has got to live, I suppose". The ordinary moral values—what he calls the stock responses—are in danger of being entirely lost.

On the other hand the British Nation in the 1944 Education Act insisted on its children beginning their day in school with an act of worship. At bottom our education is still not completely secularized. A great deal of devoted work is being done to teach religion in Primary Schools. In fact the danger is that the religious syllabus is there overloaded, and an attempt made to teach the children too much. They are not capable of interpreting the dogma at that age, or relating it to life. It is right that it should be taught them in a simplified form; but the tragedy is that when the growing individual is reaching the age of maturity, the religious teaching seldom keeps pace with his growing experience and developing mental powers; and the great dogmas remain for him a mystery irrelevant to the business of living. The minds of children develop in other ways, while their theology is left at a childish level where it is not much more use to them than the fairy stories with which many of them are inclined to class it. It is the considered opinion of an authority on the subject that while we overload the religious syllabus for young children, we underrate the capacity of children over 11. The consequence is that the dogma never comes alive. It is still a formula unrelated to life and experience. Neither at home, nor in the school, nor in the community, are they encouraged to find Christian doctrine related to life; and if they find it irrelevant, they will soon relegate the remnants of religious knowledge to their mental lumber room and lock the door on it. There is an enormous gulf between the child in the Primary School, on the one hand, eagerly learning the stories of Samuel and Eli, David

and Goliath, and the miracles and parables of our Lord from a keen and intelligent teacher, and, on the other hand, the recruit doing his period of National Service who is already a convinced though unconscious devotee of the British National Religion. The crucial age is about 13. Prejudice and misunderstandings have not yet closed their minds. They want to learn, but not in the same way as before. At that age most children are beginning for the first time to ask questions for themselves about life and religion, and they are no longer satisfied with the ready-made answers already given them. Therefore they must be helped to think out where the answers already given fit the questions which they are beginning to ask themselves. The formal class-room technique no longer really meets their needs. What they want is a frank and informal discussion, leading up to the sort of knowledge of, for instance, New Testament criticism which would help them to answer for themselves a question which must crop up some time between the ages of 13 and 20, "Is it really true? Are the Gospel stories really trustworthy?"

Fr Gibbard says that even children under eight "need the best possible intellectual training in religion but most of that must wait until the child is over eleven." The trouble is that although in some Secondary Schools sincere efforts are made to teach Christianity as a Way of Life, the doctrines which are considered difficult, such as the Atonement and the Trinity, are often, by the teacher's own admission, omitted as too complicated for the young mind, which is left to pick up these mysteries later on for itself at church, where, in nine cases out of ten, its owner never penetrates. Christianity without the Cross is almost meaningless, but it goes very well with the British Religion and, to judge by the usual convictions of the average boy of 18, the British Religion, if any, is what he is mainly taught in the Secondary Schools. It is by no means easy to translate the great doctrines into terms which make them intelligible and relevant to boys of Secondary School age; but if no attempt is made to do it, then they will remain vague, shadowy, and unreal, and the Church itself will appear indistinguishable from a museum.

It cannot be denied that this is the view which is taken of the Church by large numbers to-day. Valiant efforts are being made by some teachers, for whom no praise is too high, to enable their children to catch a glimpse of the Church as a living shrine of a vivid, shining faith. But education is by no means always a vehicle

for Christian evangelism. We must make every effort through the Church Training Colleges, which occupy a vitally important point in this field, and in any other way, to establish the fact that Education minus the Christian Religion is barely Education at all. But for the immediate evangelistic attack we are forced back upon the faithful few.

CHRISTIANS AS EVANGELISTS

It looks as if it will take several atom bombs to shift this Giant of Ignorance, or even to wake him into conscious opposition; but the only explosive forces available are the faithful few, and, as Dorothy Sayers has said, they seem to be about as well equipped to do battle with the Giant "as a boy with a pea-shooter facing a fan-fire of machine guns". If it were not for the Dynamism of the Spirit, we might well give up hope altogether.

During the War, at an R.A.F. camp there was a Christian Fellowship of a small number of men who drew up three rules of admission. The first was belief in the Incarnation, so as to rule out belief in Christ merely as a great prophet; the second was acceptance of the obligation of worship; and the third was acceptance of the responsibility of witness. All these conditions are, of course, implicit in membership of the Church. But of the comparatively few men on the camp who came to voluntary services quite a number refused to join because they objected to one or other of those principles of membership. A large proportion of that faithful few preferred to say, "I come to church when I feel like it; and my religion is my own affair. I'm not going to bother anyone else with it".

Bishop Neville Talbot used to say, "So many congregations are like stagnant pools. The water of the Word flows into them from lectern, pulpit, and altar. But there it stops and stagnates". Even worship, by itself, is not a panacea. The test of the reality of worship is the sense of responsibility for passing the word on. But the necessity for that is not felt without instruction. Neither High Mass, nor Wednesday evening Prayer Meetings *per se*, will either make the faithful few missionary-minded or supply them with complete equipment for the task of witness.

This is where the movement known as "Parish and People" is striking such an important nail so squarely on the head. The

priest and his people, if they are to do the job which they are between them commissioned to do, must be a worshipping community so filled with the Spirit of Fellowship that they do exhibit the fruits of the Spirit. That alone will make an impression on what Fr Gibbard calls a secularised generation because it bypasses the defences of their consciously held prejudices, and attacks them, not directly, but at a subconscious level. Ideally the parish church ought to be "the centre of the community, inspired by worship, deepened by learning, and expressing itself in Christian action". In actual fact, of course, save for a few splendid examples, this glowing ideal remains unrealised. People outside stay away from church because they do not understand the first thing about worship, and they will not come and learn it because they do not realise that there is anything to learn. Nor do those inside the fellowship exhibit sufficient fruits of the Spirit to attract the outsider. Even for our tiny minority of communicants the emphasis is far too much on their own feelings and what they receive rather than on their self-offering and the object for which the gift they receive is given; "ye shall receive power . . . and ye shall be witnesses unto me". As Temple says, we can hardly expect the gift to be effective when we have no intention of using it for its original purpose.

If the faithful few are to attempt the task to which they are apparently being called, they must first realise the facts—that there is this amazing ignorance of the Christian Faith and that England is in danger of losing its Christian heritage. If people become acquainted with the problem of the evangelism of this country and can be convinced not only that they can help but that it is an inescapable duty laid upon them by Christ, then they may be possibly ready to undertake sufficient study to enable Him to use them for that purpose.

The second condition is to realize that worship, instruction, and witness are all interlocked. None of the three is much good by itself, or even with one of the others. The ancient controversy about Faith and Works is still very much alive; and English people generally come down heavily on the side of Works. But of course is not a question of one or the other, but of both. The expression of Faith in Worship is primary, though a good many churchpeople have yet to learn that truth ; when their non-church neighbour

quotes "One is nearer God's heart in a garden", they are apt unthinkingly to assent. But unless that worship has results in conduct, there must be something unreal about it. Action remains the test of the genuineness of Worship, and the sort of action which is particularly needed now is that of witness.

Witness does not necessarily mean standing up to give a testimony, but rather a deliberate attempt to express one's faith in worship and life plus an ability to expound the elements of the Christian Faith if called upon to do so. For instance, there are plenty of people nowadays who say that our distresses are due to economic causes beyond our control; any Christian ought to know enough of human nature and sin to be able to point out that economic causes alone will not account for our present ills. But the fact is that even the faithful few are not very well equipped for this sort of witness; they need teaching, though they will not acquire it, and witness divorced from worship and knowledge only puts people off.

The old tag that religion must be caught, not taught, is of course true. It puts in a nutshell the contention that Christian living as an evangelistic force penetrates far more quickly and deeply than any amount of Christian argument. Teaching by itself will not effect much. As Temple puts it, education in relationship to God must be primarily in the experience of worship, not instruction; but, he adds, worship must be clarified and deepened by intellect, and for that, instruction is necessary. The teaching must be given, if only to remove misunderstandings which, left in their natural luxuriance, make it quite impossible for their owner ever to catch a glimpse of religion. But in very few schools is it given; and where it is available later on in Adult Education Classes, few adults ever come near it, because it seems merely academic; and so it is, if it is divorced from worship and practice.

Thus we are recalled to the first condition of the whole enterprise, which is that Christians must first be aware of the extent and the urgency of the problem; for that is the only stimulus which will goad them into wanting to be witnesses and thereby give the Holy Spirit an opportunity of giving them the necessary power for the work. As an authority on the subject—R. J. Lumb—has pointed out with great truth, people only learn as individuals in a given situation if they will benefit themselves or others by learning.

I am not going to learn carpentry by way of mental exercise, but if I want a new bookcase and it is too expensive to buy, then I am prepared to master enough carpentry to make myself one; and we cannot expect any more frantic thirst on the part of laymen for theology. People will not study for study's sake or come to discussion groups for the sake of the discussion, unless they are cranks. But if they can see it as a means of helping themselves to help others, then they will. The Jocist movement on the Continent owes much of its success to its insistence that its members should:

- (1) Learn the faith.
- (2) Express it in worship.
- (3) Stand up for it in office and workshop.

Every teacher knows that teaching is the only real spur to learning; if you want to teach something you must learn it. And it will be the same with religion.

Further, this type of instruction cannot be given to large numbers. It has to be given very largely by the method of free discussion, and for that large numbers are fatal. Do we want, in the words of R. J. Lumb, large numbers who can sit in rows and be talked to? or are we satisfied with small numbers who can discuss, question, argue, and assimilate? The only real progress is made with small numbers. The movement known as the cell movement has discovered that for itself. Parsons know that their real teaching is done, not in the pulpit to a sermon-sated congregation, but to the handful in the Confirmation Class, or in the Sunday School Teachers' Preparation Class. When they are being taught to pass something on to six or seven children in a Sunday School class, they are learning themselves, partly because they want to teach, and partly because the numbers are small enough for real learning by discussion to be possible.

In so far as the existing parochial machinery is contributing to this aim, it is justifying itself. If the C.E.M.S., for instance, is only a cosy association of the like-minded, it will easily degenerate into nothing more than the church bowls club. But if it is awake to the necessity of witnessing to the truth of what it stands for, it will seek out and find means of doing so. The whole parish ought to see itself as a spearhead or "a polished shaft" in the hands of God to be used by Him for making His Name known in a benighted world. Once this aim is accepted, it should be possible to devolve

some of the many jobs which now fall on the overworked clergy so that the priesthood of the laity becomes more than a phrase. If laymen can take on finance, organisation, sick-visiting and the like, then a new evangelistic movement will have got under way. There is plenty of opportunity for direct teaching, if the various organisations would help one another. The lack of Sunday School teachers could be supplied from the ranks of the M.U., the G.F.S., or even the C.E.M.S.; and day-school teachers who need a holiday from their charges on Sunday might help, with their own experience and knowledge, on a week-night, a class of these occasional amateurs. Some more senior members of the congregation might in turn help the Youth Fellowship which does in fact often supply the keenest teachers for the Sunday School. Parishes within a deanery can sometimes minister to one another's needs. The Church can only present to the world the Gospel which it sees itself; therefore the P.C.C. ought to be as keen about its job of witness, worship, and learning as it is about its own church furnace. How they are to present it to the 90 per cent of the population who hardly ever enter a church remains to be seen. But before they embark on that, they must first see it as a job for which they are responsible, and one which they cannot attempt without worship and study.

We ought not to rest content if people just come to church. Worship is the offering of ourselves to God to be strengthened by Him for a purpose, that "ye may be witnesses unto me". It must be expressed somehow in action, if it is not to lose its vitality, and it must be deepened by learning, if it is not to become a mere routine. But a man will not learn unless he first accepts the obligation of teaching. Therefore let the people teach.

“CHURCH” AND “CHAPEL”

The Historical Background of Home Reunion—1559-1952 *

By R. W. GREAVES

I

THE relations in England of “Church” and “chapel”, of the Church of England with the nonconformists, may be looked at historically in the light of three crises of far-reaching change : first, the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century ; second, the political revolutions of the seventeenth century ; and third, what used to be spoken of in learned society as the industrial revolution, the social and economic changes, cumulatively immense, of the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries.

II

Queen Elizabeth, that bright occidental star, was more than any other person of her day, responsible for the form in which the Church of England survived the sixteenth century. She is reported to have expressed her wish not to open windows into men’s souls. She seems to have aimed at staving off the awful danger of religious war in England by exacting of her subjects only a religious uniformity as external as in the nature of things a religious uniformity could be. This policy was no doubt the only prudent response to political and religious problems which were dangerous, intricate and explosive. It reflected also something of the Queen’s own outlook. The intellectual temper of the English reformation has been described as Erasmian,¹ marked, that is, as it finally took shape, like Erasmus, by a dislike of scholastic methods of disputation, by moderation, by deference to scholarship, by some historical sense, and by a desire to separate what were conceived to be Biblical, primitive, and Catholic essentials from embellishments which appeared as unnecessary, superstitious, or recent. Thus Richard Montague,

*The substance of a paper read at a meeting at All Saints’, Margaret Street during the Church Unity Octave, on 24 January 1952.

who in 1628 was rewarded (as it seemed to his enemies) by Charles I with the Bishopric of Chichester for very rude polemics against the Puritans, such as his *New Gag for an old Goose*, denounced the Puritans for trying to fix upon the Church as dogmas *de fide* doctrines about grace and election and predestination which were no more than speculations of the schools, and so were unfit to be imposed by the Church of England, whose public formularies (as he said) allow a largeness of room in these indeterminate matters. It was one of his principal contentions that the Church of England appealed to the ancient Catholic fathers, whereas the Puritan critics looked to the catechisms, confessions and controversial writings of the previous century. "I am none, I profess, of that fraternity, no Calvinist, no Lutheran; but a Christian."²

This concern for a uniformity as external as possible was connected with a very important assumption about English society. It was the local embodiment of the *respublica Christiana*. Every citizen was therefore a Churchman, every Churchman a citizen. So it had been with God's ancient people the Jews, for Hooker a pattern of England's commonwealth.³ Hooker's celebrated definition expressed what most people thought about a Christian state. "The Church and commonwealth are personally one society, which society being termed a commonwealth as it liveth under whatsoever secular law and regiment, a Church as it hath the spiritual law of Jesus Christ."⁴ Indeed it is of some interest that Hooker did not regard even heretics as cut off from the visible Church. He conceived them to be "though a maimed part, yet a part of the visible Church . . . For where professed unbelief is, there can be no visible Church of Christ; there may be, where sound belief wanteth."⁵

From the beginning, there were those whom the Elizabethan settlement of religion could not satisfy, too protestant for one party, too popish for the other. Indeed, in the immense theological confusion of the time, a confusion of which sufficient account is often not taken,⁶ the government of Elizabeth seems to have aimed at shelving (as far as may be) the most controverted theological issues, and taking as a basis of policy the Bible and the period of the first four general councils. As things became more settled, the traditional and Catholic elements of the Elizabethan settlement, which were involved in this policy, became more plain. Bishops, priests and deacons were "continued". Creighton was, I believe,

right in crediting Elizabeth with a higher view of the bishops than in 1560 they had of themselves.⁷ Hooker, in an unquestionably authentic part of his book, made the greatest possible claims for the priesthood, which "raiseth man from the earth, and bringeth God down from heaven," and in "the making of Christ's body."⁸ It was vital too that the Church of England, in the common prayer book, retained a liturgical scheme of worship, with the psalter as the staple of the daily office, and the Communion at the centre.

The dissenters of a protestant sort from what was done had mainly three grounds of complaint. First, they held that the royal supremacy as practised took away from the dignity, independence and freedom of the Church and her ministers. "And do they not," wrote Robert Browne, "pull down the head of Christ Jesus (Col. i, 18) to set up the hand of the Magistrate? . . . The spiritual power of Christ and his Church, and the Keys of Binding and Loosing, they take from Christ and give to the Magistrate."⁹

Like the Jesuits, the Puritans in general seemed to the apologists of Elizabeth's Church, such as Hooker and Whitgift, to be seeking to establish, under these pleas of spiritual independence, a clerical domination which would draw away subjects from the full obedience which was due by natural and divine law to a Christian prince. Filmer, in the next century, spoke of this as being, according to the laws and statutes of the realm, the "main, and indeed the only, point of popery."¹⁰ On this ground James I described the Jesuits as "puritan Papists."¹¹ The important point here is that the puritan protest against the Elizabethan state-control of the Church was in one way a "high church" protest, springing from a high notion of the spiritual independence proper to the Church. This was the one aspect of Elizabethan nonconformity that appealed to our Tractarian forefathers in their stand on the same issue. For this reason Hurrell Froude found himself strongly drawn to "poor Penry," a protomartyr of Congregationalism.¹²

Then secondly they objected to the worship of the Church as settled in the prayer book. They disliked liturgical forms as not having been prescribed in Scripture, such liturgical forms as the litanies and responses, the antiphonal chanting of the psalms from side to side of the choir, the recitation of creeds and collects. Their influence was strong enough to prevent the general use of the vestments prescribed in the rubric. Within one vote they failed in

the Convocation of 1562 to puritanise the whole settlement, even to the removing of organs¹³ (which was not in itself an uncatholic or irreligious notion). In the *Admonitions to Parliament* they denounced the prayer book as culled out of that popish dung-hill the missal.

Thirdly, as soon appeared, they aimed radically to alter the government of the Church. Here they fell into two groups. At this time the most influential were those who wished to transform the national Church in a Calvinistic way, to have a Presbyterian Church of England, to make Canterbury a second Geneva. Such were Thomas Cartwright, and Travers, Hooker's antagonist at the Temple. They were defeated by Whitgift, Bancroft and King James I.

The second group, at this time not at all numerous, had in the long run in England, the greater importance. These were the separatists, the sectaries, the spiritual ancestors of the modern Baptists and Congregationalists. These introduced a new note, the idea of the "gathered Church." For them, little or no value was to be placed on the state connexion, on the dignified and historical succession in the greater and lesser sees, on the traditional ways of stately liturgical worship. A Church for them was formed by a gathering together of faithful persons. Thus Robert Browne, a pioneer of modern Congregationalism,¹⁴ criticised the official clergy of Elizabeth's church for not having "yet gathered the people from the popish practices and wicked fellowship." Whereas God, he said "commandeth to build and plant his Church by gathering the worthy and refusing the unworthy (Matt. x, 11: Acts xix, 9: Ezra vi, 21), they book, by their contrary laws both papists and careless worldlings as crooked trees to build the Lord's sanctuary . . . The kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few."¹⁵ He repudiated the authority of the bishop either to ordain him, or for his preaching, abhorring "such trash and pollution as the marks and poison of Anti-Christ."¹⁶ The whole Catholic Church is thus the communion of gathered Churches. There is a tendency for those who hold this view to regard the Church as made only of the worthy, as a congregation of saints, rather than as a school for sinners. "None but local associations of experimental Christians are churches."¹⁷ Thus, one of the four causes of separation from the Church of England put forward by Henry Barrow was that "profane

and ungodly people" were "received and retained" within her bosom.¹⁸

The early sectaries pretty completely abandoned the use of set forms of worship as unscriptural. John Smyth, the Baptist, declared that "the reading out of a Book is no part of spiritual worship, but the invention of the man of sin ; that Books and writings are in the nature of Pictures and Images; that it is unlawful to have a Book before the eyes in the singing of a Psalm."¹⁹ Some even refused to use the Lord's Prayer as a liturgical form. and thought of it only as a pattern for extemporary prayer. "The Apostles did not use to say it."²⁰ Their worship was thus almost totally unliturgical, at least as the Church has understood liturgy. Then too, their treatment of ordination was necessarily different. Though they treated ordination with solemnity, with prayer and fasting, many abandoned the laying on of hands.²¹ Among Baptists and Independents, ordination was simply the call to a particular congregation, and in no sense conveyed any indelible character, as the Church and Hooker understood it, indelible "even after heresy."²²

Another interesting feature of Independent Church life was the Church covenant, the local church being for most of the Independents founded on the covenant. The first Independent Church in England, founded in 1616, was constituted on the basis of a covenant entered into by the members with one another in the sight of God, "to walk in all God's ways as he had revealed, or should make known to them."²³ An Independent congregation in Southwark in 1721 printed its "Covenant to be the Lord's people, and to walk after the Lord, signed by the Church of Christ under the pastoral care of Joseph Jacob, a servant of Christ crucified." In language of great nobility, these humble artisans who made up this congregation covenanted "to be holy to the Lord in all manner of conversation; to stand together in the defence of the truth; to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; to press forward on our heavenly course."²⁴

Here is a very fundamental contrast of opposites in the morphology of Christendom, between the "sect-type" of Christianity and the "Church-type," as Troeltsch called them. In so far as the notion of the "gathered church" involved the right to a complete local autonomy, to break away from the unity and structure of the

great Church, is it not poles apart from any such Catholic idea of ecclesiastical orderliness as has been inherited by the Church of England ?²⁵

III

After the ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth, the political revolutions of the seventeenth century left their mark on the relations of Church and dissent. The disturbances of the civil war were accompanied by the appearance of an amazing multitude of sects, some of them very queer indeed. With the very queer we are not concerned, for there has not been any question of a union of the Church of England with the Holy Rollers or the Shakers. Our concern is with the Independents, strong in Cromwell's army, and with the Presbyterians, strong in the Parliament. The Independents stood for a limited toleration. The Presbyterians hoped for an Erastian "Presbyterian" or somewhat Puritanised state Church.

When in 1660 Charles II was brought back, largely by Presbyterian aid, the Presbyterians hoped at least for a toleration, if not for something rather better, namely a "comprehension," which would include them in the state Church. In 1662, with the return of a Stuart king, instead of a comprehension, they got a persecution. Nearly thirty years later, when in 1688-9 the dissenters joined with Churchmen to get rid of James II and his popish plot, they hoped again for a "comprehension." This time, instead of a comprehension, they got a toleration.

The plan of a comprehension was so to modify the formularies of the Church that conscientious Presbyterians²⁶ might live in it, in communion with the more specifically Anglican. It is interesting to observe where the plans for a comprehension broke down. In 1662 the Presbyterian divines asked for much the same things as their "millenarian" predecessors had demanded of King James I in 1604. They observed that "as our first reformers out of their great wisdom . . . did so compose the liturgy, as to win upon the papists, and to draw them into their Church communion, by varying as little as they could from the Romish forms before in use," so now, in a different situation, with no longer any need to please the popishly minded, it would be well to minister to protestant solidarity by such amendments of the prayer book as would bring together "those who in the substantial of the protestant religion are of the same persuasion."²⁷ Thus they suggested the use only of long

consecutive prayers, the people to say no more than *Amen* at the end; the disuse of Lent as a religious fast, and of most of the saints' days and vigils. They asked that the sign of the cross be no longer required in baptism, nor the ring in marriage, and that kneeling for Communion be made optional.²⁸ The ornaments rubric they wished taken away, "forasmuch as this rubrick seemeth to bring back the cope, albe, etc, and other vestments forbidden" by Edward VI's second book²⁹, but that the black rubric of that book be restored in order to exclude any suggestion that there was in the Sacrament any real presence to be adored.³⁰ They disliked (as many Evangelicals did after them) the language of the baptismal office,³¹ and expressions in the marriage service which "seemed to countenance the opinion of making matrimony a sacrament."³² They disliked the rubric that every parishioner should communicate three times a year.³³ They wanted greater freedom for the minister to extemporise. All these alterations, for all that individually some, if not most, of them could be reasonably defended, taken together would have transformed the worship of the Church of England, and removed it out of that traditional stream of liturgy which had for centuries characterised Catholic Christendom, and in which, perhaps by the skin of its teeth, it had been kept at the Reformation. There was one demand which revealed the full radicalism of the Puritan programme, "that the word 'minister' and not priest or curate is used in the Absolution, and in divers other places."³⁴

Against these alterations the bishops of Charles II were adamant. They upheld the ornaments rubric. "We think it fit that the rubric stand as it is, and all be left at the discretion of the ordinary."³⁵ They upheld the contentious word priest,³⁶ and expressly in a rubric insisted on episcopal orders. As to allowing ministers liberty to order public prayer extemporaneously as they thought best, the bishops remarked that it "makes the liturgy void, if every minister may put in and leave out all at his discretion."³⁷ As to the three times a year communion, "no man is to be accounted a good Catholic Christian that does not receive three times a year."³⁸ The result was that a large number of ministers, perhaps 2,000, were ejected from their benefices on St. Bartholomew's Day 1662. Here was an event of the greatest importance for the future. This was the real beginning of protestant nonconformity as an organised interest set over against the Church of England. The bishops of Charles II

have often been condemned for harshness. Yet we know now that they refrained, for whatever reason, from pressing for what they would have liked, a revision on the lines of the Scottish book of 1637, with a more ample Eucharistic canon. In the revision of 1662, they were content with the book of Charles I, amended in details. It is clear that they made an effort to consider the Puritans' desires. A modern nonconformist writer has agreed that they could not have gone further without radically changing the character of the Church of England, without in fact eliminating from it the more specifically Catholic elements, and so destroying any hope it might offer of reconciling the opposites of the Reformation controversies.³⁹

Many of these Puritan demands were repeated in 1689, with some interesting additions. The commissioners who met in the Jerusalem chamber, from both sides, agreed for instance that "those words in the prayer for the clergy 'who alone workest great marvels,'" were "subject to be ill-interpreted by persons vainly disposed." It would be better to change them, they thought, to a safer formula, "who art the author of all good gifts."⁴⁰ In 1689, however, as in 1662, it was clear that the dissenting body was not altogether of one mind. Presbyterians could take what Independents and Baptists could not. Dean Comber, one of the most interesting commentators on the liturgy of this time,⁴¹ reported from York that the "moderate Presbyterians" in that town were one thing, and the rest of the dissenters there quite another. The "moderate Presbyterians" there would submit to a conditional reordination, and "approve and practice kneeling at the Sacraments"; but the greater part of the Dissenters were Independents, "who seem incapable of anything but toleration, and cannot be taken in but by such concessions as will shake the foundations of our Church."⁴² There were other proposals made by the commission besides dubiously liturgical amendments of the Liturgy. Roman Catholic priests and dissenting ministers who conformed to the Church of England were alike to be conditionally reordained. The reason which was given for reordaining Roman Catholic priests was the uncertainty of the evidences of their orders, purporting to come from foreign bishops.⁴³ The proposals of 1689 had the support of the upper house of the Canterbury Convocation, but were defeated by the lower.⁴⁴ The most that could be got was the Toleration Act of 1689, which permitted the licensing by the Archdeacon or by the Justices of the Peace

of dissenting ministers and their meeting houses, on condition of subscription by the ministers to the "doctrinal" parts of the thirty-nine articles.⁴⁵ This last restriction was removed by Parliament in 1779, when a declaration was substituted of a general assent to the Bible.

It is worth remarking also that even had the comprehension been brought into being, the ideal of Hooker, of a Church of England personally identical with the English nation, would still not have been achieved. Baptists and Independents, and the less moderate Presbyterians, would have stood out. Moreover as even that great enthusiast for a comprehension, Thomas Tenison, William III's second Archbishop of Canterbury, could not fail to see, a reunion which split the Church of England would only fortify the politically Jacobite non-jurors. As long ago as 1689 the more general point was taken, that merely to re-arrange disunion was a poor way of union.⁴⁶

The legacy of the seventeenth century was thus the division of the Christians of England, the numerically insignificant Roman Catholics apart, into two opposed groups. On the one hand were the Churchmen, who had political privileges, fortified by the test acts. On the other were the Dissenters, with only a limited toleration; excluded from employment by the Crown and formally, if not always in practice, from municipal office, and from the Universities which were Church preserves; in a state of political inferiority, which was mitigated only by the doubtful practice, indulged in by some, but hardly ever by Baptists, of a qualifying occasional communion at the altars of the Church. To the differences in theology, worship and church order were thus added political grievances. In small ways dissenters were liable to mild persecutions, to do with baptisms, marriages, and burials, with tithes and church rates. The dissenters upheld the Whig party. Those who stood strongly for Church privileges were generally of the Tory, or as it was sometimes called "the Church party." In the relatively tepid theological atmosphere of Hanoverian England, there was thus a strong political element in the local rivalries up and down the land of Church and meeting house.

Some years passed before the dissenters organised themselves to secure any relief from their political disabilities. In 1732 the dissenters of the three denominations, Baptists, Independents and

Presbyterians in London and ten miles round began the practice of calling meetings of deputies from their congregations to meet for the furtherance of their joint interests. Some years later the range was extended beyond the ten miles. From time to time they petitioned for the repeal of the test and corporation acts of Charles II. Though they failed in this, they succeeded sometimes in preventing the liberty they had being diminished. They acquired moreover influence in America. By approaches to the secretaries of state in 1749 and 1768 they prevented, or helped to prevent, the sending of bishops to America.⁴⁷ On this affair the historian of the deputies made an interesting comment. "The liberal and amicable reception," he said, with which the bishops were received when at last they were consecrated for America, (from the Scottish Church, as it turned out), in the early years of American independence, "may be considered as a proof that the resistance of the Dissenters originated in no principles of intolerance towards episcopacy, but simply in a just fear of its influence when allied with temporal power."⁴⁸

IV

The social and economic transformations of the "industrial revolution" profoundly affected the relations of Church and nonconformity, in the first place, in the rise of Methodism—"the true explanation of which," said the great Sir Leslie Stephen, with much but hardly the whole truth, "is to be found in the social records of the time, and the growth of a great population outside the rusty ecclesiastical machinery."⁴⁹ Here in Methodism was a new sort of nonconformity, nonconformity perhaps, as instructed Methodists are wont to insist, rather than dissent. The original Methodism of the Oxford Holy Club had followed the classical forms of high church piety. The Methodism which spread over the land was a very different thing, radically altered from the Oxford model by John Wesley's having adopted from the Moravian brethren their doctrines of a conscious "assurance." Even then, the Methodist societies were intended as guilds within the framework of the Church. The first rules, published in February 1743, recommended attendance at the parish church. "These rules," said the official editor of Wesley's journal, "do not contain the constitution and creed of a church, but certain ethical directions for a religious society within a Church."⁵⁰ In the end, partly (one may suspect) because of

Wesley's own weakness in the face of pressure from persons in his societies who were of dissenting background and ideas, and partly because of his own actions not only in permitting lay preaching and lay administration of the Lord's Supper, but also in "ordaining" men as "superintendents" for America, who were called bishops when they got there,⁵¹ as well as ministers to serve at home, for these and for other reasons also, Methodism became a schism from the Church of England. The emphasis of early Methodists on conscious "conversion", and the way in which their societies were recruited as in principle *societates perfectorum*, places them in the "sect"⁵² type, but the large scale organisation of the Methodist connexion under a highly authoritative conference of ministers, and the strong sense which Wesley's Methodism had of a collective ministerial authority, with the conference enjoying a more than papal plenitude of power, these other characteristics perhaps give it something, at least superficially, of the "church" type.

On the other hand, Methodism soon split. Working men's jealousy of the authority of the conference of ministers, and a working class dislike of the undemocratic toryism of the conference, had led, by the early part of the nineteenth century, to the formation of dissident Methodist bodies, the Independent Methodists, the Primitive Methodists, the Bible Christians, more democratic in their constitution and ethos, with ministerial authority reduced, where it was not abolished. These new denominations were more plainly of the "sect" type.

Methodism rapidly spread, for various reasons, in those regions where under the influence of industrial development population increased most rapidly. A parliamentary survey of 1830 showed that in Lancashire there were 264 Methodist meeting houses, as against only 281 churches and chapels of the Church of England.⁵³

The rapid increase of population in the industrial areas ministered also to the rapid increase in the older forms of dissent. In spite of the activities of the "Waterloo church" building commissioners, the number of dissenting chapels seemed to increase faster than the number of churches. In Lancashire the parliamentary return of 1830 attributed to the Baptists, Calvinists, Independents, Presbyterians, Quakers and Unitarians some 230 meeting houses.⁵⁴ The hostile radical compendium, *The Extraordinary Black Book* in 1831 claimed that only a minority of the population were Church

of England. "Our national clergy cost at least eight times more than the national clergy of France, while in France there are 30 millions of Catholics; whereas of the 24 millions of people comprising the population of our islands, less than one third, or 8,000,000, are hearers of the Established Religion."⁵⁵ "Dissenters are usually considered to form seven twelfths of the population of England and Wales."⁵⁶ Moreover as Richard Whately, who was at this time Fellow of Oriel, and a friend of Newman, and later Archbishop of Dublin, pointed out, the Dissenters gained strength "not merely from being the ex-party," but as well from managing their own affairs, "feeling that whatever is done in respect of their religious affairs is done by themselves as a spiritual body, not by an extraneous authority."⁵⁷

The growth of dissent meant in the end a successful agitation for the repeal of dissenters' disabilities. In 1828, with the support of many Churchmen, the test and corporation acts were repealed. The next year came the Roman Catholic Relief Act. The English state ceased to be in legal form a Church of England state. To all intents and purposes it was now neutral as between the Church and the denominations. This involved what Keble called "national apostasy," a public indifference to important questions of religious truth. From a mere toleration, the dissenters had now achieved something like a complete equality. But this equality, not quite unqualified, did not lessen, but seems rather if anything to have increased the mutual hostility of Church and chapel. Great danger was felt by many to threaten the Church of England from the parliamentary reform of 1832. A Leicester Tory newspaper put this crudely in May 1834. "The Dissenters have thrown off the mask—they have declared their object to be the total separation of Church and State; in other words they want to have their share in the plunder of the temporalities of the Church, and make their low-bred ill-educated *soi-disant* clergy equal in point of rank and consequence to those of the Church of England."⁵⁸ In the face of this danger, which may have been exaggerated, the plan of a comprehension was revived, by Arnold of Rugby, but without result. The Church of England was saved by other means. The Peelite administrative reforms removed many causes of scandal. Evangelicalism, increasingly Erastian, gained great influence. The Tractarians effectively roused Churchmen to a defence of the Church on

Church principles, the principles, that is, of the spiritual authority of the Church and of the apostolic ministry.

The antagonism of Church and nonconformity continued strong throughout the country. It was reinforced by a political antagonism. Most Conservatives were Churchmen, most Churchmen were Conservatives. The Liberal Party on the other hand had effective rallying points in the nonconformist chapels. Nonconformist militants, united sometimes with unbelieving radicals, clamoured against all forms of Church privilege, demanded secular education, and propagated for disestablishment.

V

During this present century the bitterness of antagonism has greatly subsided. To this, various factors have contributed.

The political element in the strife has disappeared. It is not merely that there have been Church Liberals, like the great Gladstone himself, but more generally that with the work of such men as F. D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Henry Scott Holland, Charles Gore, William Temple and Albert Mansbridge, the Church of England has, most obviously, ceased to be the "Tory party at prayer." Liberalism as a party force seems to have declined with nonconformity. The disappearance of the political element in the rivalry of the Church and nonconformity has at least one advantage. It means that religious questions can be religiously considered.

In the second place, the influence of the Oxford Movement has spilled over from the Church of England into the denominations. This has been one factor in a revival of interest, amongst nonconformist theologians, in dogmatic theology, and in doctrine about the Church and sacraments. A recent book, for instance, explores the relationship of the gathered Church to the universal Church, and asks whether something more is not called for than congregational autonomy, as that has come to be commonly treated in Congregationalist circles.⁵⁹ Indeed the chapels have become ostensibly more "Churchy." Some announce liturgical services, though rather as an edifying embellishment than as the staple of public and official prayer. Whereas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, practically all English Christians who were not Roman Catholics gloried in the name of "Protestant", now Baptist and Congregationalist writers, hardly less than Anglican, wish to be

thought Catholic. One may wonder just a little, on a closer examination, whether the nonconformist leopard really has changed its spots, and whether these developments have appreciably affected the nonconformists in the pews, as distinct from the scholars in their colleges and pulpits.

Thirdly, in the Church of England on the other hand there has been a greater readiness to experiment with freer and less liturgical forms of public prayer. The Holy Hour brings a shared silence into a sacramental context. There is too a greater disposition to commend the idea of a synodical or "constitutional" episcopacy, instead of the autocratic prelacy which the Church of England has inherited from feudal times, and which nonconformists naturally dislike. In the light of greater liturgical knowledge about the primitive Church, there is a more flexible and less legalistic attitude to such difficulties of a ceremonial sort as troubled the "presbyterians" of the Savoy conference, and there is a fuller realisation that the liturgy is a growing and developing thing.

In a more favourable atmosphere, there has thus been a movement, sponsored by good men on both sides, to a reunion of separated brethren. Two events in England seem to call for special notice, Lambeth 1920 and Cambridge 1946.

The celebrated Lambeth Appeal of 1920 was remarkable amongst other things for a reconciling gesture by the entire Anglican episcopate, an offer that "if the authorities of other Communion should so desire, we are persuaded that, terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted, Bishops and Clergy of our Communion would willingly accept from those authorities a form of commission or recognition which would commend our ministry to their congregations, as having its place in the one family life." The phrase "terms of union having been otherwise satisfactorily adjusted" is to be noticed. It was made clear at the time that such satisfactory adjustment included a whole-hearted acceptance of the Holy Scriptures, the Creeds, the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion" and "a Ministry with Apostolic authority." These terms were more or less the Lambeth Quadrilateral.⁶⁰

It was remarkable also that in explaining more fully the principles of this Appeal three years later, in answer, to questions from the Free Church Council about the validity of the nonconformist ministries, Archbishop Lang, who was a good and definite Church-

man, said that "we must regard these ministries as ministries of Christ's Word and Sacraments within the Universal Church of Christ which is His Body." Was the Archbishop here just a trifle equivocal? For "in his private notes Lang emphasises the importance of the use of the word *within* and not *of*."⁶¹ An important distinction, but was it likely to appeal to the Free Church Council? or on the "gathered Church" theory, to which most of them were historically committed, to have much meaning?

The second occasion to be noticed was the sermon preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Cambridge on November 3, 1946, in which he emphasised the important elements of faith common to the Church of England and the more orthodox nonconformists, and invited them to "take episcopacy into their system." This discourse was followed by a joint commission of divines of both parties, which produced as singularly inconclusive a report as has ever been made, in *Church Relations in England*. It has not on the whole been well received. The Church Union criticism of it, *The Church of England and the Free Churches*, seems to me nearly annihilating. What should, in the long run, turn out to be a more fruitful outcome of an initiative taken by the Archbishop, has been the preparation of three theological reports; the first, *Catholicity, a study in the Conflict of Christian Traditions in the West*, published in 1947 by a group of "Anglo-Catholic" scholars, including Mr. T. S. Eliot, Dom Gregory Dix, Canon Charles Smyth, Professor Michael Ramsey and Dr. Selwyn, Dean of Winchester; the second, in 1950, by a mixed group of nonconformists, *The Catholicity of Protestantism*; and the third, later in 1950, by a group of Anglican Evangelicals, *The Fulness of Christ, the Church's Growth into Catholicity*. All these titles are themselves in their differences of wording highly significant.

Clearly, there can be no reunion worth having which is not a Catholic reunion, no comprehension which is not a Catholic comprehension. It is much that there are both Churchmen and nonconformists who desire a Catholic wholeness, however differently they may conceive it. Those who look back with reverence to the Tractarian fathers can at least be certain that a Catholic comprehension is a very different thing from a latitudinarian one. The Catholic comprehension is one of principles, before it is one of persons; the latitudinarian comprehension is primarily one of persons, sits more lightly to principles, and seems to threaten the

sacrifice of truth to an appearance of unity. The Catholic comprehension holds in one integrated whole all those truths for which in separation, the separated bodies stood, truths which they recognised and held in separation, when the contemporary Church practice seemed to obscure or neglect them. But it is true also that this Catholic comprehension does not have to be created. In principle it exists always, in the Catholic religion. In the fine words of that great Roman Catholic philosopher of religion, the Baron von Hugel, "Catholicism is essentially balance, inclusiveness, richness."⁶²

¹A. L. Lilley, *Reason and Revelation* (1932), p. 120.

²R. Montagu, *Appello Caesarem* (1625), pp. 59, 45 ; J. W. Allen *English Political Thought* (1603-60), I (1938), 164.

³*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* VII, iii. 1, 6.

⁴LEP, VIII, i, 4.

⁵LEP, III, i, 11.

⁶c.f. F. M. Powicke, *The Reformation in England* (1941), pp. 8-9.

⁷M. Creighton, *Queen Elizabeth* (ed. 1899), pp. 263-4.

⁸LEP V, lxxvii, 1, 2.

⁹Robert Browne, *A Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any*, printed at Middleburg 1582, ed. T. G. Crippen (1903), pp. 18, 22.

¹⁰P. Laslett, *Patriarcha . . . of Sir Robert Filmer* (1947) pp. 277-8.

¹¹*The Works of James I* (ed. C. H. McIlwain, 1918) p. 126.

¹²R. H. Froude, *Remains* I (1938) pp. 327-328. There were Puritans within the Church, who were thoroughly Erastian, and like Sir Francis Knollys wished the bishops to acknowledge that they had no authority over other clergy, which had not come from Royal grant (A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*, 1950, p. 472). Moreover, though the puritans generally had a "high" view of church authority in discipline, they wished to subordinate it more completely to Scripture than did such Churchmen as Hooker.

¹³E. Cardwell, *A History of Conferences . . . connected with the Book of Common Prayer* (2nd ed. 1841), pp. 117-121.

¹⁴See F. J. Powicke, *Robert Browne, pioneer of Modern Congregationalism* (1910).

¹⁵R. Browne, *A True and Short Declaration, both of the gathering and joining together of Certain Persons, and also of the Lamentable Breach and Division which fell amongst them*. See also D. Neal, *The History of the Puritans, or Protestants Nonconformists* (ed. 1837) I, pp. 245-8.

¹⁶*A True and Short Declaration*.

¹⁷*Hastings' Dictionary of Religions and Ethics*: art. "Congregationalism."

¹⁸Henry Barrow, *Four Causes of Separation in Relics of the Puritan Martyrs*, ed. T. G. Crippen (1906), pp. 8, 9. The re-publishing of the works of these Elizabethan Puritans, of which the first volume

Cartwrightiana (ed. A. Peel and Leland H. Carlson, 1951) has appeared, is highly to be welcomed.

¹⁹Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (1948), p. 95.

²⁰*ibid.* pp. 81, 101.

²¹*ibid.* 84-5, (Barrowists).

²²LEP V, lxxvii, 3. Amongst the Independents the minister had considerable authority within the congregation. The phrase quoted is Keble's summary.

²³Horton Davies, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-5. The covenant was a characteristic of the Independents: and only later adopted by some Baptists, and apparently never by Presbyterians.

²⁴D. Coomer, *English Dissent under the Early Hanoverians* (1946), pp. 17-19.

²⁵These ideas are treated from a different angle in a sermon by H. E. W. Turner. "The Organic and Covenant Ideas of the Church," reprinted in *Church Quarterly Review*, CLIII, No. 306 (Jan.-March 1952) pp. 72-83. Perhaps in the "post-Christian" world all Christian bodies, whatever their histories, become more or less "gathered" churches.

²⁶"Presbyterians" was loosely used of puritanical nonconformists without strict regard to their views on church polity. Some like Baxter were prepared to accept a synodical episcopacy, with a puritanised liturgy.

²⁷Cardwell, p. 305.

²⁸Cardwell, pp. 306-8, 310.

²⁹Cardwell, p. 314.

³⁰Cardwell, p. 322.

³¹Cardwell, pp. 322-3.

³²Cardwell, p. 331.

³³Cardwell, p. 332.

³⁴Cardwell, pp. 307-8.

³⁵Cardwell, p. 351.

³⁶Cardwell, p. 342.

³⁷Cardwell, p. 341. They accepted, however, a Puritan suggestion to amend the rubric in Morning and Evening Prayer, which had formerly provided that the lessons should be "said or sung", so that these lessons are now only "said."

³⁸Cardwell, p. 354.

³⁹R. S. Bosher, *The Making of the Restoration Settlement* (1951), pp. 247, 276-7, citing A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised* (1934), p. xix.

⁴⁰Cardwell, p. 431.

⁴¹See G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The High Church Tradition* (1941).

⁴²Cardwell, pp. 414-5, Comber to Simon Patrick, Bishop of Chester, 19 October, 1689.

⁴³Clarke & Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet* (1907), pp. 279-80.

⁴⁴E. F. Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison* (1948), pp. 99-116.

⁴⁵excepting articles 34, 35, 36 and part of 20.

⁴⁶E. F. Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁴⁷*A Sketch of the History and Proceedings of the Deputies appointed to protect the Civil Rights of the Protestant Dissenters . . .* (1814), pp. 23-5.

⁴⁸*ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁹L. Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century II.* (1876), p. 424.

⁵⁰*Journal of John Wesley* ed. N. Curnock, III (n.d.), p. 67, note 2.

⁵¹W. J. S. Sparrow Simpson, *John Wesley and the Church of England* (1934) pp. 57-76.

⁵²The logical development of this emphasis was to be seen in some Churchmen who, under Methodist influence, like Beveridge of Everton, disliked the Catechism teaching that entrance to the Church was through Baptism, and not as he believed, through "conversion". (See C. H. E. Smyth, *Simeon and Church Order* (1940), p. 258. See also Wesley's opinion, quoted by Canon Smyth, *ibid.*, pp. 256-7).

⁵³*Return of the Number of Parish Churches and Chapels of Ease of the Church of England, and of the Number of other Places of Worship not of the Church of England in the County of Lancaster* (8 July 1830), pp. 22-3.

⁵⁴*ibid.*

⁵⁵J. Wade, *The Extraordinary Black Book, an Exposition of the United Church of England and Ireland* (1831), pp. 5-6.

⁵⁶*The Extraordinary Black Book*, p. 59.

⁵⁷R. Whately, *Letters of an Episcopalian on the Church* (1826), p. 183.

⁵⁸*Leicester Journal*, 23 May 1834.

⁵⁹N. Micklem, *Congregationalism and the Church Catholic* (1943), pp. 36-7, 44, 67-8.

⁶⁰G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity 1920-24.* (1924) pp. 1-5 clauses vi, vii, viii. J. G. Lockhart, *Cosmo Gordon Lang* (1949) p. 269.

⁶¹*Cosmo Gordon Lang*, pp. 276-8. For the document: "Memorandum on the Status of the Existing Free Church Ministry prepared on behalf of the Church of England representatives on the Joint Conference at Lambeth Palace July 6, 1923." Bell, *op. cit.*, 159. It is perhaps worth noticing that these discussions considered the status of the Free Church ministries as existing in 1923, thus implicitly rejecting in this instance any reference to their historical origins and original principles.

⁶²*Essays and Addresses on the Philosophy of Religion*, 1st Series, (edition 1931), p. 234.

THE ANGLICAN MIND OF EDMUND BURKE

By RUSSELL KIRK

WITH a touch of latter-day liberalism, in his useful little book *England in the Eighteenth Century* Dr. J. H. Plumb pronounces this verdict upon Burke as a philosopher: "Burke's views were neither new nor profound, but he gave clear and conscious form to a deeply-rooted, instinctive attitude to politics." Buckle's condescending opinion of Burke was rather like Dr. Plumb's. Yet how thoroughly our generation has discarded Buckle, and how vigorous just now is a resurgent consciousness of Burke's genius! Certainly Burke's ideas were not new: for Burke, abhorring presumptuous novelty, had learned from Ecclesiasticus (his favourite book of the Bible) and from much experience as a public man that no truly novel moral or political ideas are enunciated by modern metaphysicians. Great ideas, like great states, flower from ancient stalks. The root of Burke's convictions extends through the seventeenth-century scholars and divines back to Hooker, and to the Schoolmen, and the fathers of the Church, and Cicero and Aristotle and Plato, and the Scriptures. His attitude to politics and to first principles was derived not simply from "instinct," but still more from the massive tradition of Christian thought and classical philosophy. A body of opinions thus erected scarcely ought to be denied the quality of profundity in one sense of the word "profound". But if by "profound" one means a close attention to general ideas, surely Burke still must be regarded as one of the most subtle and penetrating of English thinkers: his exposition of "the great mysterious incorporation of the human race" and of the "primeval contract of eternal society, linking the lower with the higher nature, connecting the visible and invisible world" is so elevated above the usual level of English empirical and utilitarian speculation that Locke and Hume might gasp for breath in this

supraterrestrial atmosphere where things sacred and things mundane attain conjunction.

Burke's views were no more novel than the doctrines of the Church are new; but if we grant profundity to the premises of religious belief, we cannot justly deny profundity to the philosophy of Burke. Put side by side with Burke's system the corrosive doubt of Voltaire, the cloudy sentimentality of Rousseau, or the moral calculus of Bentham, and ask who among these thinkers sounds the depths of political principle and moral impulse: in the perspective of 1952, it is difficult to draw up a convincing brief for the radicals of the Enlightenment against the great conservative Whig. The mind that nourished the several talents of Coleridge and Tocqueville and Newman and Lecky was sufficiently profound, in all conscience.

Burke's was the profundity of a religious nature; and as he was the most eminent expounder of English political prescriptive wisdom, so Burke represented the grand tradition of Anglican religious belief. Lord Acton perceived this. The study of history, Burke was convinced, is our best means for ascertaining the objectives and direction of Providence. "He looked for what ought to be in what is," Acton wrote once, by way of dissent. "Is that not essentially Anglican?" Acton went rather far, no doubt, in suggesting that confidence in the "Divine tactic" by which mankind is marshalled, and in the subtle justice pronounced by history, is a belief distinctively Anglican: one should not forget Pope, after all, or Leibniz. But Lord Acton, zealous all his life to demonstrate that a Catholic may be a liberal, touched here upon the powerfully conservative tendency of Anglican opinion for which Burke spoke.

Not all Burke's contemporaries put full faith in his Anglicanism. The old Duke of Newcastle warned the Marquis of Rockingham that his brilliant secretary was an emissary from St. Omer; Boswell suspected Burke of being a Jesuit in masquerade, and he was caricatured in the newspapers dressed in a soutane; throughout his career, it was whispered against Burke that his wife, at least, was of the Old Profession. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Burke continued a sincere Anglican; but what his enemies do not seem to have known, Burke's sister was a devout Roman Catholic, and his mother's conformity to the Church of Ireland was nominal only. Like so many Anglo-Irish gentlemen in his time, Burke had a green Popish

branch jutting from his family tree; and this, joined with his reverence for almost all that was ancient and great, produced in Edmund Burke a kindliness toward Romanism that became one of the motives of his diligent endeavours to relieve Irish Catholics from their cruel disabilities. (Though he had a major part in the founding of Maynooth College, that fact seems nearly forgotten in Ireland; his memory is more cherished in Continental circles, where it gained a footing early through his admirers Maistre, Bonald, Chateaubriand, Gentz, and Dollinger). But expediency, even more than sentiment, he declared, dictates toleration toward Catholics: the Church of England must wither if ever its Catholic springs run dry. "Let every man be as pious as he pleases", Burke wrote in 1797, "and in the way that he pleases; but it is agreeable neither to piety nor to policy to give exclusively all manner of civil privileges and advantages to a *negative* religion,—such is the Protestant without a certain creed. The Catholics of Ireland have the whole of our *positive* religion; our difference is only a negation of certain tenets of theirs. If we strip ourselves of *that* part of Catholicism, we abjure Christianity." All the principal religions in Europe stand or fall together, for all are founded upon the mossy base of prescription, mortared by prejudice. Jacobinism (he had written to William Smith in 1795) "is an attempt (hitherto but too successful) to eradicate prejudice out of the minds of men, for the purpose of putting all power and authority into the hands of the persons capable of occasionally enlightening the minds of the people." Foreseeing the moral and physical terror that follows close upon an Enlightenment unhedged by prejudice and prescription, Burke was as anxious to shore up Catholicism in Ireland or in the Papal States as to secure Anglicanism in England.

Yet this respect for Roman Catholicism did not exclude a generous tolerance toward the dissenting Protestant sects. Burke would not hear of abolishing clerical subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, for that would have made the Church of England no church, but a preaching anarchy; yet maintenance of the church establishment aside, he was ready to accord liberty and even admiration to the Dissenters. "I would respect all conscience", he said in 1773, although he would have cut up the very root of atheism. "I wish to see the established church of England great and powerful; I wish to see her foundations laid low and deep, that she may crush

the giant powers of rebellious darkness; I would have her head raised up to the heaven to which she conducts us. I would have her open wide her hospitable gates by a noble and liberal comprehension; but I would have no breaches in her wall; I would have her cherish all those who are within, and pity all those who are without". Such a Church, in her strength, tolerates the tender conscience and even the erring private judgement. The Unitarians, however, he could not bring himself to indulge (here, leaving 1773, we anticipate Dr. Price's sermon in the Old Jewry); but that was because they had joined to their profession of faith a venomous levelling radicalism, preached by Price and Priestley and Paine, and were operating in reality as a political association dedicated to the subverting of everything established. They were neither church nor chapel: they were Jacobins perfumed with a sprinkling of cant. Such folk aside, nevertheless, the Church may tolerate wisely every religious profession, however eccentric. "Do not promote diversity; when you have it, bear it; have as many sorts of religion as you find in your country; there is a reasonable worship in them all. . . . Even the man who does not hold revelation, yet who wishes that it were proved to him, who observes a pious silence with regard to it, is governed by religious principles. Let him be tolerated in this country. Let it be but a serious religion, natural or revealed, take what you can get; cherish, blow up the slightest spark. One day it may be a pure and holy flame. By this proceeding you form an alliance offensive and defensive, against those great ministers of darkness in the world who are endeavouring to shake all the works of God established in order and beauty." So Burke told the House of Commons in the debate upon the Protestant Dissenters' Relief Bill, 1773.

This is a Broad Church spirit, clearly; and it came naturally enough to Burke, who (like Disraeli after him) had been sent to a dissenters' school. Here, indeed, is the seed of the Broad Church tenets of Burke's disciple Coleridge. However broad, the Church must be, for all that, a defined and established entity: "An alliance between church and state in a Christian commonwealth is, in my opinion, an idle and fanciful speculation," he said in 1793, opposing Fox's advocacy of the Unitarians' petition. "An alliance is between two things that are in their nature distinct and independent, such as between two sovereign states. But in a Christian common-

wealth the church and the state are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole." Here is a powerful reaffirmation of the arguments of Hooker, whose inheritor Burke was.

Yet it will not do to talk of Burke as if he were learned in church history, or a theologian, like Gladstone or Balfour. Burke did not presume to sit in judgement on dogmas, nor to review the liturgy, nor even to criticize closely the Articles, doubtful of some of them though he was. These matters he left, with humility, to churchmen. He displayed some alarm, indeed, when confronted with religious mysteries, akin to his distaste for abstract metaphysical speculation and his willingness to throw a veil over the origins of society. "He had been educated," he remarked in 1780, after his bold part in putting down the Gordon riots, "as a Protestant of the church of England by a dissenter; he read the Bible there morning, noon, and night, and was the happier and better man for such reading; he had afterward turned his attention to the reading of all the theological publications, on all sides, that were written with such wonderful ability in the last and present century; at last he thought such studies tended to confound and bewilder, and he dropped them, embracing and holding fast the church of England." His best editor, E. J. Payne, observes that Burke really looked upon the Church from the outside, almost with a Latitudinarian aloofness, until the pressure of social convulsion compelled him to undertake the defence of establishments. It is as a critic of social institutions that he plays his role among great Anglicans.

John Adams, censorious always, suspected that both Burke and Samuel Johnson were "political Christians." But Adams had no personal acquaintance with these two devout men of genius. Burke began and ended his campaign for social conservatism upon the grand design of piety: in his eyes, the whole of earthly reality was an expression of moral principle. This it is which lifts Burke so far above the accustomed ways of political science that many scholars have failed to apprehend his chain of reasoning; and still Burke remains so attentive to practicality and enlightened expediency that he leaves some metaphysicians at a loss. For Burke, unlike the children of the Enlightenment, the formulas upon which man's existence rests never had grown hollow.

"The Tory has always insisted that, if men would cultivate the individual virtues, social problems would take care of themselves." So Granville Hicks once wrote of Robert Louis Stevenson. A good deal of truth resides in this observation, although it is more pertinent to the mind of Johnson than to the mind of Burke. This is not the whole of Burke's opinion upon the ills of society, for no man knew better than he the power for good or ill that lies in political constitutions; but it is true of him this far, that Burke saw politics as an exercise in morals. To know the state, first we must know the ethical man, Burke thought.

"Rousseau is a moralist, or he is nothing." After delivering this judgement, Burke rises to an assault upon his adversary so merciless that one is tempted to add the quip, "and he is not a moralist." But Burke did not underestimate the *Social Contract*. Rousseau's was a false morality, but pretentious; against it must be set a nobler. A new-fangled morality was a monstrous imposture; Burke turned in this matter, as in most, to prescription and precedent, old materials ready to the wise reformer's hand, to supply an opposing morality which might heal the wounds inflicted by revolutionary moral doctrines. The praise of humility was often on Burke's lips; and in his system of morals, at least, he showed himself a humble man. Disdaining a vain show of invention, he burnished up the arguments of Aristotle and Cicero, of the fathers of the Church, of Hooker and Milton, and put new warmth into their phrases, so that their ideas flamed above the Jacobin torches. Rejecting the idea of a world subject only to sudden impulse and physical appetite, he expounded the idea of a world governed by strong and subtle purpose. Into this old morality he poured the catalyst of his Irish imagination, and it transformed the dying flicker of Aristotle into a sheet of fire.

Revelation, reason, and an assurance beyond the senses tell us that the Author of our being exists, and He is wise; and man and the state are God's beneficent creations. This Christian orthodoxy is the kernel of Burke's philosophy. Divine purpose among men is revealed through the unrolling of history. How are we to know God's will and mind? Through the prejudices and traditions which milleniums of human experience with Divine means and judgements have implanted in the mind of our species.

And what is our purpose in the world? Not to indulge our impulse, but to render obedience to Divine ordinance.

This view of the nature of things appears delusory to the utilitarian and the positivist; it appears transcendently true to the religious man; but whether it is sound or fallacious, nothing seems incomprehensible about this confession of faith, nor even obscure. Burke's position is stated above in the simplest terms; he makes his own case in language at once more lucid and more fitting. For a thousand years, scarcely a learned man in Europe dissented from this view. Yet the twentieth-century scholars of "political realism," full of the notion that society may be managed on scientific principles, have gone so far as to call such opinions "obscurantism"—this defence of a moral tradition Socratic and Pauline in its origins. With a vehemence resembling dread, Professor R. M. MacIver exclaims, "It was no service to our understanding when Burke enveloped once more in mystic obscurity the office of government and in the sphere of politics appealed once more against reason to tradition and religion."¹

But does not this objection simply beg the question? The Age of Reason, Burke protested with all the splendour of his rhetoric, was in reality an Age of Ignorance. If (as most men, since the beginning of human history, have believed) the foundation of human welfare is Divine Providence, the limitation of politics and ethics to a puny "reason" is an act of folly, the refuge of a ridiculous presumption. Precisely this deafness to the thunder above Sinai, this blindness to the effulgence of the burning bush, is what Burke denounces as the principal error of the French "enlightenment." Even Rousseau cries out against such overweening confidence in a human rationality which, although allegedly free from supernatural direction, insists that it cannot go astray. Few disputes concerning first principles ever remain settled, and Burke himself would have agreed that if the arguments of Aristotle, Seneca, and Aquinas upon purpose in the universe do not convince the sceptic, he never will be converted unless by grace. But he was indignant at the way in which the philosophers of the Enlightenment casually dismissed the faith of ages and the proofs of genius with a complacent formula or a sniggering witticism. For Burke's earnest spirit, judgement in

¹ MacIver, *The Modern State*, 148.

these mighty things cannot satisfactorily be suspended. Either order in the cosmos is real, or chaos exists. If chaos reigns, then the fragile equalitarian doctrines have no significance; for in a world of chaos, only force and appetite signify.

I allow, that if no supreme ruler exists, wise to form, and potent to enforce, the moral law, there is no sanction to any contract, virtual or even actual, against the will of prevalent power. On that hypothesis, let any set of men be strong enough to set their duties at defiance, and they cease to be duties any longer. We have but one appeal against irresistible power—

Si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,

At sperate Deos memores fandi atque nefandi.

Taking it for granted that I do not write to the disciples of the Parisian philosophy, I may assume, that the awful Author of our being is the author of our place in the order of existence; and that having disposed and marshalled us by a divine tactic, not according to our will, but according to His, He has, in and by that disposition, virtually subjected us to act the part which belongs to the part assigned to us. We have obligations to mankind at large, which are not in consequence of any special voluntary pact. They arise from the relation of man to man, and the relation of man to God, which relations are not a matter of choice . . . When we marry, the choice is voluntary, but the duties are not a matter of choice . . . The instincts which give rise to this mysterious process of nature are not of our making. But out of physical causes, unknown to us, perhaps unknowable, arise moral duties, which, as we are able perfectly to comprehend, we are bound indispensably to perform.²

This is great preaching. We never will penetrate in this brief life, says Burke, to precise knowledge of Providential aims and ways; the philosopher who wastes his days in endeavouring to rationalize the supernatural can accomplish no more than to stimulate a shallow and sour scepticism among men whose only surety lies in conformity to prescriptive truths. If there is no supernatural sanction for morality, then "reason", "pity", and "enlightenment" are so many figments of dreams, for in a world without justice and purpose, men may as well forget the notions of knowledge and charity. "To illuminate the struggles of the past, to dignify and intensify the responsibilities of the present, and to guarantee the future against the decadence and defeat with which, in a world of turbulent human wills, it is constantly menaced," J. H. MacCunn says of Burke's system, "it seemed to him the sheet anchor of a

² "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs", *Works* (Bohn edition), III, 79.

true political faith that the whole great drama of national life should be reverently recognized as ordered by a Power to which past, present, and future are organically knit stages in a Divine plan.”³ Burke himself said, “There is an order that keeps things fast in their place; it is made to us, and we are made to it.” Here he defined the germ of conservative belief.

Burke did not approve religion because it is a bulwark of order; instead, he said that mundane order is derived from Divine order, and remains a part of it. Religion is not merely a convenient myth to keep popular appetite within bounds; Burke has no sympathy with Polybius’ suggestion that the ancients invented religion to save men from anarchy, or with Plato’s willingness to create religious mythology out of whole cloth so that men will reverence establishments in the illusion that they were ordained from the beginning of things. Politics and morals, Burke saw, are deduced from religious belief or scepticism: men never truly succeed in convincing themselves of the reality of things supernatural merely in order to facilitate things natural. Implicit in Burke’s writings are the proofs of Greek philosophy and the Scholastics and the English divines for the reality of benevolent intelligence in the cosmos. The universal instinct for perpetuation of the species; the intimations of immortality; the profound consciousness in men that they partake of some great continuity and essence—these evidences sparkle through his works from first to last, but Burke does not attempt fanciful new proofs, leaving theology to the schools. A man always desperately busy, lacking time to chop logic, he shared Dr. Johnson’s exasperation at haggling over intuitive truths—the conviction of instinctive knowledge which provoked Johnson to growl, “Why sir, we *know* the will is free, and there’s an end of it!” Only the restless, self-intoxicated atheist, who refuses to admit the existence of anything greater than himself, really can have impudence sufficient to deny these sources of religious insight. And the spectacle of Burke’s ranging intellect thus humbly convinced, his erudition supporting the verdict of the Christian fathers, his prudent, practical, reforming spirit submitting to the discipline of religious tradition, is perhaps as good a proof as any direct evidence available to man that our world is only a little part of an illimitable spiritual hierarchy. It is the faith of a thinker steeped in Christian and classical wisdom.

³ MacCunn, *The Political Philosophy of Burke*, 127.

An Hellenic piety, almost Platonic in its tone, suffuses Burke's declaration that the state is Divinely ordained: "He who gave us our nature to be perfected by our virtue, willed also the necessary means of its perfection.—He willed therefore the state.—He willed its connection with the source and original archtype of all perfection."

The sentimental advocacy of generous human sympathies, or the ascendancy of indiscriminate pity, cannot suffice to govern a society which has denied its Divine ordination. Appetite is the tyrant of a state which has overthrown the sway of its church. "I have observed that the philosophers in order to insinuate their polluted atheism into young minds systematically flatter all their passions natural and unnatural," Burke wrote to the Chevalier de Rivarol, in 1791. "They explode or render odious or contemptible that class of virtues which restrains the appetite. These are at least nine out of ten of the virtues. In place of all this, they substitute a virtue which they call humanity or benevolence. By this means their morality has no idea in it of restraint, or indeed of a distinct settled principle of any kind. When their disciples are thus left free and guided only by present feeling they are no longer to be depended upon for good or evil. The men who today snatch the worst criminals from justice will murder the most innocent persons tomorrow."⁴ Every state is the creation of Providence, whether or not it is a Christian state; for the moral order of God preceded His greatest revelation. Christianity is the highest of religions, but every religion is a recognition of Divine purpose in the universe, and all mundane order is dependent upon reverence for the religious creed which a people inherit from their fathers. This conviction fortified Burke in his detestation of Hastings: the Governor-General's contempt for native religious tradition and ceremonial in India was an affront to the great idea of consecration.

Burke could not conceive of an enduring social order, or even a temporary safety from the excesses of appetite, without the spirit of piety. Statesmen, quite as much as bishops, fulfil a consecrated task: "This consecration is made, that all who administer in the government of men, should have high and worthy notions of

⁴ Wentworth Woodhouse Papers, Book 1, 623 (Sheffield Central Library).

their function and destination; that their hope should be full of immortality; that they should not look to the paltry pelf of the moment, nor to the temporal and transient praise of the vulgar, but to a solid, permanent existence, in the permanent part of their nature, and to a permanent fame and glory, in the example they leave as a rich inheritance to the world.”⁵ Even more than monarchy or aristocracy, a popular government requires such consecration, for the people, then enjoying a share in power, must be made to understand the responsibilities of power. “All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust: and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust to the one great master, Author, and Founder of society.”

The society which these persons serve is a thing at once material and immaterial. Spiritual continuity, the immense importance of restraining change within the framework of custom, the realization that society has an immortal being: these deep truths were impressed upon Burke’s mind through his observation of free English institutions. Certain writers who ought to know better are fond of saying that Burke considered society as an “organism”—a term redolent of positivism and biological evolution. In actuality, Burke was careful not to bind himself by that rash analogy. He spoke of society as a *spiritual* unity, an eternal partnership, a corporation always perishing and yet always renewing, very like that other perpetual corporation and unity the church. Upon the preservation of this view of society, Burke thought, the success of English institutions depended—defending a view implicit in English thought as early as Hooker, but never before expressed with such lucidity.

As the state is mysteriously immortal, so is the body of opinion by which men regulate their conduct in this world. At times, Burke approaches very nearly to a theory of collective human intellect, a knowledge partially instinctive, partially conscious, which each individual inherits as his birthright and his protection. Awake to all the problems of human character, interested in those complex psychological impulses for which associationist theories cannot account, Burke implicitly rejected Locke’s *tabula rasa* concept as inadequate to explain the individuation of character and imaginative

⁵ “Reflections on the Revolution in France”, *Works*, II, 370.

power which distinguishes man from animal. Human beings, said Burke, participate in the accumulated experience of their innumerable ancestors; little is totally forgotten. Only a small part of this knowledge, however, is formalized in literature and deliberate instruction; the greater part remains embedded in instinct, common custom, prejudice, and ancient usage. Ignore this enormous bulk of the wisdom of the species, or tinker impudently with it, and man is left awfully afloat upon a sea of emotions and ambitions, with only the scanty stock of formal learning and the puny resources of individual reason to sustain him. Often men may not realize the meaning of their immemorial prejudices and customs—indeed, even the most sagacious of men cannot hope to understand all the secrets of traditional morals and social arrangements; but we may be sure that Providence, acting through the medium of human trial and error, has developed every hoary habit for some important purpose. The greatest of prudence is required when man must accommodate this inherited mass of opinion to the exigencies of new times. For prejudice is not bigotry or superstition, although prejudice sometimes may degenerate into these. Prejudice is pre-judgement, the answer with which intuition and ancestral consensus of opinion supply a man when he lacks either time or knowledge to arrive at a decision predicated upon pure reason.

In the middle of the twentieth century, speculative psychologists are beginning to investigate the concepts of collective mind in men and in animals with increasing seriousness; these prescient opinions of Burke's, together with his emphasis upon the significance of custom in the life of society, and the predominance of habitual or instinctive motives over reason in the affairs of most men, already have displayed a wide influence, which one may trace variously in the ideas of Coleridge, Sir Henry Maine, Walter Bagehot, Graham Wallas, A. N. Whitehead, and a dozen other important thinkers. Few really educated people today are likely to maintain that human nature is so simple as Condillac, for instance, thought it was. Burke, rather than being an old-fashioned apologist for dying superstitions, struck through the mask of the Age of Reason to the dark complexities of human existence, so that he remains a living influence upon thought, when most of his radical opponents are no more than names in a history of intellectual tendencies.

The Romantics followed Burke in this; yet by most writers

during the nineteenth century, Burke was praised as a sort of utilitarian, under the assumption that his psychology was founded upon the simple calculus of Locke. There could hardly be a shallower view of Burke's ideas. Burke knew that just under the skin of modern man stirs the savage, the brute, the demon. Some thousands of years of grim experience have taught man how to hold these wild impulses in a precarious restraint: that dread knowledge is expressed in myth, custom, usage, instinct, prejudice. The Church, too, has always sensed this truth (as Paul Elmer More remarks in his essay on Lafcadio Hearn, with a brooding veneration) and has looked with suspicion upon the advance of scientific rationalism because it may unveil to modern man the hideous secrets of his brutal origin.

To describe as "obscuratism" and "mysticism" this vivid, sagacious piety of Burke's, this transcendence of particular times and particular persons, is a gross abuse of philosophical terms, reminding us how steadily our century has been slipping into a semantic Dark Age. Burke's was a lofty faith, but it was also the faith of a practical man, joined to ideas of public honour and responsibility. A man who believes that a just God rules the world; that the course of history has been determined, though commonly through ways inscrutable, by His Providence; that individual station in life is assigned by supernatural dispensation; that original sin and aspiration toward the good both are parts in God's design; that the reformer should first endeavour to make out the lineaments of a Providential order, and then endeavour to conform political arrangements to the dictates of a natural justice——sceptics may believe a man who owns this body of convictions to be mistaken, but sceptics are muddled if they call him a "mystic". These are the religious principles of a man profoundly familiar with the world of experience. And Burke proceeds to make his creed still more a part of private and political life. If our world indeed is ordered in accordance with a Divine idea, we ought to be cautious in our tinkering with the structure of society: for though it may be God's will that we serve as his instruments of alteration, we need first to satisfy our consciences on that point. Again, Burke states that a universal equality exists among men; but it is the equality of Christianity, moral equality, or, more precisely, equality in the ultimate judgement of God; equality of any other sort we are

foolish, even impious, to covet. Mr. Leonard Woolf, the shrewdest of socialists, recognizes this bond between Christianity and social conservatism, writing disapprovingly, "Christianity envisages a framework for human society in which earthly miseries have a recognized, permanent, and honourable place. They are trials sent by Heaven to test and train us; as such, it is impious to repine against them."⁶ Burke would have accepted this Fabian impeachment.

Contemtuously of the notion of human perfectibility, Burke modelled his psychology upon this Christian picture of sin and tribulation. Poverty, barbarity, and misfortune are indeed portions of the eternal order of nature; sin is a fact terribly real and demonstrable, the consequence of our depravity, not merely of defective institutions; religion is the consolation for these ills, which never may be removed simply by positive legislation or by revolution. Religious faith makes existence tolerable; ambition without pious restraint must end in failure, often involving in its ruin that beautiful reverence which solaces common men for the obscurity and poverty of their lot.

To inculcate this veneration among men, to consecrate public office, Burke believed that the church must be interwoven with the fabric of the nation. His Church is an idealized Anglican establishment, and something more. There is something classical in it; and something Catholic. Coleridge gives it form in *The Constitution of Church and State, according to the Idea of Each*. "Religion is so far, in my opinion, from being out of the province of a Christian magistrate," Burke wrote, "that it is, and it ought to be, not only his care, but the principal thing in his care; and its object the supreme good, the ultimate end and object of man himself." As Dr. Alfred Cobban justly remarks of Burke, "His ideal is neither Protestant Erastianism nor Catholic Theocracy; it is much more like the kingdom of God on earth."⁷

True religion is not simply a consecration of national and social institutions, however: it rises far superior to earthly law, and is the source of all law. With Philo and Cicero, Burke enunciates the doctrine of the *jus naturale*, the law of the universe, the creation

⁶ Woolf, *After the Deluge*, 177.

⁷ Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt against the Eighteenth Century*, 93.

of the Divine mind, of which the laws of men are only the imperfect manifestation. "All human laws are, properly speaking, only declaratory; they may alter the mode and application, but have no power over the substance of original justice." Men have no right to alter the laws as their fancy suggests; the superior law is not in the power of any political community to amend.

Ours is a moral order, then, and our laws are derived from immortal moral laws; the higher happiness is moral happiness, says Burke, and the cause of suffering is moral evil. Pride, ambition, avarice, revenge, lust, sedition, hypocrisy, ungoverned zeal, disorderly appetites—these vices are the actual causes of the storms that trouble life. "Religion, morals, prerogatives, privileges, liberties, rights of men, are the *pretexts*" for revolution by sentimental humanitarians and mischievous agitators who think that established institutions must be the source of our afflictions. But the human heart, in reality, is the fountain of evil. "You would not cure the evil by resolving, that there should be no more monarchs, nor ministers of state, nor of the gospel; no interpreters of laws; no general officers; no public councils . . . Wise men will apply their remedies to vices, not to names."⁸

This moral order cannot be transformed by the process of counting noses, any more than it can be improved by violating ancient establishments. "When we know, that the opinions of even the greatest multitudes are the standard of rectitude, I shall think myself obliged to make those opinions the masters of my conscience. But if it may be doubted whether Omnipotence itself is competent to alter the essential constitution of right and wrong, sure am I, that such *things*, as they and I, are possessed of no such power." Now and again, Burke praises two great virtues, the keys to private contentment and public peace: they are prudence and humility, the first pre-eminently an attainment of classical philosophy, the second pre-eminently a triumph of Christian discipline. Without them, man must be miserable; and man destitute of piety rarely can discern either of these noble qualities.

For solitary man in search of spiritual peace, for society in search of permanent order, Providence has furnished means by which mankind may apprehend the moral universe. Tradition and prescription are the guiding lights of the civil social man; and

⁸ "Tracts on the Popery Laws", *Works*, VI, 22.

therefore Burke elevated to the dignity of social principles those conventions and customs which, before the eighteenth century, most men had accepted with an unquestioning confidence. Prescription, in which the state, like the whole church rests; prejudice, the wisdom of unlettered men; presumption, legitimate presumption, by which things established have a right to permanence—these are the pillars of moral and civil order.

“The reason first why we do admire those things which are greatest, and second those things which are ancientest, is because the one are the least distant from the infinite substance, the other from the infinite continuance, of God.” So Hooker had written in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Burke could quote this passage from memory; and the significance of it was the soul of his philosophy. During the preceding century, social conservatism had been defended chiefly by sceptics—Bolingbroke and Hume. Burke restored to intellectual respectability the pious conservatism of Hooker and Laud, in such a shape that it transcended Toryism and Whiggery. More than a century and a half of innovation and radical doctrine has not effaced the chief outlines of his system.

* * *

The visitor to Beaconsfield today does not find Burke's country house of Gregories, for it burned long ago; but in the tall old flint church is a modest tablet recording that Edmund Burke is buried somewhere here. Precisely where, no one knows; for Burke, fearing that he might be tumbled from his coffin by the Jacobins after the fashion the Roundheads had used with the bones of the kings at Winchester, arranged that his interment should be secret. Probably Burke would not have been much surprised to have been insulted in death by a rabble of parsons; for he estimated that a great share of the English clergy, at the outbreak of the Revolution in France, sympathized with the levelling frenzy. That day of profanation never came, however; Burke's eloquence swept radical parsons and radical bishops, along with the Whig magnates and the preponderant part of every order in English society, in an opposite direction. The memory of Burke and Disraeli seems to have enchanted Beaconsfield, and little has changed here since 1797: the good old houses of four centuries, the tidy half-timbered inn, the great oaks and the quiet lanes are there as they were in Burke's day, though villadom and new housing scheme expanses sprawl out from

London deep into Buckinghamshire, and light industry is invading the neighbouring towns. At Stoke Poges, only a few miles distant, a tremendous and hideous housing estate of unredeemed monotony has shouldered right against Gray's country churchyard. But Beaconsfield Old Town is an island of old England in an industrial and proletarian sea of humanity.

Though Burke could not make the British constitution and prescriptive society immutable—even had he wished to oppose all change, which never was his object—still the restraining influence of his ideas upon the tendency of politics and speculation has been incalculably powerful. Burke himself, late in 1791, despaired of affecting the current of innovation: he saw Jacobinism sweeping everything before it, deluging even the Whig party, and he wrote to Earl Fitzwilliam, who as yet had not been persuaded completely of Burke's prescience: "You see, my dear Lord, that I do not go upon any difference concerning the best method of preventing the growth of a system which I believe we dislike in common. I cannot differ with you, because I do not think any method can prevent it. The Evil has happened; the thing is done in principle and in example; and we must wait the good pleasure of a higher hand than ours for the time of its perfect accomplishment."⁹ He was too humble. That real Jacobinism never has come to Britain or America is in some considerable measure the work of Edmund Burke's conservative genius. He first succeeded in turning the resolute might of England against French revolutionary energies; and by the time of his death, in 1797, he had established a school of politics founded upon the concepts of veneration and prudence, which ever since has opposed its talents to the appetite for innovation. "We venerate what we cannot presently understand," he taught the rising generation. His reverence for the wisdom of our ancestors, through which works the design of Providence, is the first principle of all consistent conservative thought.

That the English people in some measure have preserved this historical continuity, the dignity of a society governed by moral

⁹ Wentworth Woodhouse Papers, Book 1, 712.

(I am indebted to Earl Fitzwilliam, the trustees of the Fitzwilliam Estates, and the librarian of Sheffield Public Libraries for permission to publish this and the previous extract from the Wentworth Woodhouse Papers.)

principle, is in consequence, chiefly, of that Anglican spirit of consecration which Burke knew for the guardian of public order and private tranquillity. He did more than recognize that spirit: he upheld it with a beauty and a passion and a power unequalled in modern political philosophy. English political wisdom found in an Irish man of letters its supreme exponent, and Anglican faith found in an adventurer suspected of recusancy its most stalwart champion. If ever the strength of the English Church and of English society found its expression in a single individual, that man was Burke.

THESE ARE ANCIENT THINGS

By S. H. HOOKE

UNDER this title, taken from I Chron. iv, 22, and appropriately connected with the potter's craft, so important for archaeologists, it is proposed to publish from time to time a chronicle of such news and discoveries in the field of archaeology as may be of interest to biblical students. The passage from which our title is drawn suggests that in the ancient records of Israel there was a tradition preserved of the existence of royal potteries, and we shall begin our chronicle by giving an account of recent discoveries which confirm this ancient Hebrew tradition.

During the excavation of Tell ed-Duweir, now generally accepted by scholars as the site of the important Judæan city of Lachish, a large number of jar-handles were found bearing the impress of a stamp or seal. These stamps contained inscriptions and a winged figure. In general the stamps carry on the upper register the word *lmlk*, which most scholars agree in translating as "for", or "belonging to the king"; in the central register there is a design which occurs in two main types, (a) a four-winged flying scarab, and (b) a two-winged symbol which has been variously interpreted as a winged solar disk, or, by Professor Albright, as a flying roll (cf. Zech. v, 1); in the lower register there is a place-name, one of four, viz., Hebron, Sochoh, Ziph, and an unidentified place *Mmsht*. It is the inscription in the upper register which appears to establish the view that such stamps are royal, indicating that the jars which bear them were either made at royal potteries, were royal property, or contained a standard measure of wine or oil, guaranteed by the royal seal. No complete jar bearing the royal stamp has been found, but it has been possible to reconstruct from the fragments discovered at Tell ed-Duweir a complete jar with four handles each bearing the royal stamp. This may be seen, together with over 300 examples of stamped jar-handles, at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. These interesting objects raise several problems and

throw light on various aspects of Biblical archaeology. No satisfactory explanation has been offered why only four place-names have been found on a total number of 550 royal jar-handle stamps, and those only in the southern kingdom, even though the stamps have been discovered in a wide range of sites, including Jerusalem, Gezer, Jericho, Beth-Shemesh, and many other places. Fifty years ago Professor Sayce suggested that the manufacture of pottery was a royal monopoly, and that the names stamped on the jar-handles were those of the royal potteries. This theory is still accepted by some scholars, among whom is the veteran archaeologist, Père Vincent. If this were so, we should have expected to find these names mentioned in I Chron. iv, 22-23.

Another and more probable view is that put forward by a distinguished contemporary of Sayce, the French archaeologist, Clermont-Ganneau, and later supported by Dr. J. W. Jack, namely that jars so stamped were official receptacles for the collection of tribute in kind, e.g., grain, wine, and oil, from the cities of Judah.

A third suggestion, due to Professor Albright, is that the four cities whose names appear on the stamps were royal store-cities where the proceeds of taxation were stored.

A second problem concerns the central figure. While the scarab form of seal is extremely common in excavated sites in Palestine, we have no means of determining whether the scarab was a royal emblem, since we possess, as yet, no examples of royal seals. An interesting seal, which may be that of a court official, was found at Tell ed-Duweir. It is a four-winged scarab, like those on many of the jar-stamps, bearing the Biblical name of Ahimelech, and an imperfectly preserved inscription which should probably be read "May he, i.e. Jahveh, support". With regard to the change from the four-winged to the two-winged figure, the attractive suggestion has been made that, if the view is correct that the two-winged figure represents a flying scroll, the change from the one to the other represents an attempt to eliminate the foreign and idolatrous element of the scarab and to replace it by a symbol of the sacred Law; and further, that the change belongs to the religious reforms carried out in the reign of Josiah. This view is supported by the fact that archaeologists regard the two-winged form as definitely later than the four-winged one, and that on other grounds the date of the jar-handles has been placed in the 7th century B.C. It may be

added that the prevalence of scarab seals in Palestine, a feature which can be traced back to a period before the Hebrew occupation of Canaan, bears witness to the persistence of Egyptian influence on the material culture of Palestine down to the end of the monarchy. Furthermore, the interesting jar-handles here described have been of great value in helping to determine the main lines of development of Hebrew script. For the information of readers who may be desirous of fuller information on this subject, it may be mentioned that in the valuable periodical *The Biblical Archaeologist* for December 1949, Dr. David Diringer has published an authoritative account of all that is known up to the present about the subject of the royal jar-handles.

ST. MATTHEW'S ORIGINALITY ?*

By DOUGLAS EDWARDS, C.R.

THE Two-Document Hypothesis—of which the Abbot of Downside's book is a critique—claims that the triple Synoptic parallels are best explained by supposing that St. Luke and St. Matthew, writing independently of each other, had Mark as their common and chief source. One strong reason for believing this is that, while Mark and Matthew, or again, Mark and Luke, frequently agree against the third member of the triad, Matthew and Luke practically never agree against Mark. This particular part of the Hypothesis admits of a test on the grand scale, since, of the 831 Lucan and 903 Matthaean verses¹, covering the Ministry from the first days in Capernaum to the denial of Peter, 324 and 450 respectively have parallels in Mark. The Abbot claims that—in the case of several triple parallels—precisely the same reasoning would prove that Luke, on each occasion, depended, not upon Mark, but upon Matthew. Beginning with a (three-verse) Marcan passage and its parallels², he notes that here, while Matthaean-Marcan agreements are considerable, agreements of Mark and Luke are slight—and, in any case, explicable on other than strictly literary grounds. Accordingly, he says, it follows, either that Mark and Luke derive from Matthew here, or else that Matthew derives from Mark, and Luke from Matthew. In either case, *Luke derives from Matthew*³.

In examining the three passages—extremely brief ones as they are—our author scrupulously notes that Mark and Luke do, in point of fact, agree against Matthew, by beginning with a double question. This, however, he explains (quite reasonably) as a reminiscence of Mark on St. Luke's part, rather than "normal literary utilization". No doubt a further Marcan-Lucan agreement against

**The Originality of St. Matthew.* B. C. Butler. (C.U.P. 18s.).

¹ i.e. Lk. iv, 31 to xxii, 62. Mt. iv, 18 to xxvi, 75.

² Parable of the Mustard Seed. Mk. iv, 30-32 = Mt. xiii, 31-32 = Lk. xiii, 18f.

³ Author's italics.

Matthew—namely, the phrase, “the Kingdom of God”—is easily explicable as a stylistic preference of St. Luke’s (although one cannot but wonder whether—if St. Luke had Matthew in his hands—his personal preference might not have wavered under the influence of such a massive and authoritative documentary counterweight.)

“*Luke derives from Matthew.*” The premises of this conclusion are that the non-Marcian writers use a different word (ὁμοία) for “like” from the one (ὥς) used by Mark, that they both speak of the seed as one “which a man took” and describe it as “growing into a tree” instead of (as in Mark) as “springing up and putting forth great branches”, and finally that they describe the birds as dwelling “in its branches” instead of “under its shadow”. Now, in drawing such a conclusion from such premises, is not Dom Christopher Butler making much the same mistake as afforded him—in the case of the benighted “Two-Documentarians”—a target for so many shafts of derision? For, surely, the weakness of the Q hypothesis has never been its assumption of a source of some kind (or even of a documentary source) as the natural explanation of the non-Marcian Synoptic parallels. Its weakness has been to transform the hypothetical document into an actual historical one, and to depict St. Matthew as anxiously turning from one of his authorities to the other and skilfully composing, from their variant contributions, a beautiful and intricate mosaic. Yet—in the teeth of such a warning—our author finds, even in this single instance of Lucan-Matthaeian parallelism, a decisive proof that St. Luke had St. Matthew’s Gospel in his hands. Since, however, he has already, in this same passage, ascribed Marcian-Lucan agreements against Matthew to St. Luke’s reminiscence of Mark, why should he consider it a sign of obtuseness and credulity to regard the Q passages themselves as instances of reminiscence, on the part of St. Matthew and St. Luke, of catechetical records of the words of Christ, which (whether written down or not) had long been familiar (especially to Christian teachers) in the daily instructions of the Apostolic Church? It is all very well to plead that the simplest solution is to be preferred. But “the simplest solution” sometimes proves to be *simpliste*, and very far from simple, when we survey the problem as a whole. And this, surely, is the case here.

For if we proceed—on abstract and speculative grounds—to

conclude, from the present set of parallels (or even from all the "Q" parallels together) that St. Luke had Matthew in his hands, we are at once confronted—not just with a rival theory—but with opposing facts. One is St. Luke's failure to make use of the few, yet striking additions made by Matthaean-Mark to the repertory of Mark proper. A minor illustration of this strange indifference to what Matthew has to say on Marcan themes is that although St. Matthew called himself Matthew, St. Luke retained the Marcan name, Levi⁴. Is not that a little odd? Odder still, however (on the Abbot of Downside's hypothesis) is St. Luke's treatment of St. Peter. It is true that Peter's walking on the water is only an incident in the greater happening of Christ's miraculous coming over the waves to the help of his storm-tossed fishermen, and true also that St. Luke's "Great Omission" from his Marcan source begins at this very point. Yet it is precisely this that is so odd. For—as the first half of *Acts* makes evident—St. Luke had a great interest in St. Peter. If, then, he had Matthew as his other source, it is strange that he should break off his Marcan narrative on the brink of an event in which (as Mathaeian-Mark informed him) St. Peter figured so remarkably. But, if this is strange, his conduct in connexion with a later incident is stranger still. The Confession of Peter is the pivot of the Marcan Ministry, and St. Luke, with two understandable omissions, gives the substance of the fifty Marcan verses which record it and its sequel. He omits—no doubt, for its obscurity—the discussion about Elijah and the Son of Man after the Transfiguration. He omits also Peter's presumptuous rebuke of Christ and Christ's tremendous retort. Thus his incorporation of vast tracts of the Marcan narrative has nothing wooden about it. He is the master, not the slave, of his material. And yet—if Luke derives from Matthew—the following baffling fact remains. Unaffected (as of course, in such a case, St. Luke must of necessity have been) by the scruples of humility which are usually supposed to have sealed the recipient's own lips, he none the less, refused to transcribe the three Matthaean verses⁵ which would have secured for his readers the authoritative record of what must surely be regarded as one of the most significant events in Christ's Life and Mission, namely, His joyful welcome of the revelation made to

⁴ Lk. v, 27. cf. Mt. ix, 9; Mk. ii, 14.

⁵ Mt. xvi, 17-19; cf. Lk. ix, 20f.

Simon Bar-Jonah of his Master's Divine Christship. This is not easy to believe.

However, St. Luke's failure to make use of Matthew's one or two extremely striking additions to the Marcan repertoire is not the only fact that runs counter to the theory that Luke derives from Matthew. There is another, and one which carries more weight even than the first. As we have seen, and as Dom Christopher Butler readily admits, St. Luke used Mark—the very Mark that we possess ourselves. There is, therefore, no need for speculation: simple inspection is all that is required if we would learn how St. Luke was accustomed to handle a documentary source. He incorporated great tracts of it wholesale, with comparatively little change. And, broadly speaking, he carefully preserved the original order of its text. It is unnecessary to write out here what can be found in both Gospels and in countless Commentaries. Apart from the account of the Call of the First Disciples, which St. Luke has in a different version and slightly different context, the first 64 verses of the Marcan record of the Ministry reappear⁶. After an intervening block of some 80 non-Markan verses a further 112 do the same⁷. Even then, Mark is not laid aside, but its narrative is continued for another 50 verses⁸—this time, however, on the further side of a considerable gap, 75 verses having been omitted *en bloc*. Next comes a vast tract of no less than 330 non-Markan verses, after which, interrupted only by the Zacchaeus incident and the Parable of the Pounds, the remaining 220 verses of the Marcan pre-Passion narrative are reproduced in St. Luke's pages almost without a break⁹.

However, once we adopt the theory that Luke derives from Matthew, so that St. Luke had St. Matthew's Gospel, as well as St. Mark's, to draw upon, it turns out that he used this newly-discovered second source of his in a remarkably different and strangely less respectful way than he did the first. Not only, as we have seen, did he ignore the new light cast by Matthew upon the Marcan document itself. He seems to have lost that respect of the historian for his authorities, so signally illustrated by his use

⁶ Mk. i, 16 to iii, 6.

⁷ Mk. iv, 1 to vi, 44.

⁸ Mk. viii, 27 to ix, 40.

⁹ Mk. x, 13 to xiv, 54 (plus xiv, 66-72).

of Mark—a thing surprising in itself, and the more so because this other document *deserved* respect. For, as our author frequently and eloquently notes, Matthew (especially in its non-Marcian part) is distinguished by “a harmonious and logical structure superior in both aspects” to that of Mark, or even Luke.

Why, then, did St. Luke do it such despite? Even if he was anxious, in Dom Christopher Butler's expressive phrase, to “bleach out” Matthew's Judaic features, this does not account for what (if his theory is right) St. Luke (of all people) did to Matthew's matchless fabric. After all, there is nothing Judaic about the Matthaean Beatitudes. Why did not St. Luke transcribe the first sixteen verses of the Sermon on the Mount? He could have done so at the expense of but eight extra verses. However, it is ill work speculating. We do not know what room he had, if any, for expansion. But when we come to the second half of the Great Sermon, the case is altered. We are no longer adrift on the sea of speculation, but tread firmly on the solid land of fact. For four-fifths of this second half (45 verses out of a total 107) *does* appear in St. Luke's pages. Why, then, did he not incorporate Matthew vi, 19-vii, 29 *en bloc*? This was his normal mode of action. Besides—as we have seen—in this harmonious Matthaean passage he was, by hypothesis, confronted with precisely the material that cried out for, and would have repaid such treatment. But no! Despite its harmonious architecture, St. Luke—himself no mean literary artist—shattered St. Matthew's lovely structure (of 45 verses) into no less than a dozen isolated fragments¹⁰. Were it not that mathematical language seems out of place in the field of literary and historical studies, I should be tempted here to take a leaf out of the Matthaean-Priorists' book and to describe this scarcely credible consequence as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory.

As will have already become clear, the leading characteristic of Dom Christopher Butler's argument is its curious abstractness. An outstanding instance occurs on page 66, where the remark is made that, mathematically speaking, the solution of the Synoptic problem at present in possession of the field has only one chance in three of being right, since there are two other equally possible solutions. Then at once—so suddenly that it takes one's breath away—the concession is made that one of these two equally possible solutions is, on other grounds, “absurd”. The result — handsomely

admitted—is that (mathematically speaking, any way) there is now an even chance of the priority of Mark or the priority of Matthew. As before, however, when we quit the abstract field and turn to the actual documents concerned, the theory of Matthew's priority to Mark begins to look—not absurd exactly—but, one would say, highly improbable. For, if this second part of the hypothesis is right, St. Mark behaved almost as oddly as St. Luke was found doing on the assumption of its *first* part's being right, since it follows (if Mark derives from Matthew) that St. Mark, with Matthew there before him (and, incidentally, unlike St. Luke, with plenty of room at his disposal) discarded the two Nativity chapters, suppressed the statement that the Baptist proclaimed, in so many words, the Advent of the Kingdom of Heaven, left on one side the Sermon on the Mount, rearranged the order of events in the first half of the Ministry, and re-wrote practically every scene of the entire Ministry in a more detailed, more vivid, and—above all—more forthright, and even perhaps imprudent, way.

It might perhaps be supposed that St. Mark ignored his documentary source in this wholesale fashion because his special interest lay rather in the historical than the didactic field. Yet, sharpen the antithesis as we may, it remains difficult to resist the impression of very odd behaviour here on the part of an Evangelist who was concerned to hand on to the believing Church “the things said or done by Christ”¹¹. For it is not merely the scale but the quality of his omissions that is surprising. Thus Mark states of Christ, that “He was in the wilderness forty days, tempted by Satan: and He was with the wild beasts and the angels ministered to Him”. How easy it would have been to continue, “And when the Tempter came to Him he said . . .” Yet the strange fact remains that no hint is given us that, all the time, St. Mark had at his disposal the Matthaean narrative of the actual Temptation—a narrative, be it remembered, which can hardly have come from any other lips than those of Christ Himself. Such conduct is very hard to credit, unless at least one has, first, accepted Dom Christopher Butler's eleventh-hour estimate of the Matthaean narratives as (for the most part) preserving only “meagre mnemonic details” and intended much less as a Gospel for the believing Church than as an “*aide-memoire*” for the benefit of the original eye-witnesses in their missionary work. For Peter, in particular, our

author claims, this *aide-memoire* was indispensable. With its help (but only with its help) he was able to recall what he would have otherwise forgotten. And the result was the Gospel according to St. Mark!

Now it is true enough that public speakers, and, among them, mission preachers, depend on notes to aid their memory. But they seldom rely, for this purpose, on notes written, independently of themselves, by a third party. They are normally quite capable of writing (or dictating) such "mnemonic details" as they need. And particularly will this be the case where (as according to Dom Christopher Butler himself, it was with Peter) the events of which the preacher has to speak are events of his own experiencing, which had "thrilled him to the core."

However, as our author is careful to point out, rejection of this after-hypothesis (which was designed to meet a difficulty) leaves us exactly where we were before. That is to say, it leaves us confronting the difficulty of a derived document's being, not only fuller, but evidently more original in tone and colour than its source. But, as we have seen, this particular difficulty—considerable as it is—is not the only one with which the hypothesis of the priority of Matthew confronts us. If it be correct, how came St. Luke to treat St. Matthew's Gospel as, in that case, he did? And how came St. Mark (who puts such emphasis on Christ's teaching, and himself records its—synoptically speaking—deepest elements) to jettison the Sermon on the Mount and, above all, to discard the Temptation narrative? Until more satisfying answers can be found to these three questions the Abbot of Downside's theory, even if, mathematically considered, equally possible with the solution commonly accepted, cannot account for the contents of the Synoptic Gospels as the so-called "Two-Document" Hypothesis can and does. The Q "document", indeed, has been dying for some years, and may now be officially considered dead. But this, I fear, will bring no comfort to our author, who desires to establish, not the death of a document, but the non-existence of a source.

¹⁰ Lk. xii, 33-34; xi, 34-36; xvi, 13; xii, 22-31; vi, 37-38; vi, 41-42; xi, 9-13; vi, 31; xiii, 24; vi, 43-46; xiii, 26-27; vi, 47-49.

¹¹ Papias, quoted by Eusebius: H.E. iii, 39.

ACTON'S POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY *

REVIEW BY G. P. GOOCH

To an old man who knew Acton in his closing years it is interesting to look back on the great Victorians and to see how they have fared. Carlyle and his thunderings meant much to me in my Cambridge days; Macaulay's glittering pageantry was a delight, and I saluted Herbert Spencer's ambitious attempt to combine science with philosophy. All three have now lost a good deal of their authority. On the other hand Darwin and Mill, Tennyson and Browning, Stubbs, Maitland and Gardiner, are still intact, the great novelists are eternally young, and Ruskin has still much to teach us. If these celebrities returned to earth to-day, they would learn with astonishment that the name of Acton, whom few of them ever met or read, is now numbered with the elect and that his essays, lectures and letters are as diligently studied as their own more famous works. Fifty years after his death this lonely and learned scholar has come into his own. The only parallel to such a contrast between relative obscurity among contemporaries and immense reputation after death is Samuel Pepys. Poles apart as they are in character and ideology, they owe this dramatic transformation to a similar cause—the posthumous publication of their writings. In this task of revival no one has taken a more strenuous and useful part than Mr. Fasnacht, whose patient delvings in the vast collection of the papers preserved at Cambridge have enriched our knowledge of a thinker whom we can never know too much.

It is natural to regard the Regius Professor and the planner of the *Cambridge Modern History* as primarily an historian; but it would be more exact to describe him as a thinker about history, a publicist and a moralist. It is one of the chief merits of Mr. Fasnacht's striking book to emphasise the teacher. Most historical scholars content themselves with trying to describe "how things were," to use the familiar phrase of Ranke, and we cannot be too grateful to these intrepid workers who have gradually enabled us

* *Acton's Political Philosophy: An Analysis.* By G. E. Fasnacht. With a Foreword by Sir Harold Butler. Hollis & Carter. 21s.

to reconstruct the past. But reconstruction was not enough for Acton, who surveyed the whole record of the ascent of man from a lofty watch-tower, and strove to derive lessons which would help us to shape not only our individual lives but the institutions and policies for the communities in which we dwell.

Life-long study and reflection resulted in an ideology of Christian liberalism which he preached with eloquent conviction in almost everything he wrote. Its two principal articles were the supremacy of the Christian conscience and the winning of liberty in all its forms through the division of power. Since the coming of Christ, he declared, there was no excuse for pretending that we did not know the difference between right and wrong. That, of course, was a commonplace of Christian teachers throughout the ages, but Acton's application of the idea was marked by such Spartan severity that his beloved master Döllinger complained of his refusal to make allowance for human frailty and the atmosphere of the time. Hence his sharp criticism of Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, in which the Catholic moralist censured the Anglican Bishop for his leniency to the worldly Renaissance Popes. In Acton's view—and there is much to be said for it—the greater the sinner the greater the sin, and to hush up crimes was almost as grave an offence as to commit them. In this field of rigid moral standards he stood almost alone, and on his deathbed he confessed to his son that his verdicts had sometimes been too severe.

In regard to the second article of his creed—the necessity of cutting up power into little bits so that no fallible mortal should have too much of it—our experience of dictatorship since his death have rallied the bulk of opinion to his side. Here is the main reason for the remarkable revival of interest in his writings and of gratitude for the championship of our political and spiritual liberties. "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." That famous sentence in a letter to Creighton may serve as his legacy to mankind. His ideal constitution was federalism on the Swiss or American models. Though he was born in Italy of a German mother, educated in France and Germany, and spent a large part of his life abroad, he had enough English blood in his veins to love liberty with a passion never exceeded by its island champions from Milton to Mill. Moreover, unlike many

libertarians, he realised that political liberty needed for its support a measure of economic democracy which was beyond the range of his beloved *laissez-faire* leader Gladstone and the Victorian Whigs. One of the most striking results of Mr. Fasnacht's excavations in the Cambridge goldmine is the recognition by his hero that there was more in Karl Marx than the crudities of economic determinism and the gospel of the class war. The free state must also be a welfare state. All these and other aspects of his teaching are illustrated in a series of chapters in which Acton is wisely allowed to explain himself in his unique aphoristic style. Mr. Fasnacht has performed a labour of love, keeping himself modestly in the background but supplying in his comments, notes and appendices all that is needed to understand one of the wisest of political teachers of the latter half of the nineteenth century. There is no obligation to adopt all his views on men and events, but it is a liberal education to understand what they were.

G. P. GOOCH.

A Liturgical Theory about St. Mark's Gospel*

A REVIEW BY AUSTIN FARRER

THE Archbishop of Quebec propounds to us a liturgical or calendrical theory about St. Mark's Gospel; but so far we have only half of his work. The first volume is in our hands, presenting an introduction and a general account, together with St. Mark's text in English, divided as the theory requires and illustrated by brief notes justifying the divisions made. The second volume, when it comes, is to contain a full commentary on the Gospel in the light of this theory, and when we have it we shall know how much light the theory casts, and on what it casts it. A study of the first volume hardly even enables us to predict our reactions to the second. For a theory about the composition of an ancient book must be judged by its ability to explain the book and, in the last resort, by nothing else. General prolegomena may strike us as plausible, but if detailed exegesis proves sterile we shall reject the theory. Or the prolegomena may fail to convince us, and the exegesis establish the theory nevertheless.

The difficulty of discussion at the present stage is increased by the special character of the Archbishop's thinking. The steps of his exposition are the leaps of genius; he is impatient of demonstration, seldom pauses to explain his assumptions, and never gives a point so complete a discussion as to determine the degree of probability his suggestions can claim. He does not give us the evidence on which to make up our minds, and if we are to supply it for ourselves, we shall need exhaustive knowledge of New Testament Criticism, Rabbinics, Liturgics, Primitive Church History, and Galilean Archaeology. There is no limit to what he is prepared to leave for his reader's own discovery. Though his subject is the adaptation of Gospel narrative to a lunar calendar, he nowhere devotes a page to a simple account of how such a calendar worked. He tells us that different lectionaries offered different numbers of

**The Primitive Christian Calendar. A Study of the Malling of the Marcan Gospel.* Vol. I. Introduction and Text by Philip Carrington, Archbishop of Quebec. (Cambridge University Press, 1952). 30s.

lessons for the lunar year, but never explains how these several numbers were fitted to its requirements. His own Mark is apparently planned for a lunar year in which every month contains just four Sundays: but there never was such a year, for at least every sixth lunar month contains five Sundays. He does not tell us how these fifth Sundays were to be provided for, nor what you were to do about the thirteenth month which was intercalated every three years or so. We must set our hopes upon the second volume for an answer to this, as well as to many other unhappy questions. All we can do at present is to ask them, and show that they are hitherto unanswered—certainly an ungracious and perhaps an unreasonable proceeding.

The thesis is, that St. Mark's gospel was written as a lection-book for the Sundays of the Jewish lunar year, and that the original division into weekly portions can be recovered from signs which still stand in the excellent Greek codex B. As to the general probability of St. Mark's writing such a book, we can fairly argue as follows. Although Greek speaking Christians in general may have abandoned the observance of the Jewish feasts, that is no reason why they should have early abandoned the commemoration of them. In the eyes of a Catholic many Protestants fail to observe or keep Easter by fulfilling the Easter obligations, but they commemorate Easter none the less. The primitive Christian who no longer kept Tabernacles or Dedication by the performance of the acts enjoined on Jews would still commemorate those seasons for the purpose of glorifying Christ, whose one Easter sacrifice had provided the substance of which all the old ceremonies had been so many shadows. And a Christian evangelist, providing a book to be read publicly through the year, might so arrange his matter as to serve this very purpose. The lessons at or around the several feasts might show how the promise of each season was fulfilled by Jesus. St. John's Gospel plainly contains much matter of this kind, though not, it would seem, arranged for a year of Sundays with the feasts falling at the proper places. For St. John runs over three years. It seems a more natural and simpler thing to run over one only, so why should not St. Mark have done it?

So far, so good. Let St. Mark's book have been a year's lessons on such a plan. But, even granting this, I still do not know how I am to understand St. Mark to have written his Gospel. Did

he write it continuously and, as it came, merely steering his story from feast to feast at roughly suitable distances, and leaving the dividing of it into the required number of weekly portions until after he had finished writing it? Or did he actually write it in weekly portions as he went along, telling off a paragraph against such and such a Sunday and then proceeding to compose a paragraph for the next Sunday? If this is what is meant, then of course Dr. Carrington is telling us something of great importance about the Gospel as a thing thought out and written. But if it is the other that he means, he is not, perhaps, telling us much. The Gospel as a composition, as its author's living act of thought, is not (on that view) a series of Sunday portions but a continuous narrative, as I had always supposed. All I am being told is that this narrative, as it passes along, pays some respect at some points to some of the Jewish festal themes taken in order. But as to the Sunday portions—how are we even to be sure, on this view, that St. Mark himself divided them, rather than leaving it to the reader in Church? And what difference does it make, anyhow? Should we know anything that matters about the Epistle to the Romans, if St. Paul descended from heaven, snatched the pencil from the hand of the official of the Bible Reading Fellowship, and himself mutilated his letter into short daily readings? Might it not even be that (let us say) Paul is better at writing epistles, and Titus or Tertius at portioning them out?

But surely Dr. Carrington means that St. Mark actually composed in portions. If he means this, it becomes reasonable to ask whether St. Mark's book looks as if that were so. Perhaps we expect to get a positive answer, because of what the Form Critics have taught us. Are not they able to assume that self-contained anecdotal paragraphs had been long in use as liturgical readings, or recitations rather, before St. Mark wrote, and that his book was largely made up of such paragraphs? Largely: but "largely" gives the case away. "Largely" will do for the Form Critics, but nothing short of "wholly" will do for the Archbishop, and "wholly" cannot be sustained. Suppose that the Leper (Mark i, 40-45) or the Paralytic (ii, 1-12) is a portion of standard length, then how many portions are there in the Parabolic Discourses (iv, 1-34)? To go by length, we should separate the exposition (10-20) from the parable it expounds (1-9), but surely that cannot

be a proper thing to do: how can an exposition, expounding the hearer does not know what, be a self-contained recitation? And what are we to say of the appendix to the exposition (21-34)? Is it to be cut off, and to flap in the air by itself? We *can* divide iv, 1-34, but it is an unhappy business, like so much lectionary-making. Surely St. Mark did not *compose* it as two or as three portions. But neither, surely, did he compose it as one portion to be out of all proportion to its neighbours.

A crucial passage is vi, 30-viii 10, for here we are at the heart of Dr. Carrington's argument. Why, he asks, does the Evangelist give us two virtually identical narratives of miraculous feasts in the wilderness? The difficulty is notorious, and his suggested solution is perfectly fair: if St. Mark felt that the first feast expressed the Christization of Passover, then the second would presumably mean to him the Christization of Pentecost, a feast which was essentially the sequel or completion of the Passover Firstfruits. But now Dr. Carrington goes on to say that his interpretation fits the calendar like a glove, for Pentecost is the seventh week after Firstfruits and the paragraph of the four thousand is the seventh after the paragraph of the five thousand in St. Mark's text. True enough, it is the seventh marked portion in Codex B, but the question remains whether the divisions made by B are self-evidently Marcan, or merely the work of a scribe doing just what Dr. Carrington is doing—cutting St. Mark into a lectionary to fit the Jewish year. The seven portions are as follows:—

1. vi, 45-52 walking on the water.
2. vi, 53-56 healing mission in Genesaret.
3. vii, 1-16 discussion with Pharisees on clean and unclean.
4. vii, 17-23 discussion with disciples on clean and unclean.
5. vii, 24-30 Syrophenician woman.
6. vii, 31-37 Effatha.
7. viii, 1-10 four thousand.

Of these seven portions the last three are a satisfactory set of clearly divided self-contained stories about equal in length, such as form-critics love, but the first four are a more dubious collection. Here St. Mark is using (it might seem) a different scale: we have just had the long paragraph of Herod and John (vi, 14-29) and the almost equally long paragraph of the five thousand (30-44). If we are to maintain the same scale, we should treat 45-56 as a single

portion; the brief and general description of the healing mission in Genesaret being the mere rounding off of the story of the voyage preceding. There is no more reason for treating 1 and 2 in the table above as two than as one. Even worse is the case of 3 and 4. The discussion on clean and unclean is continuous in sense; to divide it is a bad business, like the division of the parable-discourses in iv, and if we do divide it, we do not know where is best—after v, 13 is perhaps a little less distressing than after v, 16, the division represented by Codex B and accepted by the Archbishop. It is, then, more reasonable to hold that St. Mark left a suitable amount of material for division into six lessons between his Passover feast (vi, 30-44) and his Pentecost feast (viii, 1-10) than to hold that he composed vi, 45-vii, 37 in six portions as he went along. Well, let us accept the hypothesis provisionally in this modified form, and try another step forward. From Pentecost to the next great holy-season, New Year—Atonement—Tabernacles, is a gap of fifteen weeks, so we shall expect the Evangelist to leave roughly twice as much space between his Pentecost passage and his New Year-Tabernacles passage as he has left between his Passover passage and his Pentecost passage. But, alas, we run into a New Year-Tabernacles passage after no more than three very short paragraphs. It is, of course, perfectly arguable that there are no references to any Jewish feasts in St. Mark except for the Passover of the Passion; but that is not Dr. Carrington's thesis, and if there are any such references, then the reference of viii, 27-ix, 8 to New Year-Tabernacles is far and away the most strongly marked. We have got two scenes (Caesarea Philippi and the Mount of Transfiguration) uniquely linked together by the period of six days, which is the period (by the usual inclusive reckoning) between the penitential season (New Year-Atonement) and the festal season (octave of Tabernacles). In the second scene the making of "Tabernacles" is actually mentioned, and we have to remember that it was the *making* of the booths which was the peculiar ceremony of the feast and which gave it its Greek name. Moreover, here Christ is proclaimed the true Revealer, as against either Moses (Law) or Elijah (Prophecy), and he is seen transfigured with light on the mountain top. Now, as Dr. Carrington himself mentions *a propos* of something else, the Rabbis assigned to the season of Tabernacles Moses' second descent from Sinai, bearing the tables of the law unbroken,

and himself transfigured with light. The former of St. Mark's two scenes is scarcely less appropriate to the penitential season, New Year-Atonement: the Messianic kingdom is revealed, Satan repelled, and the Great Judgement disclosed. Dr. Carrington says that, like the rest of us, he assigned the Transfiguration to Tabernacles at first sight, but since it does not fit his theory, he has now changed his mind, and assigns it to a largely hypothetical and half heathenish feast kept at midsummer by Galilean peasants in the ancient "High Places". And who is going to believe this?

It seems, then, that we must retreat another step. St. Mark did not compose in weekly paragraphs; but neither did he leave enough material between feasts to divide into the requisite number of paragraphs. Can we now save any part of the theory at all? Yes, we can allow that St. Mark moves on from feast to feast in due order, though not to scale. He begins with New Year Atonement, the proclamation of the kingdom and the judgment, the call to repentance, the fasting, the repulsion of Satan (i, 1-13); and, let us say, reaches Tabernacles when the fast ends, angels prepare a meal, good news is proclaimed (i, 13-15). He works his way quickly on to the season of corn-growing, Passover, and Pentecost (ii, 23-28, iv, 1-34, vi, 30-44, viii, 1-10) upon which he dwells long and lovingly. Then, as we have seen, he jumps straight on to the next significant season, New Year-Tabernacles (viii, 27-ix, 8), a fact the less surprising, since St. John twice makes the same jump (between iv and v, between vi and vii). St. Mark continues to dwell on the themes of viii, 27-ix, 8 in ix, 9-x, 45, and then we find ourselves entering Jerusalem for what turns out to be the Passover of the Passion.

The conclusion we should reach, therefore, would be that St. Mark was not a weekly lectionary arranged for the Jewish calendar, and that his unequal procession through the feasts covers not twelve months, but eighteen (from New Year, i.e. Michaelmas, to the second Easter following). But in this period of eighteen months there is a gap between Pentecost and New Year—after finishing the journey in the course of which the Pentecostal miracle takes place (viii, 1-26) the evangelist goes straight to Caesarea Philippi. And so his eighteen months virtually reduce to two sequences, New Year to Passover, New Year to Passover (i-vi, 44, viii, 27-xvi, 8), the first Passover season being drawn out to Pentecost (vi, 45-viii, 26), the second cut off short. The two New Years are marked by the

two voices from heaven at baptism and transfiguration, the two Passovers by the two resurrections from the dead, one wrought on Jairus's child, the other in Jesus himself.

Dr. Carrington, refusing to see Tabernacles in the Transfiguration, has to find it in the Jerusalem ministry (xi-xiii), even though that involves the desperate expedient of cutting out "For it was not the season of figs" (xi, 13) as a gloss. And so his Mark, as a continuous lectionary, ends at ch. xiii and at the Autumnal Equinox. The weekly reading resumes again next week with ch. i, leaving the Passion (xiv-xvi) to be read *out of course* at Easter. Surely, we must say, such an arrangement is credible only as the work of a lectionary-maker doing his best with an existing book. An evangelist writing a gospel in the form of a continuous lectionary would make sure of working round to Easter at Easter.

The moral to be drawn from the whole discussion is that the series of feasts in St. Mark is a worthwhile hypothesis but the weekly lectionary is a red-herring, and the marks in the Codex B the rankest red-herring of all. But a red herring, however great an irrelevance when drawn across the trail, may make a satisfying dish in itself, and much that Dr. Carrington has to say about the paraphrasing of the ancient manuscripts is of independent value. It may obstruct the interpretation of St. Mark, but it may greatly illuminate early lectionary practice. In his observations on the early history of the Christian year Dr. Carrington writes pages where he ought to write volumes, but he produces a series of guesses so brilliant and so apparently fertile that more leisured and methodical students might usefully devote volumes to the consideration of them. Can it indeed be shown that before the Jewish calendar gave place to the Julian in the Churches and before Tatian composed his Diatessaron about A.D. 160 St. Mark in some Churches and St. Matthew in others was being used as a complete annual lectionary? If it was really so, a flood of light seems to fall on second and early third century discussions of the chronology of Christ's life, for the disputants can be seen to be upholding actual lectionary usage rather than speculative history in the datings for which they contended. And, in particular, if St. Mark was, as tradition claimed, at the bottom of the Egyptian Church tradition, and if the great Alexandrine Gnostics saw the Gospel events as a Marcan liturgical drama filling the twelve months, then much that was obscure about the origins of their heresies springs into light. Dr. Carrington's remarks

about Valentinus are unquestionably brilliant: I wish I had the learning to declare that they are sound. Scarcely less ingenious are his suggestions about the lectionary aspect of the supersession of one-gospel canons by the four-gospel canon. It meant not a gospel a year, but a gospel a season, one for autumn, one for winter, one for spring, and one for summer—in fact, as St. Irenaeus says, *one for each of the Cherubic beasts*, who, as everyone knows, presided over the four corners of the sky and the four seasons of the year.

There is another part of Dr. Carrington's work which has independent merit, and that is his observation of triadic rhythm in St. Mark's writing. The Evangelist had a trick of mind which made him feel that an important word was suitably emphasized by occurring three times in a paragraph: and the same habit of thought is revealed on a larger scale when important ideas or narrative features make three appearances in the whole gospel; for example, three breakings of bread, for the five thousand and the four, and for the twelve apostles at the Supper. Dr. Carrington jumps prematurely from triadic rhythm into his calendrical theory, with which it has nothing very evidently to do. One could wish that he had gone on to a fuller study of the sequences and recurrences in which these triads find their place, but even as it is he has made suggestions from which every interpreter of St. Mark may profit. Few books indeed offer so much fertile suggestion in so few pages, and the second volume ought to be even more valuable from that point of view.

THE STUDY OF THE FATHERS

By W. O. CHADWICK

"THE country parson" wrote George Herbert in *A Priest to the Temple* "hath read the Fathers also and the Schoolmen and the later writers, or a good proportion of all." The publication of a revised edition of Dr. Prestige's learned and perspicacious work,¹ which was written when he was a vicar in a country parish, proves that the tradition reaching from Hooker to Illingworth or Moberly is not yet dead, and prompts reflection upon the state of patristic studies in the Church of England.

Both the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England had always regarded an appeal to the fathers of antiquity as justifying their theology. In the seventeenth century both sides had appealed with equal confidence to the Vincentian Canon *quod ubique quod semper quod ab omnibus*. For the study of the Fathers the needs of ecclesiastical controversy supplied a motive. But after the great days of the seventeenth century—the Caroline divines culminating in George Bull, the French divines culminating in the Benedictines of St. Maur and in Le Nain de Tillemont—the new theories of reason and the new attitudes to authority had caused partial neglect and some contempt of the Fathers. On the continent the herald of the coming Ultramontane theology was the unpatristic St. Alfonso Liguori. In England the knowledge of the ancient Church was beginning to be influenced by Gibbon: and though Gibbon owed so much of his historical equipment to de Tillemont, he was personally incapable of sharing de Tillemont's sympathies with the dogmatic and spiritual efforts of the patristic age. And when Dean Gaisford was showing a visitor through the library at Christ Church he dismissed the patristic shelves with a perfunctory derision as "Sad Rubbish."

The modern revival of the study of the ancient Church owed

¹ *God in Patristic Thought*. London, S.P.C.K., 1952. (First edition 1936.)

its first impetus to the Tractarians. The Tractarians looked to find their sources of dogmatic and ecclesiastical authority in the theology and practice of the ancient and undivided Church. They could not meet the wave of liberalism by the appeal of the Latitudinarians to reason or the appeal of the Evangelicals to religious experience. They must have an authority in religion that was external and objective.

"I am quite sure", wrote Dr. Pusey² to Dr. Hook "that nothing

"can resist infidelity except the most entire system of faith . . . One must have a strong, positive, objective system which people are to believe, because it is true, on authority out of themselves . . . If we throw ourselves in entire faith upon the early undivided Church, and say dogmatically, 'Whether this people will hear or whether they will forbear', 'This is the truth, the voice of the whole Church, and, in it, of God, to you', this will tell . . ."

And hence the Tractarians and their successors set out to make the teaching of the Fathers known in every vicarage and church in the land. The editions and translations which they published or inspired are a forbidding but impressive and often still useful monument to their dogmatic earnestness.

Time modified this conviction in two ways. The ritual movement of the middle and the late nineteenth century often looked to the continent for inspiration. And since *lex orandi* frequently influences *lex credendi*, one wing ceased to be content with the adamant refusal of Pusey and Keble to depart from the theology of the undivided Church. More important was *Lux Mundi*. The acceptance of the principle of Biblical criticism by the younger leaders of the movement transformed the nature of the dogmatic appeal to the Fathers. Liddon believed that *Lux Mundi* overthrew the system of authority for which the Tractarians had fought:

"Gore's line" he wrote to Lord Halifax "... involves ... nothing less than an abandonment of the ground won by the Oxford Movement in favour of Church authority as against private or mere literary criticism: indeed this characteristic is by no means confined to Gore's Essay"³.

For if there was a doctrine which the ancient and undivided Church

² *Life*, by H. P. Liddon, ii., 489.

³ Johnston, *Life of Liddon*, p. 371.

had proclaimed it was the literal inspiration of the Bible. It was possible perhaps to find faint traces of exceptions—the allegorism of an Origen and the like. But if there was one doctrine which could fairly be said to be included under the Vincentian Canon, it was that form of the doctrine of inspiration which the Biblical critics were engaged in destroying. If modern intellects were able to pick and choose among the doctrines of antiquity, then antiquity as an external and objective authority, a take-it-as-a-whole-authority, was vanishing. “*Lux Mundi*,” wrote Liddon “is a proclamation of revolt against the spirit and principles of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Keble”.

These fears were shown to be exaggerated. Yet Liddon was thus far right: it was plain, in Gore’s own work, in R. C. Moberly’s theory of dogmatic authority, and in the subsequent history of patristic study in England, that the successors of the Tractarians were modifying their ideas about the uses and results of patristic theology.

Meanwhile the new historical school had begun to transform patristic study as it was transforming every other historical discipline. F. C. Baur’s *Church History* might be proved largely erroneous in its assumptions, but it was not possible after it to write the history of the primitive Church in the old well-trodden ways. No longer did the historian go so openly to history to find what he expected to find. Just as in general history enthusiasts like Charles Kingsley were being succeeded by technically equipped specialists like Acton or J. B. Bury, so in patristic study a Lightfoot or a Harnack was changing the whole tone and quality of the work. In English patristics these new standards of scholarship resulted in the foundation of the *Journal of Theological Studies* in 1899, with C. H. Turner as its first editor. What the Germans and French called “scientific” scholarship had come to stay. The scholar now possessed far better working equipment: and he was ready to seek the Fathers as they actually were rather than the Fathers as modern controversy wished them or traditional opinion imagined them. The criticism of the sources produced astonishing revolutions in immemorial opinions:

“For Dr. Bright” said that eminent scholar’s obituary “a saint was a saint, and a heretic was a heretic. Perhaps he took the invectives of the Church Fathers a little too much *au pied de la lettre*”.

For Dr. Bright's successors not every saint was a saint nor heretic a heretic. Nestorius was not a Nestorian, Pelagius was not a Pelagian, Apollinarius was a brilliant and constructive theologian, the semi-Arians were not semi-Arians but eastern conservatives, the Spanish Adoptionists were seeking to preserve an Augustinian truth. This was in no way derived from the anti-dogmatic tendency of liberalism, though it was related to the reassessment of dogmatic formulae which Biblical criticism suggested. It was rather derived from a fresh approach to the sources with improved historical methods and perspective, just as in another sphere Neville Figgis was proving that Erastus was not an Erastian.

This critical approach was powerfully reinforced from a place where it was then least expected—the Roman Catholic Church.

Ultramontane thought had, on the whole, neglected the study of the Fathers, apart from isolated proof texts. The theology of the Fathers was constantly used by the Anglicans as a platform whence to criticise modern Roman dogma: and the Ultramontanes therefore sought to emphasise the living and worshipping tradition of the Church and perhaps to minimise, more than their predecessors had done, the authority of the Fathers. Perrone and Cardinal Franzelin sought to circumscribe the authority of the Fathers or the Vincentian Canon in discovering the tradition of dogma.⁴ What made possible the introduction of new historical methods was the theory of development.

Newman had retracted some of his extremer positions and insisted that his *Essay on Development* was written neither by a Catholic nor for Catholics. But his name and reputation and eventual Cardinalate were themselves sufficient to draw attention to the importance of the doctrine as apologetic: and the career of a man like Wilfrid Ward shows how vital the theory was becoming to a thinker who was a loyal Catholic and desired to preserve his intellectual balance. Some theory of development—in the sense of explication or elucidation—had since the Middle Ages been recognised as admissible: and the precise limits of such a theory need not be defined. Franzelin, an influential representative of orthodoxy, believed that the French school of history led by Louis

⁴ E.g., Perrone, *De immaculato B.V. Mariae Conceptu* (Milan 1852) pp. 111 ff; Franzelin, *Tractatus de divina Traditione et Scriptura* (2nd edition revised, Rome 1875) pp. 294ff.

Duchesne transgressed the limits which he had set.⁵ Nevertheless the theory was available. And in Duchesne and his successors it opened the door to a new flowering of patristic study. One need no longer fear the critical and open-minded study of antiquity.

The movement thus stimulated survived the Modernist crisis (though not without a strain as the careers of Turmel, Batiffol and Duchesne himself showed). And the ripe fruit may be seen in the magnificent French *Dictionnaires* which are now indispensable to every student of the Fathers.

The intervention of the French and Belgians helped to sustain the Anglicans in patristic research. For like the Anglicans they believed that patristic study was important positively. The German divines have probably contributed more fruitful research to patristic study than the divines of any other nation: it is sufficient to name Harnack, Loofs, Schwartz, Lietzmann, to realise the debt which critical study owes them. But while generalization about so abounding a school is perilous, it is true that the history of German religion rendered difficult or unnecessary that form of the appeal to antiquity which has appeared so frequently in Anglican thinking. In this century the more extreme critics of the liberals, stressing as they did the "non-rational" factors in religion, considered the importance of the Fathers to be mainly negative. It was difficult to understand, let alone sympathise with, the Greek Fathers unless one could respect their attempt to construct intellectually coherent theology. But the Anglican ethos has been tenacious of a rational approach. Dr. Prestige asserts this ethos as the background of his whole study:

"I must make clear my fundamental outlook. I do not believe that the importation of Hellenic rationalism, to expound and explain the facts of Christian history, was illegitimate. Finite minds can never adequately theorise the infinite. But human reason is a valid instrument for unfolding the implications of human experience".

The appeal to antiquity, if not quite in its Caroline or Tractarian form, is something which the Church of England cannot do without. It is therefore important and not only to the specialist who is working at it "for its own sake". Yet the last century has put the Fathers more and more into the hands of the specialist alone. This is not

⁵ *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*, vol. xlvii-viii (1882-3).

so much due to lack of interest as to lack of opportunity. Pastoral duties have multiplied. Even St. Basil of Caesarea, whose contributions in theology are not insignificant, confessed that as a bishop he rarely read modern works because his time for reading was so small that the study of the Scriptures must have first claim upon it. The decline in classical studies has diminished the number of those who can with comfort and profit examine the original sources. If anyone will look at H. B. Swete's suggested list of preliminary reading of the Fathers in a *Handbook for the Clergy* of 1902 he will find an array which might well daunt anyone but a professional in the subject. But more than these factors is the continuous development of specialist scholarship which has rendered such great service to this field of study. In the days when men could read historical documents without a keen historical sense, the days perhaps of Bull or of Newman, it was easier for any educated man to read the texts and form as fair a judgment upon them as was then possible. But now the day of the proof text is past: and everyone recognises that a document can only be understood in relation to its total historical context. Therefore the profit of reading the Fathers has become less easy for the more casual reader to acquire—since he must needs acquire so much more knowledge than that of the document itself. And one practical fact issues from this. The days are gone when a man could study the Fathers successfully from a row of folios upon his own shelves. Access to a great library has become an essential.

From the days of the Council of Trent it has been an objection to the appeal to antiquity that it left the Church at the mercy of the archaeologist and historian. And it would be a sad day for the Church of England if the study of antiquity became the preserve only of the academic specialist. It is patent that the word of the expert may be crucial. But if the ignorant faces the expert, he too easily accepts what may be a particular phase of scholarship. Readers of the life of Archbishop Tait will remember, in the controversy over the Athanasian Creed in 1870-1, how the issue was confused by the temporary but widespread acceptance of a scholar's theory that the Creed was a forgery of the Carolingian age: and in recent times the flurry over the much sounder lecture of Dom Gregory Dix on the relation of Confirmation to Baptism showed something of the same characteristics.

We need then the Fathers: and it is not enough merely to be told about them by specialists in academic posts. The modern series of translations now being published by American editors, and the forthcoming series to be published by the S.C.M. Press, are encouraging signs that this is realised. The price of the best patristic texts and translations in the second-hand catalogues is evidence that these works are being read. And Dr. Prestige, who made a signal contribution to the unravelling of theological terminology, proves that it is still possible to be both a pastor and a scholar.

REVIEWS

A GREAT THEOLOGIAN

P. T. FORSYTH; THE MAN AND HIS WORK. By W. L. BRADLEY, PH.D. Independent Press. 18s. 6d.

IF one were asked to name the five most potent theological influences in this country in the last fifty years, one name almost certain of inclusion would be that of P. T. Forsyth. He took the place, in the minds of many, previously occupied by Dale and Fairbairn; he shared it with Denny, and among those who followed him, like Garvie, no one spoke in tones so clear and unforgettable. He was a Free Churchman; and one naturally associates him with the great Free Church theologians; but his influence was felt far outside the Free Churches. No testimony to his value, quoted by his latest biographer, is more glowing than that of J. K. Mozley. And now, thirty years from his death, his voice is still being listened to. "The themes," to refer to Mozley again, "the emphases, moments, most characteristic of his teaching, so far from becoming out of date, have more and more come to their own." His books are still being read; the magic of his eloquence is still powerful. Dr. Bradley's book will be welcomed as timely and adequate. Dr. Bradley is the Assistant Professor of the Philosophy of Religion at Hartford (Conn.) Theological Seminary; and he has devoted several years to an exhaustive study of his author.

The first part of the book is biographical, and traces his life from a home in Aberdeen where every penny had to be looked at, to the University in his home town and further study in Göttingen, to London, and the beginning of twenty-five years' ministry in Shipley, Yorkshire. In 1896, at the age of forty-six, he appears to have undergone a deep spiritual experience, coupled with a change of intellectual outlook. His twenty-one years as Principal of Hackney College began in 1901, and ended only with his death.

The impressive story of the apparent *volte-face* is told at length; and in the second part of the book, expository and critical, the subjects to which he gave his strength. Holiness, the Cross and the Church, are treated with an abundance of extracts which makes this part of the book almost an annotated anthology. Those who wish for an anthology pure and simple will find it in Mr. Escott's useful *Peter Taylor Forsyth, Director of Souls*.

Preacher, pastor, author, ecclesiastical leader, professor, theologian, few men have shown such industry. Twenty-eight books are catalogued by Mr. Escott, as well as numerous articles and addresses. And as the fount of his inspiration never seemed to run dry, so he was always fresh—the same vigour and imagination in his often tortuous style, with now the flash of a lyric poet and now the sparkle of a rhetorician. The youthful portrait on the dust-cover suggests the young thinker, calm yet inquiring. A later portrait, in Escott's small volume, shows the same mood of inquiry, but the explorer has had his experience of disappointment and perplexity. Outwardly, his life might have been an object of envy; the satisfactions of unflagging industry, the successive positions attended by an ever extending influence, and a steadily growing popularity. Inwardly, doubtless, his early struggles, like those of other intrepid Scottish thinkers and ministers, had left their mark on a character, confident indeed, but always ready for controversy; while those who knew anything of his inner life were aware of the effects of ill-health, and the shock of the outbreak of war in 1914, from which he never entirely recovered.

But to understand him (and the attempt to do so is abundantly worth while) we must go back to the turning point, already mentioned, of which Dr. Bradley has given us the full account. He took a long time to reach it. He grew up under the influence of Ritschl and Harnack; Harnack's *What is Christianity?* was being read by everyone at the turn of the century. But, from the first, against this influence, exercised unconsciously, as Dr. Bradley enables us to see, he chafed, even before he openly defied it. It was however not till his removal to Hackney, and later, when confronted by the outbreak of the "new theology" in 1907, that he seems to have ranged himself. In the years between 1908 and 1913, the doctrines for which he is best known were definitely formulated. Holiness, the Cross and the Church were closely linked together;

for God's holiness, if the matter may be stated with dangerous brevity, is at the root of His holy love, and this is the foundation of the "cruciality of the Cross", the very centre of the gospel, as verified in the experience of countless believers. As such, it is not to be upset either by an arrogant science nor a short-sighted orthodoxy; and it gives the Church at once its authority and its charter of existence. The four chapters into which Dr. Bradley compresses Forsyth's chief writings, all of which turn on these dominating subjects, will claim the gratitude of the reader who has no time to peruse the leisurely volumes for himself.

And they will assist him to answer the two questions which naturally arise when we consider such a man as Forsyth, with his abiding influence. What is its spring, and will it increase? His writing embodies four qualities whose combination is not often found; oratory, fervour, theological acumen, and religion. He exerts on his readers something of what was felt by his hearers. He piles phrase on phrase, sentence on sentence; saying the same thing in a dozen different ways till he has driven it home, somewhat in the manner of his contemporary Scott Holland; and with this goes an enthusiasm of conviction which leaves reader and hearer at his mercy. He is the Demosthenes rather than the Aeschines of the pulpit. And he is the theologian. Not for him to appeal to the psychologist, the sociologist, or even the moral reformer. As with the young Newman, nothing matters for him but God and the soul, and God a great deal more than the soul.

Yet it is out of the soul, and the redeemed soul, that he writes. About the time of his change of mind, Robertson Nicoll, speaking of the author of another great book on the Atonement, complained that he did not write as a sinner saved by grace. That could not have been said of Forsyth. His was the theology of the warmed heart. Christ was God's holiness in human form. In him God Himself confessed *my* sin. This is the final revelation. "The result of Christ's teaching," said Forsyth, "was that his disciples forsook him and fled; the cross created the church in which he dwells." His was both the *kenosis* and the *plerosis*; and we are meant to know and feel them both. Who can but rejoice that such teaching has power to move men so deeply? Yet, as we have hinted, he is also the rhetorician. He is the slave as well as the master of his phrases. "There was a Calvary above, which is

the mother of it all". We must contemplate the "ascent into Hell". Sometimes there is a baffling sentence like this: "the whole Christology of the Church has been its effort to convince by thought the reality it lived on in its faith of Christ's saving work and presence for good and all". Moreover, he is generally preaching to the converted. He will appeal for proof to that which itself stands in need of proof. And he is curiously non-scriptural, as with the oft-used phrase "holy love", which does not occur in the New Testament. He is readier to hammer out what he conceives to be the inner meaning of the gospel than to inquire, with humbler students, what was intended by a Paul or a John. It is one thing to rely on the authority of scriptural language, though conceding or contending that its interpretation is a matter for argument; it is another to neglect that language and to rely on what is an original and in places a speculative presentation of the redemptive work of God in Christ.

Less than justice has indeed often been done to Forsyth's own theology, of which Dr. Bradley has given a full and sympathetic description. But in the last three chapters of *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, which may be said to contain his best and most characteristic writings, there is rarely a Biblical reference, save to Matt. xi, 27 (more than once) and Phil. ii. In the contemplation of the Cross we leave behind both epistles and gospels and all but forget the Resurrection. It must be confessed that Forsyth is not always clear as to the respective place of morals, metaphysics, psychology and religion in Christian life and faith. The confusion surely should disappear when we remember that if our zeal for moral conduct could know no languor, it would still not procure us any share in the redemptive grace of God; but when God, in the grace freely bestowed by Him and accepted by us in faith, translates us into the membership of His family in Christ, the results of that translation will appear in our conduct; holy tempers and just works. No one can mistake the stress laid on conduct throughout the New Testament. It is also far from easy to discover, from Forsyth's exposition of the nature of the Church, who may consider himself a member of the Church, and when.

We are presented with fresh problems to-day. Some of those with which Forsyth dealt are not likely to raise their heads again. We shall take confidence from his courage and its source. Dr.

Bradley has done much to preserve from oblivion one who must never be allowed to fall into it. We cannot however but wish that his book was not quite so expensive; and that he had provided his readers with an index. A few slips will also call for correction in a subsequent edition.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR VOLUME V* CLOSING THE RING

Reviewed By **VISCOUNT CECIL**

THIS is a wonderful book by a wonderful man. It is an account of one of the greatest and most terrible wars in history, not only by reason of the immense forces involved—human and mechanical—but also because of the huge slaughter and far-reaching changes resulting from the struggle. The Europe of the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries has become merged in the far greater territories of America, Asia, Australia and Oceania and the wars, even of Napoleon, seem little more than skirmishes compared with such an operation as that which culminated in the prodigious invasion of Germany through France which is here called by the code name Overlord. As an incidental consequence, all the old hereditary despotisms have disappeared and their place has been taken partly by Democracies in the form of Constitutional Monarchies, such as our own, and partly by totalitarian oligarchies, based in theory on the consent of the communities which they govern. All this is accompanied by the movement very inaccurately described as Communism which seeks to substitute for a Government based on religion — whether Pagan, Christian, Mahometan or Jewish — an absolutism enforced by the usual methods of the Police State. It is called by its principal exponents Dialectical Materialism and rests on the theory that man has no spiritual side to his nature, or, if he has, that it should be disregarded. It is difficult to see how in such a society there can be any real distinction between right and wrong.

* The Second World War. Vol. V. Closing The Ring. By Winston S. Churchill. Cassells. 30s.

These revolutions have been caused or accompanied by the First and Second World Wars. The Second and most important of these wars is the theme of Mr. Churchill's book and the portion of it now to be discussed is its Fifth Volume. It deals with the preparations for Overlord. In the first four volumes the author described how the attack of the Axis forces on Russia and Western Europe and its dependencies was resisted and eventually thrown back. This was followed by a great and successful invasion of Germany by Russia and by the arrest and withdrawal of other German and Japanese incursions into Europe and elsewhere, so that, by the beginning of this volume, the nations of the Axis no longer occupied any considerable territories outside those which had belonged to them before the war. This volume describes, as the author says, how, then "Germany was isolated and assailed on all sides."

There had been for some time past a divergence of view between the Allies as to the best way of finishing off the war. The British—or some of them—doubted whether a direct attack on the Continent, such as ultimately took place, would be sure of success and they felt that it was something of a gamble to incur such vast expenditure of resources and of life as would be necessary, if there was a chance of ultimate failure. This school, therefore, favoured preliminary attacks from the Mediterranean against Italy or perhaps the Balkans. The Russians, on the other hand, hard pressed by their tremendous exertions to defend their country from the German invasion, clamoured for relief by direct counter-attack from the West and this view was supported by the Americans, though they recognized the immense difficulties in the way.

It was to deal with the problem thus raised that the Conference at Teheran between the three leaders was arranged in November, 1943. Up till then the communications between Stalin and the Western Allies had left the impression that the Russian Bear had not changed its nature. But the Teheran meeting showed that Stalin could be reasonable and even attractive. Without difficulty it was definitely resolved that Overlord should be launched in the following May—delayed till the 6th June by weather—and that nothing should be allowed to interfere with this arrangement. So far so good. But the meeting did not terminate without one revealing incident.

After the formal meetings were over, there was a dinner when all three were present. In the course of conversation, a discussion arose as to what should be done with Germany after the war and Stalin suggested that what was required was the elimination of the militarist element there and that this could be accomplished by the execution of some 50,000 officers and technicians. He may not have been quite serious, but Mr. Churchill felt the evil and danger of such a suggestion and said so with some heat. He said he would rather be shot himself than "sully his country's honour by such infamy." There seems to have been some American support for Stalin's suggestion—perhaps not seriously meant. But Mr. Churchill was deeply shocked and left the room. Stalin and Molotoff hurried after him to explain that it was intended as a joke and the incident ended. But, joke or no joke, his fellow-countrymen will feel that the Prime Minister was right to put an abrupt end to such wicked folly.

Meanwhile Sicily had been over-run and Italy was invaded by the Allies, though, partly owing to lack of landing-craft caused by the competing claims for the preparation of Overlord, the invasion had somehow lacked rapid success. It was during this period that Mussolini captured and shot one hundred of his chief Italian opponents, including his son-in-law—Ciano. Nevertheless, just before Overlord started, Rome was entered. That is as far as this volume takes us.

The rest of it is a description of the colossal planning and preparation for the actual landing in France. One incident is worth mention for the light it throws on the essential self-control of our author. He was deeply and properly anxious about the success of the invasion and had planned to go on board one of the cruisers engaged so as to feel that he was taking part in the operation. He informed the King, who immediately said he would like to go too. When their military advisers heard of it, they very rightly protested. It could do no good and if both the King and his Prime Minister were killed it would be a great blow to the cause. So, very reluctantly, they agreed to abandon the plan. That was surely right and showed that, even at a time of the greatest excitement, they kept their heads. With what results the next volume will record.

There is not much to be added. Many minor incidents have

been omitted in this review. There were, for instance, what would be regarded as very great events in normal times which took place in the fight with Japan in the Far East. But, though heroic, they were in the result inconclusive. There was also a series of occurrences in the Balkans and the Aegean Islands which were a sore trial to Mr. Churchill and the other Allied leaders. Indeed, in the chapter not unnaturally called "The Greek Torment" the author is driven to speak very plainly about "a momentary surge of appetite among ambitious emigré nonentities." However, in the end the difficulties here and in the Balkans were smoothed over with the loyal help of the American President.

Indeed, the constant and cordial co-operation between the British and American leaders was one of the most important contributions to our victory. It is doubtful if history records any comparable case of personal confidence and patriotic unselfishness of Allied leaders in a great war. It was perhaps most pre-eminent when Mr. Churchill was laid up with pneumonia and was forced by physical weakness to relax, though never to abandon, his indomitable supervision over every aspect of the war. The President's sympathy and support at that time must have been an incalculable relief to him.

What lesson, then, do these splendid efforts convey for us? One thing is to be noted. Mr. Churchill never lost view of the object for which we were fighting. We fought to resist aggression and to restore peace, as he often reaffirmed. He looked forward to the creation of "some world arrangement" to keep the peace. In October, 1943, he declared that "we hold strongly to a system of a League of Nations which will include a Council of Europe with an International Court and an armed power capable of enforcing its decisions." At Teheran he hoped for the establishment of a world instrument to prevent another war, founded on the three Great Powers. That was his hope. He has always been a supporter of the policy embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations and afterwards in principle reaffirmed in the United Nations Charter.

Nor is there anything in this volume to justify a relaxation of our peace efforts. The revival of the war feeling was foreseen in these years, though our chief danger was thought to be from Germany. Nor is there any ground for hoping that future wars

will be less destructive than this one. In the very crisis of the final struggle, Hitler justifies the continuance of the war by his belief in a new weapon by which London would be levelled to the ground and Britain would be forced to capitulate. That is what modern war means and it is very doubtful if any agreement to limit the destructiveness of future weapons would hold good. It seems clear that a nation fighting for its life will be compelled to use any weapon it can lay hold of and the new Dialectical Materialism makes the future even more terrible than the past. There is no chance of safety save in the maintenance of peace, which alone gives hope for the future.

The chief impression left by perusing this vivid and impartial account of war is that of wholesale slaughter and destruction. The military predominance of Germany and France has been, indeed, for the time being destroyed, and the United States has taken the place of the United Kingdom as the chief commercial Power of the world. But the main causes of human suffering remain unaffected if, indeed, they have not been increased. Armaments, justified by the necessities of defence, are larger and far more powerful than they have ever been. True, the United Nations Organisation has been established to promote peace. But its direct effort to prevent aggression has so far only resulted in the miserable Korean War. Meanwhile the Russian revival of imperialist nationalism, masquerading as Dialectical Materialism, is reasonably suspected of causing widespread cruelties in Soviet territories and has certainly contributed to unrest and disorder in many other countries. The outlook in the world is not cheerful and shows once again that war and destruction settle nothing. It is no doubt true that armaments may be necessary for self-protection. But "Force is no Remedy" and the motive of self-protection easily degenerates into competition and competition almost infallibly leads to war. That is the great challenge, to Churches no less than to Governments. May they be given strength and courage to meet it!

ABNORMAL PHENOMENA AND MYSTICISM

THE PHYSICAL PHENOMENA OF MYSTICISM. By HERBERT THURSTON, S.J. Edited by J. H. Crehan, S.J. pp. viii + 420. London: Burns Oates. 35s.

THE late Fr Herbert Thurston, S.J., was well known, both in his communion and outside it, for his sustained interest in supernormal religious phenomena and for the highly critical, and indeed sceptical, attitude with which he approached them. Dr. Darwell Stone once referred to him rather sharply in a letter as being "among the Roman Catholic writers . . . who seem to me to make a pose of questioning everything that is not of the essence of the faith."¹ His small book *Beauraing and Other Apparitions* showed considerable reserve in regard to the supernatural character of a number of alleged manifestations of the Blessed Virgin. The volume now before us consists of a collection of papers published during his lifetime in which he discussed various abnormal physical phenomena associated with mystical experience, in the wide sense of that term; it also includes an extremely interesting and hitherto unpublished lecture of some ninety pages upon the subject of Stigmata, which was delivered to a medical audience.

The extreme difficulty of coming to a definite conclusion upon matters of this kind arises from the fact that, in most cases, there are at least three questions which have to be investigated. There is first the question of the reliability of the written records: do they accurately reproduce the testimony of the eye-witnesses? If the answer to this question is affirmative, the second question concerns the truthfulness of the witnesses themselves: did they accurately describe what they had seen and heard, or were they, whether deliberately or unintentionally, exaggerating? If this question is satisfactorily disposed of, the final question remains: were the phenomena natural or supernatural in their origin? There is furthermore a fourth question of a different type, which does not directly concern the scientific investigator as such: if the phenomena were supernatural, what is their religious significance?

The phenomena which Fr Thurston discusses are of an almost bewildering variety: levitation, stigmata, tokens of espousal, telekinesis, luminous phenomena, insensitiveness to heat, bodily elongation, intense bodily heat, the odour of sanctity, physical incorruption, absence of cadaveric rigidity, blood prodigies, clairvoyance, *inedia* (living without food), and multiplication of food. It is difficult to summarise briefly the author's judgment on such a very diverse collection of occurrences, but it is in general true to say that, after rejecting the cases in which there is good reason to doubt either the authenticity of the documents or the veracity of the witnesses,

¹ F. L. Cross, *Darwell Stone*, p. 341.

he feels bound to admit the occurrence of phenomena of each type. The difficulty that remains is that of deciding whether the occurrence in question was due to supernatural or to natural causes. The least difficult questions, from this point of view, are those of levitation and of multiplication of food, for it seems plainly impossible to explain a proved occurrence of one of these types by physiological or psychological causes; if such an occurrence is the result of natural causes, the natural causes must be hitherto unknown agencies of the type dealt with in the sciences of physics and chemistry. On the other hand, phenomena which involve the mental processes or the functioning of the human body introduce us immediately into the realm of abnormal and morbid psychology, and here the difficulties and complications are almost insoluble. Hypnosis, hysteria and (although Fr Thurston's work seems to have been done too early for him to refer explicitly to Professor Rhine and his associates) the phenomena which nowadays are usually comprehensively grouped under the designation of "psi" may all be involved. Fr Thurston therefore devotes a good deal of space to cases such as those of Daniel Home and Mollie Fancher, in which he was convinced that no supernatural factor was involved, and shows that in these a good many phenomena occurred which, in earlier ages, would have been almost certainly ascribed to divine or diabolic agencies.

Of particular interest is the long essay on stigmatisation. Fr Thurston remarks upon the fact that not a single case of stigmatisation was known before the thirteenth century, but that, since the famous case of St. Francis, a steady succession of instances has appeared and has continued to the present day. He also comments upon the fact that, while an immense number of women have received the complete stigmata, there are only two quite clear cases of their reception by men, one being the famous present-day case of the Italian priest Fr Pio do Pietrelcina. The conclusion to which he inclines is that "stigmatisation may be the result of what I will venture to call a 'crucifixion complex' working itself out in subjects whose abnormal suggestibility may be inferred from the unmistakable symptoms of hysteria which they had previously exhibited."² "The natural inference", he says, "would seem to be that what predisposes to the reception of the stigmata is not unusual virtue, but some form of nervous susceptibility, more often met with in women than in men."³ Fr Thurston is, of course, far from denying that many stigmatics have been in fact distinguished by supernatural sanctity. He does, however, insist that stigmatisation cannot in itself be safely interpreted as due to a supernatural cause, however shocking such a conclusion may be to some pious souls. And he has little difficulty in showing that some phenomena

² p. 122.

³ p. 123.

which have in the past been taken as a sign of supernatural virtue are in all probability purely natural, and even morbid, in character. Clairvoyance, for example, and even levitation can be paralleled in cases where there is no question of sanctity, and some of the more striking phenomena seem to be instances of a split personality. Certainly the extreme reserve which characterises the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities would seem to be fully justified; and it is notable that even such an impressive case as that of Theresa Neumann has received a very negative reaction in official circles.

Whatever may be the reader's judgment on certain points, he can hardly fail to applaud Fr. Thurston's fundamental common sense. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that Fr. Thurston did not devote more space to the theological implications of his subject. A good deal of light is thrown upon the general questions involved if one makes a clear distinction between what is miraculous in its essence and what is miraculous merely as regards its origination. With the exception of such matters as levitation and multiplication of food (if these are taken as authentic), there is little that needs to be interpreted as miraculous in its essence; it seems perfectly possible to explain the phenomena as being caused by a perfectly natural psycho-physical mechanism. It does, however, seem to be clear that, in many cases, the mechanism is activated either directly by a supernatural agency or by a condition of supernatural holiness in the subject; there are other cases in which the activation may well be demonic. Both God and the devil may make use of a human personality in order to forward their ends. The general principle seems to be clear, however difficult may be the interpretation of particular cases. And such a discussion as Fr. Thurston's can only confirm our conviction of the radical sanity of the extremely detached attitude towards supernormal physical phenomena that characterises the writings of such masters of the spiritual life as St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa of Avila.

This detachment has been well maintained by the modern Carmelites in recent volumes of the series *Etudes Carmélites*, and in particular in the collective work *Satan*, which has appeared in an English translation.

What matters is not extraordinary physical phenomena but supernatural holiness; and, with all his interest in the abnormal and the bizarre, no one has been more convinced of this than Fr. Herbert Thurston.

E. L. MASCALL.

TO BRING BACK LOVE

CHRISTIANITY AND FEAR. By O. PFISTER (Eng. trans. by W. H. JOHNSTON). London, George Allen and Unwin. 1948. 589 pp. 30s.

DR. PFISTER is a Swiss pastor who was one of the earliest writers to recognise the importance of the theories of psychoanalysis for

pastoral practice. The activity of Freud and his followers was directed towards freeing people from domination by the unconscious forces of their minds by making them aware of those forces. It seemed to Pfister that this was also one of the tasks of the religious pastor and that his pastoral work could be given a clear aim and guidance towards that aim by considering it from the psychoanalytical point of view. His latest book shows that his long experience in pastoral work has confirmed his belief in the value of the psychoanalytic approach. In a revealing autobiographical preface he describes his disappointment at finding how little the study of theology seemed to lead men to Christian love but rather to hatred and persecution. Similarly men's devotion to Christian dogma seemed to him not to liberate them from fear but to give them new things to fear. "In its frequently savage attachment to an irrational dogma having no connection with love, dogmatics and its history seemed to me to constitute an attempt to evade the central point of Jesus's teaching and claims."

With this thought in his mind, he turned from theology to the cure of individual souls, but when he was in 1908 offered a Chair of Systematic and Pastoral Theology, he discovered that he was himself unable to give what he had asked of Theology. It was only when later he became acquainted with the work of Freud, although repelled by its materialistic philosophy, he found that it provided a method which, applied to his ministry, enabled him to give help to tormented souls. He felt that the task of removing neurotic traits from religion was to be performed by the restoration of love and the removal of fear. This book is his contribution to that task.

His essential thesis is that Christianity started as a means of liberating men from fear, that all forms of Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, have failed in that task and rather intensified fear, and that a new reformation is required that will bring back love into Christianity and cast out fear. Christian faith must be understood as "love reduced to an intellectual form, while love is the living practice of faith". Traditional attitudes towards dogmas are condemned as leading to persecution and not to love, traditional attitudes towards ritual as embodying compulsive-neurotic elements, and the over-rigorous morals based on authority as a neurotic substitute for the Christian ethic based on love.

This is all of profound importance and Pfister is, no doubt, right in pointing out that the work of Freud also invites us to consider how far Christianity as commonly presented and practiced realises the intentions of Jesus Christ. This line of thought has nevertheless its own dangers. In judging the traditional teachings of the Church it is not enough to consider whether they appear to serve the purpose of liberating men from fear; we must also ask whether they are true. A system of thought entirely determined by considerations of mental hygiene is in danger of becoming a system

of wish-fulfilments unrelated to reality. Part of mental health is accepting reality whether this reality is as our fears would wish it to be or not. Our problem is not so much the rejection of traditional dogmas, rituals and moral requirements as the avoidance of a neurotic attitude towards them. That neurotic elements have grown up about them and that these have become embedded in what many people regard as the traditional element of religion is undoubtedly true and Pfister has done a great service in drawing attention to these neurotic elements and inviting us all to reconsider what is the essence of Christianity, even though not all of us would find that our reconsideration led us to quite such a drastic reconstruction of Christian teaching as that of Pfister himself.

The translator has succeeded well in his task. It is a little unfortunate that he should have chosen to translate "Angst" as "fear", and "Furcht" as "dread". "Angst" has become one of the technical terms of psychopathology and the accepted English equivalent technical term is "anxiety", while "fear" is ordinarily used as the English equivalent of "Furcht". It is true that this technical use of "anxiety" is not found in popular English speech, but neither is the translator's use of "dread" for "Furcht". To any reader acquainted with modern psychopathological literature, "anxiety" would have been better understood than "fear"; alternatively "neurotic fear" might have been used for "Angst". However the translator contributes a note which explains his translations of technical terms, and he has the great merit, not always found in translators of psychoanalytic works, of always using the same English word for any one German technical word.

R. H. THOULESS

AN INVERSION OF FREUD

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF UNBELIEF. By H. C. RUMKE (Trans. M. H. C. WILLEMS). Rockcliffe, London, 1952. 7s. 6d.

THE problem with which psychological investigators have been generally concerned in connection with religion has been that of finding the psychological causes of religious belief. Professor Rümke turns to the opposite and equally important question of the psychological causes of religious unbelief. He traces the normal stages of the development of religious belief from the first feeling of being linked with the whole of being to the stage at which demand and surrender become fundamental rules of life. His central contention is that unbelief is an interruption in development.

This approach to the problem implies that it is as reasonable to regard religious belief as normal and unbelief as a matter requiring explanation as it is to treat unbelief as the normal thing and belief as what requires psychological explanation. Professor Rümke's thought is thus an inversion of that of Freud. He regards

religious belief as irreducible while Freud took it for granted that it was reducible and that unbelief represented a higher stage of intellectual development. At the same time, Rümke accepts much of Freud's basic theory of mental development, and believes that Freud helps us to find the factors that determine unbelief.

This is an important book although it is commendably short. Sometimes the author seems to sacrifice clarity for brevity. On p. 12, for example, I find it difficult to understand what the author means when he defines an entity as "a multiplicity with a hierarchical structure reduced to a unit" and I feel that a few lines of explanation would have been useful here. There also seem to be occasional awkwardnesses of translation. Generally, however, the thought is simply and clearly expressed, and what it has to say marks a new step in the psychological study of religion.

R. H. THOULESS

A COMPREHENSIVE WORK

INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT. By ROBERT H. PFEIFFER. Adam and Charles Black, London. Pp. xii, + 909. Price 30s.

PROFESSOR Pfeiffer's *Introduction to the Old Testament* is already well known in England, where it has been warmly welcomed; but, although it has already gone through two American editions (1941, 1948), this reprint of the second American edition is the first that has appeared in this country. It is a remarkably comprehensive work, probably the most comprehensive now on the market, and equally remarkably up to date. The general introduction of over a hundred pages contains a wealth of information on such matters as the history of the canon, the Hebrew text and the ancient versions. This is followed by detailed examination of the Pentateuch by sources, of the Former and Latter Prophets, and of the Hagiographa. Finally, there are a number of appendices, of which the most important contains an extensive bibliography to each book of the Old Testament and to the various subjects as treated in the main body of the work.

The books of the Old Testament are for the most part individually discussed, but the documents composing the Pentateuch are treated as sources without regard to their arrangement in the text; so too the Laws and the Poems and even the Redactors have special sections to themselves. The various views that have been put forward are carefully stated, their merits or demerits weighed and the reasons for their acceptance or rejection set forth; or the author's own suggestions, when they are new, are argued. Thus, following Eissfeldt, he introduces a new source S(eirite) or S(outhern), to account for some of the mythical and legendary matter in the early chapters of Genesis and the history of Edom (whence its name) up to the time of David. Whether this is necessary is

perhaps arguable. Another interesting point is his reversion to an exilic or post-exilic date for almost all the Psalms; in fact, he seems to allow only xxiv 7-10 and xlv to be pre-exilic. He thus brings the collection of even the earliest form of a Psalter into connection with Nehemiah's mysterious collection of the writings of David (II Macc. ii, 13), while admitting that the first references to the Psalms of David occur in Chronicles; and he puts the close of the Psalter c. 100 B.C. At the same time, he allows that some Psalms may contain earlier matter that has been rewritten. In the same way, he will have nothing of the popular inversion of the order of Ezra and Nehemiah; it solves, he says, few if any of the difficult problems of this period and he quotes with approval Kugler's assertion, that Ezra must have violated the Sabbath if he changes places with Nehemiah.

A compilation on such a scale can hardly be free from errors of commission or omission, but both are commendably few. For example, to say that only portions of Sa'adyah's Arabic version of Job are extant is not correct; the whole text has been published twice. A notable omission is any discussion of *Formgeschichte* as such; a brief account of this theory, such as Bentzen gives in his Introduction, is now certainly desirable in works of this type. There is, too, perhaps a tendency to rely overmuch on or to cite unduly American scholars, to the exclusion of those other races who have preceded them; for example, the names of Lowth, of Sievers and Budde, and of Gray, deserve mention beside that of Arnold in any discussion of Hebrew poetry. Such mistakes or oversights, however, are for the most part trifling and hardly worthy of mention beside the immense amount of information packed into this admirable book, which is indeed beyond all praise. It cannot but be indispensable not only to students and clergy with a general interest in the Old Testament but also to the professional scholar who will find it an essential tool of his trade, reminding him on every page of something that he has forgotten or never known.

G. R. DRIVER

THE BODY

THE BODY, A STUDY IN PAULINE THEOLOGY. By JOHN A. T. ROBINSON. S.C.M. Press. 7s.

DR. ROBINSON has put us all in his debt by his fresh and penetrating study of the word Body in Pauline Theology. It represents a notable English contribution to the method of lexicographical theology which, through Kittel's *Worterbuch*, has become so familiar and fruitful a feature of study in recent years. The author claims with much justice to have studied the keystone of Pauline theology, the single most important theme in Pauline thought.

The Book is divided into three main sections—the Body of

the Flesh, the Body of the Cross and the Body of the Resurrection. The first section studies the word in the light of the most recent conclusions upon Hebrew psychology and physiology. The curious point is that, while the Hebrews tended to attach certain "faculties" to a variety of parts of the body, the Body as a whole failed to play any considerable part in their thought. Dr. Robinson appears wholly justified in his conclusion that for the Hebrews man was, rather than possessed a Body. There follows a series of contrasts between the Hebrew and Greek ways of regarding the Body which go some way toward explaining the fact that the Hebrews never gave to the body as a whole the place which it occupies in St. Paul. For the Hebrews the term "basar", for example, covers both flesh and body. While Spirit expresses that in man which is open towards God, flesh represents man in his contrast with God; man in his creatureliness. Dr. Robinson next passes to a consideration of the Pauline terms, flesh and spirit. He notices a whole string of instances in which there appears to be no distinction between them, and yet they are clearly not identical. For, if the term "flesh" can be used in a neutral sense, it can also be given a pejorative significance—the flesh as exercising a downward drag on the life of man. It is this contrast which proves normative for the Pauline doctrine of man. The Body can, whereas the flesh cannot, receive the Resurrection and its effects.

The second chapter works out the theology of the Body of the Cross in terms of man's predicament, Christ's redeeming act and its application to Christians. He points out with perfect truth that the Atonement is not merely a case of "As Christ, so Christians" but of Christians with, through and in Christ receiving what He has done in order to make them what they should be.

But the most difficult and stimulating part of the book is concerned with the Body of the Resurrection. It contains conclusions which some may be disposed to question. After a brief examination of the use of term "the Body of Christ" for the Church, he rejects the view that this can be regarded as a mere metaphor; he also protests though rather in an aside or a footnote, against the prevailing usage of the term "mystical body." The real difficulty, of course, is to determine the relation between the Resurrection Body of Christ which, as orthodox Christians believe, was raised with Him at the Resurrection, and the Body of Christ as constituted by the Church.

Here is a point on which St. Paul does not appear to have got his mind really clear, and, though he sometimes touches upon it, Dr. Robinson himself does not seem to take adequate cognisance of the difficulties which it involves. But it is precisely this necessary distinction between the Resurrection Body and the Church which the term "mystical body" is designed to safeguard. The point is not that the Church is the Lord's Body in a merely metaphorical sense, but that, while it is from the point of view of His purposes

in the world, the only Body which He has got, it is not in the same sense His Body as the Body of the Resurrection. If it is certainly no mere metaphor, the principle of analogy must be observed here. There is a further point of interest in his insistence that the doctrine of the Resurrection Body is not primarily meant, as many suppose as a guarantee of the individuality of Christians beyond the grave. The Body is not that which separates us from each other but that which binds us up in the same bundle of life together. It is not that either St. Paul or his present expositor deny a faith in individual survival beyond the grave, but that Dr. Robinson does not think that this is bound up directly with the concept of the Resurrection of the Body. There may be room for two opinions here. He is clearly right that the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body is not exclusively concerned with the conditions of the after-life, and examines its relation with Baptism and the Parousia.

One wider criticism may be offered, though this is a matter rather of critical scholarship than of theological exegesis. Was St. Paul's thought about the Body quite as unitary or as systematic as Dr. Robinson tends to imply?

H. E. W. TURNER

A CAMBRIDGE PLATONIST

RALPH CUDWORTH: AN INTERPRETATION. By J. A. PASSMORE, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Otago. Cambridge University Press. 15s.

THIS is an excellent statement of what Cudworth taught. I must however protest against the writer's secularism. "For all their personal devotion to religion the ethics of the Platonists" (the Cambridge school) "and Cudworth's especially can be interpreted in terms wholly secular . . . An ethic which is eternal and immutable stands in no need of being supported by God." On the contrary, if a soulless force be the ultimate reality, there can be no place for such ethics. If men believe certain conduct to be right, other conduct wrong, the reason can only be that a fortuitous complex of irrational forces happened to produce in some of its products this valuation of some of its products. And if human experience of religious values and of God is illusion, why not the experience of moral values? If Lord Russell is convinced that the behaviour of the totalitarian tyrants is morally evil, he admits himself that he cannot consistently with his restriction of knowledge to what can be sensibly verified justify his conviction. Secular morality cannot stand for it has no foundation. Recent history has proved this to the hilt. It is lamentable that Professor Passmore should still give it his allegiance. Every one of the Cambridge Platonists would have condemned it out of hand.

But although this most unplatonic secularism cuts off Professor Passmore from what is deepest and most valuable in Cambridge Platonism, he can and does give us a clear and well documented exposition of Cudworth's philosophy in its less religious aspects and in particular of his ethics.

He proves that Cudworth by no means confined himself to ancient philosophy, that not only was he well acquainted with Descartes but incorporated much of Cartesianism into his own system.

The view taken by Cudworth, here explained, of the distinction between matter and spirit is unsatisfactory. For he regards matter as essentially and distinctively inert. All energy is spiritual. On the contrary everything points to energy as the universal nature of things, matter being inferior, spirit a superior kind of energy.

On the other hand when Cudworth postulates a "plastic power" in nature pursuing ends without deliberation, animal instinct is an example of it, he rightly rejects both the Cartesian view that animals are machines and by implication the mechanistic biology which, without denying that animals are conscious, attempts to give a purely mechanical explanation of life and its activities. Professor Passmore however exaggerates when he says (28) that "if there is any reason for thinking that animals are mechanisms, there is *just as much reason* for thinking that the same is true of human beings." For although we can be certain that animals are not machines it is possible to conceive that they are, and the supposition though evidently untrue is possible. On the other hand I know by direct experience of myself that I am not a machine. Cudworth's separation between sense perception and knowledge is untenable. For already in the perception of sensible objects there is a factor of intellectual apprehension, apprehension of the form of the object perceived in and through the sense data. And such perception is most certainly knowledge. Even a cat *knows* that a particular moving object is a mouse not a dog. In his acceptance of unconscious mental activities Cudworth like Leibnitz shortly afterwards anticipates the modern psychology of the subconscious.

That an action morally good or indifferent before the passing of a law should become immoral if the law forbids it—provided of course it was not a duty—is not, as Professor Passmore maintains, incompatible with an eternal and immutable morality. For what is eternal and immutable is the obligation to obey just laws imposed by lawful authority.

Faculty psychology dismissed, as too often it is cavalierly, is misunderstood. It is nothing more than a statement of the obvious fact of experience that there are distinct kinds of psychological function, that for example to will or to desire is not the same kind of mental function as to know or understand.

The difficulties raised as to knowledge of universals can surely be avoided if we admit another fact of experience that in a particular

object the mind apprehends a universal nature, e.g., the nature of an oak, oakness in the particular oak tree perceived.

I should agree with Cudworth that in the last resort there is no criterion of truth outside its selfevidence, though a consistent fiction of any complexity of detail would seem to be impossible. But I cannot agree with him and with Descartes that this self-evidence must always be clear. There are also obscure certainties for example the certainty as to the moral character of someone well known or of aesthetic beauty.

Professor Passmore is at pains to defend Cudworth from the charge of behaving as a Vicar of Bray, Nonconformist when Nonconformity ruled during the Commonwealth, Anglican at the restoration. For Cudworth, he points out, declared his Nonconformity before the civil war when Anglicanism was still the religion of the state. No doubt at that time he was a sincere Puritan. But I cannot feel easy about his publication in 1654 of a Latin poem in honour of Cromwell and in 1660 of a poem lamenting the abominable parricide "*infandum parricidium*" committed by his former hero against Charles I. I cannot believe that his friend John Smith a truly noble soul and a mystic would have behaved in this way.

That a supporter of the Protectorate should come to see that the monarchy alone could give the country the government it needed, that a Nonconformist should reach the conclusion that the ecclesiastical anarchy of the Commonwealth was intolerable and Anglicanism must once more become the established religion of England—this would not be in the least surprising nor the least ground for doubting the sincerity of changed views. But to execrate as a detestable regicide the man whom in his lifetime he had flattered cannot be so easily explained and must be accounted a blot on Cudworth's memory.

E. I. WATKIN.

THE LITURGY

THE WESTERN LITURGY AND ITS HISTORY. By THEODOR KLAUSER. Translated from the German by F. L. Cross. Mowbray & Co. 4s. 0d. (Post 2d.).

DR. CROSS has rendered a great service by making available to English readers this valuable essay by Professor Klauser of Bonn University. In some fifty eight pages it sets out the relevant factors in the development of the Western liturgy together with some account of recent studies by scholars of his own communion. The revived interest in liturgical studies and the desire to secure a richer conception of what public worship means found a great incentive from the Encyclical (1903) of Pope Pius X, who urged that "in order to restore the true Christian spirit the first and indispensable

source of that spirit must be found in a return to the active participation of the faithful in the holy mysteries and the public and solemn prayer of the Church." Out of this sprang the Liturgical Movement, which aims at promoting a fuller understanding of the history and meaning of the rites, together with a more constructive approach, and, where needed, proposals for reform of existing practice. With this movement the present essay shows the author's full sympathy.

The history of the rite embraces four periods.

- (1) Creative beginnings up to Gregory the Great.
- (2) Franco-German leadership (Gregory the Great to Gregory VII (590-1073)).
- (3) The Epoch of Unification (1073-1545).
- (4) The epoch of changelessness or rubricism (Council of Trent to the present day).

After indicating the Jewish and Hellenistic influences which helped to mould the form in which the distinctive Christian elements in the rite found expression, Klauser passes on to the oldest Roman Liturgical book, *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (c.220), the eucharistic prayer of which, though lacking the *Sanctus*, already exhibits the broad outlines of the earlier Roman Canon of the Mass. The document was originally in Greek and the Roman Church was mainly Greek in character down to the middle of the third century, and not till the latter part of the fourth century did the liturgy appear in the Latin tongue. A more or less fixed pattern of the Eucharistic prayer had by then come into use in East and West. It included the dialogue of the Preface, the narrative of the Institution, a prayer recalling the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension and an Invocation of the divine power to consecrate the gifts. Under Pope Damasus (366-384) the more important part of the Roman Mass had taken a Latin form. Dom Casel has maintained that the real pioneer of this was Ambrose, bishop of Milan, though Damasus gave it authoritative recognition. In the *De Sacramentis*, which recent scholars have now definitely assigned to Ambrose, there is a series of prayers containing an older form of the Roman Canon which shows a general correspondence (with some notable differences) with the corresponding parts of the Gelasian Sacramentary, the text of the latter being substantially of the sixth century. Klauser, however, omits to mention an alternative interpretation of the evidence of Ambrose, in an able article by the late Dom G. Morin published in the *Maria Laach Jahrbuch f. Liturgienwissenschaft* (1928). This pointed out that Ambrose in the treatise referred to above asserts that he "follows the type and form of the great church of Rome in all things," though reserving the right to make slight changes to meet the special circumstances of his flock, while eliminating the innovations of his Arian predecessor.

Recalling the "classic lecture" of Edmund Bishop, *The Genius of the Roman Rite*, Klauser emphasizes "the almost Puritanical

sobriety and brevity" of the early Roman rite as compared with Eastern and Gallican forms. From the latter, to quote Bishop's words, have come many of "the sentimental, effusive, and imaginative elements and the sense of mystery" which appear in the Roman rite after its introduction into Gaul. In spite of the efforts of Pippin and Charlemagne to secure the dominance of the pure Roman rite, these extraneous elements found their way into the rite and secured recognition. Still earlier Pope Gelasius had translated the Greek Litany and had substituted it for the older "Prayer of the Faithful" and had transferred it to the earlier part of the service, while Gregory the Great had so abbreviated the Litany that the Kyries of the present Mass alone survive, apart from relics of the old order in some of the Holy Week services and the anomalous *Oremus*, without any following prayers, before the Offertory.

Klauser is critical of several later developments as lessening, like that just quoted, the active participation of the faithful in the action of the rite. One such example is the loss of the Offertory Procession, in which the people brought their offerings (mostly in kind) to the altar, thus symbolizing their participation in the sacrificial action, but now only represented by the collection of alms by an official, without any formal recognition by the celebrating priest. Another example is the changed position of the celebrant. In the early Roman basilicas the altar was placed in such a way that the priest stood facing the people and his acts were visible to them. The later furnishings of the altar with candles and cross are contrasted with the earlier practice when nothing was on the altar to distract attention from the main purpose of the rite, "the offering of the Holy Sacrifice" (p. 45). The changed position of the altar with the priest's face averted from the congregation became general outside Rome c. 1000, candles on the altar not earlier than c. 1100, and the Cross "for the most part only when the age of the Mysticism of the Passion began in the thirteenth century."

The silent recitation of the Canon of the Mass which, it may be noted, is discussed by Edmund Bishop. (Connolly's *Nursai* pp. 121 f.) only appears in the Roman rite about the seventh century. Both this and the changed position of the celebrant at the altar are criticized by Klauser. (See his remarks pp. 44 and 58).

Characteristic of the final post-Tridentine period, Klauser states, is the limited extent of the influence of the liturgy on the spiritual life as compared with "devotion to the Eucharistic Christ and His Sacred Heart, the cult of Our Lady and meditation", and he concludes "it was only renewal of strength in the Benedictine Order in the second half of the nineteenth century and above all the reforms of Pius X which inaugurated a general return to liturgical life." (p. 50).

CASES OF CONSCIENCE

ENGLISH CASUISTICAL DIVINITY DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By THOMAS WOOD. S.P.C.K. 12s. 6d.

THIS book, which its author describes as "but a small part of a much larger and more comprehensive study" upon which he has been engaged for some years, introduces the reader to the work of the leading Anglican and Puritan moralists of the seventeenth century. There are three chapters, I "This Divine Science of Cases of Conscience", II "The Court of Conscience", III "A Holy and Amiable Captivity to the Spirit." The author's method of treating his subject is to sketch the historical and theological setting of Caroline moral theology, passing on to Conscience and Law in his second chapter and concluding with three themes which illustrate the "reforming" trend of the English theologians.

Principles and not precedents constitute the basis of English casuistical divinity and the Anglican writers devoted their greatest energies to the establishment of those principles. Jeremy Taylor makes it the goal of his work to form a casuistry "established upon better principles." To read their books is to be convinced that this is the most valuable and enduring aspect of their work. What Barlow said of Sanderson's work, namely that he who remembers the principles there laid down "may determine and resolve many other cases", might be applied to the writings of the Caroline moralists generally. Mr. Wood is a reliable guide as he takes us over their views on the method and aims of casuistry, and their thomist teaching on conscience. He reminds us of their attachment to the medieval probabiliorism. (Their rejection of the contemporary probabilism was, of course, a direct consequence of their concept of the aims and methods of moral theology and of its basic principles). The last chapter discusses lying, mortal and venial sin, and repentance as three instances in which the effort to establish what they held to be sound principles brought the Carolines into conflict with Roman Catholic moral theology. The only criticism which might be offered with regard to this part of the book is the absence of any reference to the Caroline treatment of human acts which was extensive and of importance for their over-all picture of the subject.

Mr. Wood makes his best, although not his only, contribution to the study of seventeenth-century moral theology when he turns to certain specific questions and to matters arising out of them. One might instance his examination of the idea of commutative justice, with the subsequent discussion (involving usury and the just price) of "Whether may I sell my commodities the dearer, for giving days of payment?", and of occult compensation and of the employer-employee relationship. These pages are valuable and

interesting and made at least one reader regret that the author had not seen his way to include more of this sort of thing (such as a detailed investigation of usury, for example) in the scheme for his book. In this connection, there is on p. xiv a lengthy list of cases and questions discussed by the moralists of the period, and a shorter one is to be found on p. 87. In both these places references would have been very useful. However, it is impossible to please everyone, so perhaps it is permissible to hope that in his projected work Mr. Wood will have more to tell us about the practical application of principles in seventeenth-century casuistical divinity. Similarly, his analysis of the teaching of the major moralists, Taylor, Ames, Baxter and Sanderson, on the problems of lying and equivocation furnishes us with a further example of applied principles as well as illustrating how and why they reacted from the contemporary Jesuit casuistry. With regard to the latter, Mr. Wood wisely points out that despite the fact of Jesuit political theory inevitably clashing with the Anglican outlook, some of the violence of the Anglican reaction was due to prejudice. Whether the prejudice grew out of the preaching of the right of rebellion against heretical princes is another question, but it existed and it combined with the genuine theological reaction against a lax type of probabilism which was alien to the entire Anglican concept of the science. The movement of Anglican moral theology in the seventeenth century is always away from the merely juristic. To ask only "Is it lawful?" or "Is it necessary?" is in Taylor's phrase to have the obligations of a son and the affections of a slave.

The common concern of all English theologians three centuries ago with this subject is not without relevance to-day. Mr. Wood recalls how not only High Churchman and Puritan, but Anglican and Separatist alike were committed to the study and practice of a subject which William Ames qualified as "worthy to be followed with all care by all men" (p. xi) and which men like Isaac Barrow and John Donne considered essential. Baxter, Perkins and Ames stand side by side with Taylor, Sanderson and Hall, for in the seventeenth-century moral theology was not the preserve of any particular school of thought, nor were their books designed solely as clerical reading.

All who are interested in the life and thought of Anglicanism in the seventeenth century will be grateful for Mr. Wood's able introduction which will further increase our appreciation of some of the great figures of a great century.

H. R. McADOO

IN AN AGE OF REVOLUTION

IN AN AGE OF REVOLUTION. By CYRIL GARBETT, Archbishop of York. Hodder & Stoughton. 20s.

It is an important fact in the religious situation in England to-day that the Archbishop of York has secured the ear of the nation. What he says is listened to: what he writes is read. It is important also that, despite the claims of his office, and his readiness to represent the Anglican Communion in any corner of the world, he has written a series of substantial books which serve as a modern apologia for Anglicanism. In the last he is revealed as an observant traveller—both through space and time—and a percipient reader, whether of blue books or Mr. Mumford or Montaigne. To his examination of the situation to-day he brings a clear eye. He sees things as they are: he discovers where the trouble really lies. To this is added a power of generalisation which enables him to sum up a situation in a very few words.

All these qualities are illustrated in the first section of this book, which describes the revolution in which we are all implicated but which we mostly take for granted. "In recreation, as in everything else", for example, "there has been a revolution. Men of over fifty years of age grew up in a world in which there were no cars, no aeroplanes, no wireless, no cinemas, few League matches, no Pools, and no greyhound races!" It is true that "education for the right use of leisure is needed if we are not to breed a race of spectators." Yet the Archbishop does not only condemn. "The cinema is now a major form of recreation; on the whole its influence has been good." Part of the revolution has been the decline in the power and prestige of Britain. "General de Gaulle's cruel jibe is true, there are now only two and a half great Powers, and with the utmost difficulty we are now preserving our place as the half." Indeed, "without the moral and material support given by America, most of Europe would now have come under Communist rule."

The Archbishop is under no illusions about the place of religion in our country. "The influence which the Church once had on the nation has diminished; religion is now the concern of a small section of its people; its claim for the whole life is no longer made with any confidence, and only very rarely treated as serious." Many causes lie behind this: the treatment of the effects of the war through destruction, dislocation and disillusionment is notable. The Bible has become discredited, not least through "past failure to give intelligent preaching." The moral effects of war are also traced both nationally and internationally. "The two wars and the years that followed did more to discredit and shake in the popular mind traditional morality than all the attacks of the intelligentsia."

The age has produced its substitutes for Christianity. We read

of Humanism, which "both under-estimates and over-estimates man." There is King Mammon—unrestrained capitalism which is essentially as atheistic as Communism because, as a system, it ignores God and breaks His laws. Yet, "as far as Great Britain is concerned, unrestrained private capitalism has long disappeared." Its consequences remain, for it "dug a deep ditch, which has never been bridged, between institutional religion and the working classes." There is King Demos: democracy, as we know it, in its strength and weakness, now developed into the Welfare State. This is to be welcomed by Christians, who must nevertheless be aware of the need for vigilance lest it develop into a despotism.

There is also Communism. Dr. Garbett's three chapters on *Its Nature, Its Methods, and Its Attack on Christianity* are so carefully written and well-documented that it would be worth while their being re-printed for discussion circles. And—if one may presume to set an Archbishop home-work—there might well be added a chapter on the problem of race-relations, which presents almost as great a menace to the world itself as Communism, but which is not dealt with in this book. Communism is seen as "the gravest peril which the Christian Church has had to meet since the time when the victorious armies of a militant Mohammedanism threatened to over-run Europe." One particular value of this study is that it is not just in terms of Christianity versus Communism but considers also the situation Christians have to face who live as citizens of a Communist country.

What has Christianity to offer in this situation? The Archbishop quotes in a footnote the remark of a traveller: "I came back from Russia convinced that if anything could defeat Communism it would have to include a faith, a belief strong enough to take hold of the mind of mass-produced man." Christianity is the very faith for these times. The Scriptures have become alive in a new way. Yet "Much of the ineffectiveness in the modern preaching of Christianity comes from the fact that often the good news it brings is kept in the background." Our contemporaries must be helped to see Christ as He was seen by His own contemporaries. But how shall this be done so that the presentation reaches beyond churchgoers to the great masses outside? Perhaps it is right that an Archbishop should be concerned with strategy rather than tactics: but the tactical difficulties are very great. Nevertheless the strategy remains the right one—"of all the qualities most necessary for the Church of this generation probably vigilance and urgency are the chief."

We are grateful for this book—and for the sense of vigilance and urgency which prompted the Archbishop to write it.

H. G. G. HERKLOTS

THE CHRISTIANITY OF MAIN STREET

THE CHRISTIANITY OF MAIN STREET. By T. O. WEDEL. Macmillan. 7s. 6d.

THIS book deals with a vital issue, whether Western democracy can survive or not. That question is not explicit, but it is implied in the book's main theme, which is the contrast between real Christianity and Christianity as it is understood by many who would call themselves Christians to-day. Canon Wedel, who is Warden of the College of Preachers in Washington, is writing for Americans, but his message is just as applicable to us in England: for there are certainly in this country masses of people who are friendly disposed to what they would call Christianity, even though they do little about it, and yet their misunderstanding of it is so complete that Christ's real message would come to them as something shocking and incredible.

Canon Wedel describes this "Christianity of Main Street" as "a Christianity without theology". "Multitudes of nominal Christians—even church-going Christians—live under the illusion that Christianity is a system of moral idealism and nothing besides." In support of his thesis he quotes from an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* a plea that Christianity should be redefined as "sincere acceptance of the moral ideals of Christ", and an equally muddle-headed appeal by one of America's leading Christian laymen, John D. Rockefeller, for "a religion of deeds, not of creeds"; and he cites John Dewey, a philosopher who appears to have a great influence in American education, as saying that "it is unnecessary for the religious attitude to encumber itself with the apparatus of dogma and doctrine".

Canon Wedel sees clearly that the fundamental difference between this nonsense and Christianity is over original sin. When there is no belief in original sin, then justification is by works, and Christ is only admired as a noble example. It is interesting to note what widely different views of human nature were held by the Founders of the American Constitution who seem to have been whole-hearted believers in original sin. They would have agreed with a remark of Lord David Cecil in the last war that "Barbarism is not behind, but beneath us".

However, to this modern humanism on both sides of the Atlantic man is still at the centre of things. God may still have a part to play, but it is only as a genial Father Christmas whose duty it is to hand out happiness and pleasure to his children, tolerantly overlooking all their little peccadilloes. In this appalling travesty Jesus can still be the central figure, but it is Jesus the Superman, the teacher who set men free from the gloomy austerities of fanatical Old Testament prophets. He can be regarded, though by no means

in St. Paul's sense, as the Head of the human race. Where the proper idol of mankind is man, a place may well be found for Jesus as the Perfect Man. The Church, too, may be accepted, but its main business must be to further social welfare in the spirit of Jesus rather than pursue the pedantic niceties of theology, or concern itself with the unpractical business of worship. It has for too long obscured the simple gospel of Jesus, as someone once said to me on a railway station, by its pre-occupation with altar frontals and the Trinity.

It is clear that the solemn warnings against idolatry throughout the Bible, not only in the Old Testament, but in the New—"Little children, keep yourselves from idols"—need a tremendous amount of reiteration to-day. And this book is a valuable contribution to the cause.

My only criticism of it would be that Canon Wedel, in his anxiety to do justice to the good points in the views he is attacking, is far too polite to them. He looks upon this humanistic idealism as the residue of centuries of true Christianity, and says that "the time has surely come when humanist Christianity, the Christianity of ideals, should be re-introduced to its own majestic ancestral faith." But the Christianity of Main Street is not really Christianity at all. It is a kind of liberal humanism based on the ideal of human perfectibility; nor is it new, as Canon Wedel seems to think. The prevalent Anglo-American Pelagianism has roots stretching back beyond Pelagius to the heresies of late New Testament times; and to call a heresy Christianity merely clouds the issue.

Wherever the true Christian Gospel has been set forth by intolerant people like Stephen and Paul, it has caused opposition from those who want not a Divine Saviour so much as a prophet who will teach them how to live a good life and thus obtain good marks from God. But men who are trying, however sincerely, to live up to some dimly apprehended ideal may be good, but cannot be Christian, if a Christian is one who, whatever his sins, is living in a personal relationship with God through Jesus Christ his Saviour by the power of the Holy Spirit.

Being charitable to people does not mean being civilly tolerant to all their wrong-headed opinions, and Christians should maintain quite definitely and intolerantly that the idea of a merely human perfectibility is false and worthless and that any religion built on it is not only not Christian, but being built on sand will collapse as soon as the storm bursts. Where the carcase is, there are the vultures gathered together. Herbert Agar's book "A Time for Greatness" was a warning that a decadent civilization will still fall victim to a ruthless barbarism; destruction is not only outside but within it. If our Western democracy is based on this kind of secularism disguised as idealism, it will deservedly fall victim to the undisguised and realistic self-worship of Communism, as in Rex

Warner's prophetic novel "The Professor"—not that that will survive in the Divine time-scheme much longer than the Assyrian Empire did, but it may serve the same purpose, that of purging a professing theism of idolatry.

Humanism can be counted an ally, if it is the theistic humanism of, for instance, Plato. "He that is not against us is for us". But the modern anthropocentric humanism is no ally. "He that is not with us is against us". If man goes beyond his proper place and usurps the position of God, then his *Hubris* will even in this year of Grace provoke *Nemesis*; and the really important question for our time is where we put God—at the centre, or somewhere on the circumference?

Canon Wedel's book is very much alive to this issue; but there is a certain flavour in it of Noël Coward's song "Don't let's be beastly to the Germans". We need not be beastly to heretics, but our apologia need not be apologetical. Perhaps that is doing Canon Wedel an injustice, but though he certainly holds the sword of truth and deals some shrewd blows with it, there too often seems to be a button on the end of it: he won't strike home. And there are occasions when his laudable determination to see the best in his opponent, combined with his own preference for the abstract rather than the concrete, betrays him into a rhetorical, but somewhat meaningless, phrase. "The life blood of Christendom still flows in our veins". But does it? Is Christian Grace "in the blood?" Part of the trouble, as Canon Wedel well shows, is that people have taken for granted that it is in the blood and have never bothered to find out about it.

Let us hope that Canon Wedel will write again, along the same lines—but this time with a sword "unbated".

GUY BOWDEN.

AN UNKNOWN COLONY

THE GAMBIA. By LADY SOUTHORN. George Allen & Unwin. 21s. IF we are to avoid further misgovernment, two qualifications are necessary in our dealings with Africa: imagination and an elementary knowledge of the relevant facts. Neither has been common in the recent past.

Lady Southorn has added an excellent book to the small but notable collection of historical and ethnographical works on British West Africa. Recent events have shown the danger of ignorance and want of judgement in the administration of colonial affairs. The Groundnut scandal was the outcome of ignorance—a crass neglect of well-known principles. The Gambia Poultry Scheme—smaller in scale, but equally misguided—is the subject of unfavourable comment in this book.

This well-written book will be useful to many, and we commend it especially to those who scheme political and economic changes affecting the lives of millions of Africans without leaving their offices in London. It contains a salutary reminder of what others have done—not with immense resources of money and staffs, but with nothing but their own abilities—to improve the circumstances of our African colonies. In times when the Cabinet gave little thought to African affairs men like Sir George Denton in the Gambia, or Sir Samuel Rowe in Sierra Leone, were doing a prodigious task single-handed.

And even today when the determination of the peoples themselves has brought these colonies into the sphere of world politics, one may still note among many in this country an ignorance which is disquieting and dangerous. We need to hear more about the past history and present prospects of our African communities.

No thoughtful observer whose work has brought him into constant relations with the Chiefs and tribesmen can be anything but curious about the past which has peopled that long tract of coastal territories with so many communities, both large and small, *varying much in physical and mental character*, and speaking innumerable languages. Any light on their history, however, must necessarily come from outside, and it will depend upon the fragmentary reports of European travellers who have visited the Gulf of Guinea during the last five hundred years. Such writers are of varying merit, but it was not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that competent observers began to write detailed studies. Mary Kingsley, Sir Harry Johnston, and others have left valuable records of an epoch when the impact of European civilisation was still slight. They depict a world which has already passed into history. It had many charming features—a civilisation of long growth, still unaffected by mechanical transport. But of that illimitable history which preceded the establishment of European protectorates we really know nothing definite. What early travellers—whose experience was usually limited to a few coastal districts—have left recorded is fragmentary and local. Those shadowy kingdoms of the Mandingo or Fula nations which are remembered in legend, and indicated on the early maps, provide only a subject for speculation. The territories are so vast—the mixture of races, so baffling. In a corner of Sierra Leone, near the lower reaches of the Mano river, we find a people, the Gallinas, who use a written language. But for the rest there is no native script, and no written records have been possible.

Lady Southorn has written a balanced and scholarly survey of the country today. The Gambia, unlike other African colonies, is dominated by one great river and consists only of a narrow tongue of territory which follows the course of the river for some 300 miles. Navigation is possible for more than 100 miles and the total area is

not much more than 4,000 square miles. As our author truly says, volumes might be written about the Gambia, a river full of fascination and comparable in some ways to the Wanje in the Sherbro hinterland of Sierra Leone. It is on the fertile banks of this river that in the last hundred years has developed an immense production of groundnuts. In this enterprise—encouraged by the French, who were pioneers in the refining of groundnut oil—the colonial governors with their small resources in finance but great local experience have been more successful than the late Government was in its ignorant and absurd East African project. The intelligent Jollofs and Mandingoes know all about groundnuts and their expertise might have been employed with advantage elsewhere. But the bureaucrat seldom seeks advice in the right quarter. It is doubtful whether the planners in Tanganyika had ever visited the Gambia.

It is to be hoped that others will write books comparable to this one. The current impression among politicians seems to assume that all parts of Africa are much the same, and that the nations who live there differ little from one another. Nothing has ever been more misleading. There is often more radical and cultural variety in an area of 50 thousand square miles than in the whole of Europe. This very crucial fact will never be properly appreciated until we have on paper a large number of accurate monographs dealing with the history and ethnography of Africa. What at present exists is fragmentary.

CROCKFORD PREFACE 1951-52

CROCKFORD'S CLERICAL DIRECTORY, 1951-52. Oxford University Press. £5 5s. 0d.

As an informal and personal comment on the current affairs of the Church of England the *Crockford Preface* is always interesting, and sometimes provocative. The present Editor approves of a description of the Anglican Communion as "an outward unity which cloaks far-reaching differences within". If this be not an overstatement, then it follows that any frank and definite commentary on current issues will divide its readers. Controversial issues cannot be ignored, and as an entirely judicial handling is not sought for, there will necessarily be opinions to which some readers will assent, while others demur.

In the space of some twenty-two pages the writer touches briefly on nearly all the major problems—schools, reunion, pensions, stipends, canon law and so on. Churchmen are acquainted with these topics. Every one of them could be discussed at length. But leaving aside questions which from their magnitude would require more extended treatment, it may be noted with appreciation that the writer does not overlook the anterior issue, and that some pages are allotted to a discussion of the most pressing subject of

all. For the first necessity is to emphasise the magnitude of the Church's present task and to remind readers of those needs without which this task can never be performed. There is still far too much complacency. But Crockford does not ignore, or minimise, the Church's present weakness and the failure of its more learned clergy to make any sufficient impact on cultivated opinion.

No candid reporter can ignore the situation. Allusion is made to an important piece of social research prepared by Mr. Seebohm Rowntree and his colleague Mr. Lavers : *English Life and Leisure*. Crockford calls this book "disturbing". But many whose concern it had been to learn the facts were disturbed already. This book confirmed by scientific inquiry impressions which we had already formed in other ways. Not only are congregations small and unrepresentative, but it is evident in secular life that the influence of the Christian revelation is now greatly reduced. In public life there is no Christian leadership such as came from Gladstone, or Salisbury. To anyone whose memory of ordinary Christian homes goes back to Edwardian or Victorian times the altered atmosphere is striking. And in commerce and industry inquiry would reveal an equally disturbing change. There are some exceptions, but generally speaking an acknowledgment of Church principles would be thought quixotic. Men have forgotten what their grandfathers owed to the Church in their days.

We cannot enlarge upon a situation which must be patent to every observer who is willing to face the facts. Dr. Wedel has handled one aspect of the problem in *The Christianity of Main Street*. (See review in this number). The Church today is confronted with a great population to which the essential religious insights are unknown. Man is trying to attack the problem of living without any guiding principle. Many, old and young, are faced by a common bewilderment. And of those even who adhere to one or another Christian communion there are very few who could explain their faith.

The *Crockford Preface* does not slur this vital issue. "To state and defend the faith with the weapons of reason, which the Archbishop of York so soundly proclaims to be essential, means, in face of the alleged alternative and certainly powerful 'scientism', and the prevailing mental dispositions, to be able to undermine the positions of these enemies of faith. 'The priests going on and blowing with the trumpets' will not suffice. It is essential to provide and vindicate a religious philosophy . . ." It is very necessary that a Christian preacher should be prepared at all times to declare and vindicate by argument the elementary presuppositions of the Christian revelation. For in these days the whole theistic position is very shaky. Those who preached the gospel in the Apostolic Age were speaking to men, many of whom were believers in God. The task is much changed. Men are now swept off their feet by

a form of civilisation which, based upon technological advance, takes no account of final causes.

It is not enough, says Crockford, "to faithfully minister to the faithful". There are some grave criticisms of those whose special task it should be to handle the present intellectual failure. We have a number of able specialists who are making a permanent contribution to various branches of Christian scholarship, but of men who can meet the present challenge of unbelief on common ground few seem to be available.

It may be objected that the clergy, including cathedral clergy, have already too much to do. True: but the fact of an excess of responsibility does not excuse us of the task of selection. It is the contention of the present reviewer that the requirement of an effective apologetic must be given absolute priority. Many of the other problems which occupy the mind of the Church would solve themselves if the clergy could regain that intellectual leadership which they have often held in the past. But of that we see no sign. Among the laity, on the other hand, there are signs of important work being done. It is from the philosophers and physicists that a vindication of a religious interpretation of reality is now likely to come. Some of the ablest of these are convinced Christians.

PURITANS AND SEPARATISTS

CARTWRIGHTIANA, edited by ALBERT PEEL and LELAND H. CARSON. Allen and Unwin, 1951. 25s.

"THE name Puritan", wrote Whitgift, "is very aptly given to these men; not because they be pure, no more than were the heretics called Cathari; but because they think themselves to be *mundiores ceteris*, "more pure than others", as Cathari did, and separate themselves from all other churches and congregations, as spotted and defiled; because also they suppose the church which they have devised to be without all impurity".¹ Both Whitgift and the separatists held that Cartwright's principles involved separation from Elizabeth's ecclesiastical establishment.

As professor at Cambridge, Cartwright had argued in 1569-70 for a Calvinistic church polity as ordained by God. He came back in 1572 from a short exile spent mostly at Geneva to work for the establishment of such a polity in England. He and his allies believed that if their deliverance from the Egyptian bondage of popery were to be safe, "the popes Canon lawes, with all other his peltrey, which still keepeth the people in superstition and blindness", must be cast out.² Thus, as Thomas Fuller said, "if Rebecca found herself strangely affected when twins struggled in her womb,

¹ *The Works of Archbishop John Whitgift* (Parker Society, 1851), vol. I, p. 171.

² A. Peel, *The Second Parte of a Register* (Cambridge, 1915), vol. I, p. 100.

the condition of the English Church must be conceived sad, which at the same time had two disciplines, both of them pleading scripture and primitive practice, each striving to support itself and suppress its rival".³

Cartwrightiana is the first of seven volumes planned as "an authoritative edition of the writings of the early Separatists and Independents". A series of *Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts* begins with a conformist. Many of Cartwright's *parerga* were found "so interlocked with those of the Independents that . . . *Cartwrightiana* seemed a necessary preliminary". This was a right decision. This book, in this series, should help in elucidating the relations of conforming and nonconforming Puritans. Needless to say, the editing is meticulous.

The *parerga* are both pastoral and polemical. Among the former are pastoral letters which show Cartwright as a spiritual adviser. One of them, to a godly merchant, deals with the confession of sins. It recommends private confession (though not the papists' "eare confession", of course) particularly for those who are "encombred with scrupulouse Superstition of meates, vowes, or with perplexed doubts in causes of matrimonye . . . and such other"; who are specially tempted, such as young men by sex; and those troubled, because not assured that they are forgiven—categories which merit comparison with those in Hooker's *Polity*, VI, vi, 15-17. In another, to a godly lady, he attacks the Novatianism of the Anabaptists. There is advice to a student on his reading in divinity. "The new Writers are to be read before the Old".

The polemical items illustrate Cartwright's warfare against both prelacy and separatism. Against separatism are documents discussed in Scott Pearsan's biography; the letters to Harrison and Anne Stubbe, and the *Reproof of Certeine Schismatical Persons*, sometimes ascribed to Browne. Cartwright used in these letters an argument very like that used years before by Whitgift against him; namely that the discipline was made a necessary note of the Church, which was more than Calvin claimed for it.⁴ Thus for Cartwright the discipline was only "necessary to the comely and stable being, and not simply to the being of the Church". Its absence was therefore no ground for secession. To Anne Stubbe he used also a remarkable argument, suggestive strongly of a Protestant ecclesiastical infallibility, with distinctions worthy of *Tract Ninety*. "The Churches of God had geven us the hands of fellowship . . . And yf yow will say, that all the Churches of God in the world may erre, I yield it yow willingly. But as it is possible for them all to erre, so is it not possible for them all to erre in the principall and fundamentall points of salvacion".

³ T. Fuller, *The Church History of Britain*, ed. J. S. Brewer, vol. V (Oxford 1845), p. 135, *sub anno* 1588.

⁴ Whitgift, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 185.

Cartwright's other war is illustrated chiefly by documents connected with his examination by High Commission in 1590, which include a treatise against the oath *ex officio* setting forth the Puritan arguments with great dignity and impressiveness. Cartwright's party was defeated by Queen and bishops, in some small part because his dissuasives against separation were not heeded by those who refused to tarry for the magistrate.

There are other items in this book than those mentioned here illustrative more of his religion than of his politics. All who seek to understand the religious development of the English people since the break with Rome will be grateful for it. It promises that *Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts* will be a worthy memorial of that very fine scholar who set the series going.

R. W. GREAVES

A CAMBRIDGE COLLEGE

THE COLLEGE OF CORPUS CHRISTI AND OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. A history from 1822 to 1952. By PATRICK BURY. Printed for the College. Cambridge. 30s.

THERE have been at least four historians of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; John Josselin, Archbishop Parker's Latin Secretary, the Rev. Robert Masters, the Rev. Dr. Lamb, master of the College, and the Rev. Dr. O. P. Stokes. Mr. Bury has laboured to bridge the record up to modern times, the last 130 years. He has done a useful and indeed an admirable book, compiling not only a useful biography of the Masters, but a complete list of fellows and a roll of undergraduates. Corpus was one of the smaller colleges; it was nearly doubled in size under Dr. Lamb's mastership. Our only regret is the disappearance of the Elizabethan chapel in the relentless days of the Gothic Revival; there was even comment on the transfer of the woodwork from the old chapel to the new one. "Was it taste or economy which led to the determination, since acted on, of leaving the new chapel with woodwork which formerly belonged to the old?" This was the query of *Letters from Cambridge*.

The College was a stronghold of Evangelical ways of thought: Dr. Lamb, Dr. James Pulling and Dr. E. H. Perowne were all leaders in the movement, which traced back to the Rev. Charles Simeon; and it was not until the reigns of Col. Caldwell and Dr. E. H. Pearce, afterwards Bishop of Derby, that the tradition was altered. It was the day of violent feeling. Lord Godolphin had some hesitation in presenting a picture of the Madonna to hang as an altar-piece in the new chapel. In Col. Caldwell's mastership the chapel was enriched by two standard candlesticks, and two for the altar to go with the cross presented in 1910 by non-resident members of the

College. It is said that "only gestures could describe" the despair of an old fellow of the College at this innovation. So the College has modified its views during the mastership of Col. Caldwell, Dr. Pearce and the present Head, now on the verge of retirement, Sir Will Spens.

The Elizabethan statutes of the College provided that every fellow should take Holy Orders within three years of his election and proceed to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity within 8 years. But as early as the mastership of Dr. Perowne the rule against marriage was relaxed, with the result that the regular attendants at the High Table were reduced to two, and the College had to require that the others should be present at least once a week. Domestic life has its disadvantages, and it is to be feared that the old sense of community between fellows and undergraduates is decaying.

Mr. Bury has not neglected the lighter side of undergraduate life, athletic and social; but it is to be regretted that he allows himself the use of the colloquial "Rugger" and "Soccer". But in other respects he has done his work well. Not the least valuable is the menu of the College quincentenary, with its three kinds of soup and twelve different varieties of sweets, with more solid victuals interposed. It is to be hoped that the sexcentenary has been less gargantuan. The book is liberally and judiciously illustrated.

LENNOX J. MORISON

PRIMITIVE GOSPEL SOURCES

PRIMITIVE GOSPEL SOURCES. By P. B. W. STATHER HUNT. James Clarke. 18s.

THE publishers claim for this work that it "may well be one of the most important contributions to the study of gospel sources that has been published in recent years." This is a claim which must regretfully be denied. There is certainly a great need for a comprehensive survey of the influence of the Old Testament upon the composition and form of the Gospels, but Mr. Stather Hunt's book illustrates all too clearly the dangers which beset those who approach the Gospels with preconceived theories and arrange the Gospel evidence upon a Procrustean bed. His thesis is an ambitious one: developing Rendel Harris' theory that the earliest Christians, even before the Gospels were written, made use of a Testimony Book of O.T. quotations applicable to Jesus, he seeks to show how this book came into existence and how it influenced the writing of the Gospels.

All scholars would of course agree that, whether or not the earliest Christians possessed a written collection (or collections) of Old Testament passages fulfilled by Jesus's life and teaching, the argument from prophecy was from the very first extensively employed by Christian evangelists, and that the story told by the Gospels has been deeply influenced by the way in which Christians

saw Jesus as in manifold ways fulfilling the prophecies of the Old Testament. This undoubted fact raises in turn two difficult and complex problems, closely related to each other, how far such interpretations are those of Jesus himself and how far later Christian interpretations of Old Testament passages have led to distortion of history in the Gospels.

Mr. Stather Hunt is primarily concerned with the first of these problems. Starting from the historical basis of Lk. xxiv, 25 ff., 44 ff., he supposes that the Apostle Matthew set down in Aramaic the combined recollections of those who had been present, in order that each might have a common statement of the reasons of their Faith which had come from the lips of our Lord himself. This primitive document soon circulated in more than one enlarged form, enriched by a wider range of illustrations of the way in which the prophecies which it contained had been fulfilled, such as records of miracles, etc., and by an explanation illustrated by quotations from the O.T. of the teaching of Jesus on such important questions as the abrogation of the Jewish law and the nature of the Church he had come to found. From this material, supplemented and checked by the memoirs of Peter, Mark composed his Gospel. "Matthew's" Gospel, intended to provide for Jewish-thinking readers, utilised more fully the Testimony Book in order to provide further proof of Jesus' Messiahship by means of the O.T. prophecies which he had fulfilled. Luke, too, used this book—in a different recension. The Testimony Book itself, ousted from the popular use by the Gospels, ultimately perished, but traces of it can be found in the later Testimony Books which still survive.

The demonstration of such views, if they are to be made convincing or even plausible, demands a thorough examination of the Gospel texts and a detailed explanation of the relationship of the Testimony Book to the Gospel sources. It is here that Mr. Stather Hunt has failed to do justice to his theories. His treatment of the Gospels is fragmentary and, at times, inconsistent. Thus he holds that Mark used Q, stresses Q's anti-Judaic character, is uncertain whether Q represents a cycle of literature rather than one specific document, raises the possibility of Q being some form of an enlarged Testimony Book and yet makes no serious attempt to show the relationship of Q to the Testimony Book which he believes to underly the three Synoptic Gospels. In his treatment of "Matthew's" special proof-texts introduced of the formula "that it might be fulfilled" he shows a similar comparison of thought and an inadequate comprehension of the difficulties raised by his theory of their derivation. Mr. Stather Hunt's book is a stimulating one, and it focuses our attention on a subject of great importance, but it remains the assertion of a theory rather than the definite establishment of Primitive Gospel Sources.

RICHARD HEARD

WIDE PERSPECTIVES

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY. By BISHOP STEPHEN NEILL. Nisbet. 17s. 6d.

BISHOP Stephen Neill has written a notable book which he describes as "a book on the phenomenology of the Christian Religion". It is not, as we might have anticipated, a work on the Doctrine of the Church written from the Evangelical point of view. We badly need such a book and Bishop Neill with his wide experience and oecumenical contacts ought to be strongly pressed to supply this need. Nor is it simply a manual of Church History. It falls somewhere between the two. The author starts from the point of view of a Christian Empiricism, noting the fact of the Church in human history and tracing from its history the principles which underlie its pilgrimage of Grace. Such an objective must inevitably be selective and offer rather a sketch of wide perspectives than an etching of any part of the field. It is also inevitable that for certain periods the author is clearly dependent upon secondary authorities. Bishop Neill displays a wise and tolerant judgement. If he clearly lacks imaginative sympathy with traditions which would describe themselves as Catholic, he shows a commendable objectivity of judgement in recording the splendid achievements of Roman Catholic Missions, and the aims and objects of the so-called Counter Reformation. He does not gloss over, for example, the fissiparous tendencies of the Protestant Reformation.

He is prophetic of the future church historian in giving a full treatment of Christian Missions. If he passes somewhat quickly and sketchily over the Middle Ages, he might reply with some truth that they have many full-scale treatments of recent years, whereas much of his work not only on the history but also upon the theology of Christian Missions will break for many a reader a entirely new ground. It is here, of course, that he speaks with special authority.

If the specialist will find nothing new in the first half of the book, he will find the second half compensate him in rich measure. The general reader will throughout find able guidance as he passes rapidly through a wide and changing panorama.

But the book is far more than an Intelligent Man's Guide to the whole of Church History. It will lead many readers to see perhaps for the first time the glory and the challenge of Christian Missions, and to realize the number and complexity of the problems and tasks which they involve.

Incidental discussions of the six possible meanings of the word "Church" and of the Seven Marks of the Church offer us a foretaste of the calibre which Bishop Neill would bring to a more formal treatment of the doctrine of the Church.

At the end of this volume we may well feel a new thrill at belonging to the Christian Society and a fresh imaginative insight

into the Church as she faced her problems in the past and frames to them in the present. If Bishop Neill would go on to tell us in the same brilliant and penetrating way what the theology of the Church looks like to an Anglican who is not ashamed to call himself a Protestant, many, even of those who differ from him in conviction and experience, would be glad to make this further pilgrimage in his company.

H. E. W. TURNER

LOVE AND MARRIAGE

THE MYSTERY OF LOVE AND MARRIAGE. A Study in the Theology of Sexual Relation. By DERRICK SHERWIN BAILEY. S.C.M. 12s. 6d.

WHAT is significant about the evidence and recommendations that are being submitted to the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce is not the variety of remedies proposed by different groups, but the confusion of thought about the nature of human love and marriage which many of the proposals lay bare. It is to these fundamental questions that Dr. Bailey addresses himself. His book is not written for those about to be married or even for those who are taking stock of their married life after many years (though such would find much in this book making for renewal). It is written with the express purpose of directing the attention of "the pastor and the theologian" to neglected aspects of the husband-wife relationship and "to initiate discussion."

Dr. Bailey believes "that the grave sexual disorder of our time demands, in certain respects, a reorientation of the Church's attitude to sex and marriage, and in particular the development of a theology of sexual love; a clear distinction between what I have ventured to describe as the institutional and the ontological aspects of union in 'one flesh'; and a reinterpretation of love and marriage in terms of personal relation." In the first and shorter section of his book the author analyses the nature of human love and seeks to set it in a theological context. He enters boldly a field of thought in which secular writers have had things to themselves for too long, but he does not enter alone. Readers who are not familiar with the contributions of Martin Buber, Charles Williams, C. S. Lewis, Berdyaev, Otto Piper, Herbert Doms will find this an impressive company and will be grateful for the introduction. Other readers will be shocked to find no mention of D. H. Lawrence, Marx or Freud and will wonder how an analysis of sexual relation by a Christian writer can carry weight today unless it includes a vigorous criticism of influential secular thought on the subject.

It is notoriously difficult to distinguish without seeming to divide. In his desire to emphasise that the union in "one flesh" is in essence a personal event of meeting, relationship, fidelity—a truth

all too easily glossed over by writers more concerned with moral, social and institutional aspects of marriage—Dr. Bailey is in danger of unreality. He tends to speak of the relationship in ideal and abstract terms and not to allow full weight to the pressures from outside which bear on any actual experience of union in “one flesh” that is possible in such a world as this. However true it may be that lovers “enter into an awareness of eternity,” and it is encouraging to find a theologian who is ready to admit what truth there is in the popular songs, the day to day environment of married life is of a different order. What Dr. Bailey finely says about the place of fidelity is most relevant here, but he does not come to grips with the fact that one of the main reasons for marriage breakdown is precisely the conflict between a romantic idea of love and the actuality of married life in modern conditions. One could wish that he had been able to show how the social, institutional aspects of marriage are a necessary safeguard of the ontological relationship which he describes so refreshingly.

This tendency to separate one aspect of marriage from the other for the purpose of discussing the one more emphatically betrays Dr. Bailey into some questionable conclusions in the second part of the book. Writing of the teaching of our Lord and of St. Paul he treats familiar material with fresh insight, and in an appendix he handles well the important issue of hierarchy and equality in marriage. But when he asks what actually constitutes the indissoluble element in the relationship his answer calls in question the validity of the original distinction that he makes. “Upon love alone the validity of intercourse and the permanence and exclusiveness of marriage depend, and love means nothing if not freely willed, unqualified fidelity . . . when love fails beyond all hope of revival a marriage is dead.” Hence “since nothing but the failure of love can cause the dissolution of a ‘one flesh’ union it ought, strictly speaking, to constitute the sole and sufficient ground of divorce.” But in the end Dr. Bailey admits that there is no way of ascertaining when love has failed “beyond all hope of revival,” so there is no real help here in dealing with the contemporary tragic cases of marriage breakdown. Is not his conception of fidelity too narrow? The attempt on pages 84-5 to prove that the marriage vow is only conditionally binding is confusing and unconvincing. To say that “fidelity is promised to the faithful” is to make the vow superfluous. In actual experience fidelity to the fact that the vow has been made, even if the love relationship has grown cold, has held the family together and afforded the relationship of husband and wife a chance to recover. The institution of marriage which Dr. Bailey seems to regard as a grievous necessity at best can be and often is itself the very safeguard of the ontological relationship. The dichotomy is too sharp when the author can say in connection with the question of remarriage that “it is strictly irrelevant to the relational situation that the interests of the community or social expediency may

make it necessary to maintain the pretence that all is well." The condition of human beings as essentially needing community if they are to live at all is as fundamental a matter as the "personal and private" I—Thou relationship. There is no such thing as sexual relation except in society, and the institutional aspect of marriage bears witness to this condition.

If Dr. Bailey has tended to make a division where he meant only to make a distinction for the purpose of discussion and has been led to controversial conclusions, nevertheless nobody can fail to read this work without profit and without being forced to reconsider his presuppositions. This is a book that will stimulate the discussion which its author desires.

SYDNEY EVANS

THEOLOGY OF THE ŒCUMENICAL MOVEMENT

ECUMENISM AND CATHOLICITY. By WILLIAM NICHOLLS. S.C.M. Press. 12s. 6d.

IN his Norrisian Prize Essay for 1950 Mr. Nicholls seeks to discover a theological basis for the Oecumenical Movement as a whole. It is written with the zeal and penitence of a convert from a dogmatic Anglo-Catholicism and with a courage in confession and criticism which is wholly commendable. The difficulty is that the book contains a large measure of jargon and cliché, not surprising in a young man and a young movement, but which the general reader will heed to discount or to strip down if he is not to miss the very real thought which underlies the work. Thus, for example, the following nouns are characterised by the adjective "oecumenical"—movement, dialogue, encounter, consciousness, experience, task, community, fellowship, vocation, discussion, theology, thinking together, spirit, consciousness of sin, course, cause and search. Some of these are, no doubt unavoidable but not all.

Many of the points which he makes have been under consideration for some years past, but we have hitherto lacked a serious rethinking of the whole venture. This Mr. Nicholls sets himself to supply. He is obviously much under the influence of the new application of eschatology to the whole field which Professor Torrance of Edinburgh has been urging with such fire and ability in recent times. It is certainly an important clue and Mr. Nicholls may be right that the kaleidoscopic changes in theology which of late years have brought the doctrine of the Church to the fore will shortly recapture this much neglected field of study. He may be right that the difference between Catholic and Protestant emphasis include a far-reaching difference of opinion upon this very question; there is room for further reflexion whether this is in fact really the crucial issue.

Starting from the "given unity" which is the most hopeful fact of the oecumenical movement, he distinguishes between the eschatological and historical unity of the Church. It was surprising to find in the earlier part of his work that he did not discuss the ontological approach to the Church, though in the later part of the work he shows himself well aware of this approach and of some of its implications. But it seems likely that the real question is more of a triologue than a dialogue than he submits. History, Eschatology and Ontology are all involved in any discussion of the subject, with history perhaps as the "bone of contention" between the other two.

There is a full and interesting discussion of the "Branch Theory" of the Church which he confesses himself once to have held. This is shrewd and penetrating, but I should personally wish to suspend judgement on the extent to which the emphasis upon apostolic succession is necessarily bound up with this theory alone. Might not there be a place in the oecumenical movement for a doctrine of degrees of "being a Church" of which the possession of the dimension of historical continuity as expressed in the possession of the Apostolic Succession might still have an important part to play? An analogy, which the eschatologist will no doubt instinctively repudiate, might be the recognition in modern evolutionary theory of the importance of mutations—decisive steps forward which are more than mere minor developments in the course of evolution.

But the real problem which faces the whole movement is the dilemma between confessional rigidity and theological relativism. Mr. Nicholls shows himself aware of this difficulty and handles it with considerable skill and some measure of success. He would however probably admit that he was not quite "home" on that one.

By far the best part of the book is the contrast between catholic and protestant traditions contained in the Chapter on Theological Integration. Here is a subject for further thought and study.

The difficulty of the oecumenical movement is that it tends to be much under the influence of the latest theological fashions in thought but, even allowing for this, Mr. Nicholls has shown to one of his readers that there is at least the beginnings of a satisfactory theological basis for a movement which should commend itself to the thoughts and prayers of all practising Christians.

H. E. W. TURNER

THE MAN ON THE DONKEY

THE MAN ON THE DONKEY. A CHRONICLE. By H. F. M. Prescott.
Eyre & Spottiswoode.

THE theme of this outstanding historical novel is the series of events that culminated in the popular rising of the Pilgrimage of Grace in the reign of Henry VIII. Its form is somewhat novel, for it is

an episodic chronicle centring in turn round places and people, the Court, a northern Benedictine Nunnery in Swaledale, Yorkshire, London, and the strategic points of the Pilgrimage of Grace. For a few pages one is transported in the vivid and sensitive narrative to these scenes and episodes, with increasing complexity and sense of urgency as the climax of the book is reached in the defeat of the Pilgrims and the ending of the chronicles of the personalities who have become known in its course. The Man on the Donkey is Our Lord Himself, believed to have appeared in the Yorkshire dales during this critical time for England and seen by Malle the orphan protégée of the Nunnery.

Generally speaking, the historical novel is open to the gravest of objections. History is already so suspect as an account of the past, that the injection of imaginary characters and events is only a further bedevilment. But what of a book that can incorporate without strain the *ipsissima verba* of the State Papers and contemporary accounts, and which is firmly tied to actual places and happenings. The historical accuracy of the book is meticulous and yet does not smell of the lamp; the characterisation firm and supple.

Yet it may appear too long to many, too kaleidoscopic, not to be read at long sittings. The method of narration has its drawbacks. For many it is nostalgic. In these years of the dissolution of the monasteries and the severance from Rome took place a revolution that brought medieval England to a close; while the autocracy of Henry VIII in its uneasy urgency to establish a new and flamboyant dynasty with poor claims to legitimacy, made the Stuart tragedy possible if not inevitable.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

An Introduction to Elizabethan and Jacobean Architecture. By Marcus Whiffen. Art and Technics. 15s.

An account of the great advance of domestic architecture marked by the immense mansions of the early Renaissance such as Montacute and Hardwick.

A Little Learning. By Winifred Peck. Faber and Faber. 12s. 6d.

Lady Peck, known to many of our readers as a contributor to *The Guardian*, has written a study, both entertaining and valuable, of education fifty years ago. It takes the form of an autobiography. She was one of the original pupils at Wycombe Abbey.

Gladstone and Liberalism. By J. L. Hammond and M. D. R. Foot. English Universities Press. 7s. 6d.

Christianity and Liberalism—Gladstone's dedicated life and its influence on English politics—forms the theme of this book.

The Unity of God. A Study in Christian Monotheism. By Percy Hartill, D.D. A. R. Mowbray and Co. 16s.

The Archdeacon of Stoke-on-Trent in a valuable essay elucidates the nature of the Christian doctrine of the Divine unity and considers some of its implications in regard to recent doctrinal and ethical theories.

God in Patristic Thought. By G. L. Prestige, D.D. Second Edition. S.P.C.K. London, 1952. 21s.

Nothing could be more auspicious than the present attention given to patristic studies. Canon Prestige's work, first published in 1936, has already a European reputation, and the revival of patristic study now apparent owes not a little to the influence of this work. It has directed attention to the inestimable contribution made by the Greek Fathers to the development of Christianity.

The second edition contains a few alterations.

The Christian Dilemma. Catholic Church—Reformation. By W. H. Van de Pol, D.D. Translated by G. Van Hall, Ph.D. J. M. Dent and Sons. 21s.

A balanced, accurate and scholarly account of the doctrinal positions of the greater Christian communions written in the interest of greater understanding and unity by an accomplished Roman Catholic who is a professor at Nijmegen. A valuable chapter discusses the Ecumenical Movement.

American History and American Historians. A Review of Recent Contributions to the Interpretation of the History of the United States. By H. Hale Bellot. The Athlone Press. 25s.

The Commonwealth Fund Professor has written an important

addition to historical science. A series of papers treat of the central themes of American history—The Revolution, The Mainland Colonies in the XVIIIth Century, Sectional Conflict, and so forth. But these chapters are supplemented by a very full and detailed account of the historical work of American professional historians, furnished with a series of comprehensive bibliographies.

Cambridge and the Evangelical Succession. By Marcus L. Loane. 275 p. Lutterworth Press. 12s. 6d.

Canon Loane has already given an account of the Evangelical revival in his companion volume on the Oxford evangelicals. Here he writes a series of studies in the lives of William Grimshaw, John Berridge, Henry Venn, Charles Simeon, Henry Martyn. An appreciation of such piety—too little known to modern readers, but not unfamiliar to an earlier generation—is indispensable to an understanding of Anglicanism.

In the End, God. . . . A Study of the Christian Doctrine of the Last Things. By J. A. T. Robinson. 128 p. James Clarke. 6s.

An important addition to modern books on eschatology. Already it is much discussed. *It is hoped to publish a detailed review later.*

The English Free Churches. By Horton Davies. (Home University Library) 208 p. Oxford University Press. 6s.

An able and most interesting account of the great contribution which Nonconformity has made to English religious life.

The One Church in the Light of the New Testament. By Clarence Tucker Craig. 128 p. Epworth Press. 10s. 6d.

The author writes from long experience of Ecumenical work, and with a sense of the need of a strong and united Church in the present world situation. He is well aware of conflicting views in the sphere of Faith and Order and the great difficulties which they present. In a lucid and comprehensive exposition of the Protestant position he does not understate the objections held both by those of "Catholic" convictions and by the considerable number of evangelicals who adhere to radical independency.

London. Except the Cities of London and Westminster. By Nikolaus Pevsner. Penguin Books. 6s.

Professor Pevsner knows much about English architecture and his guidance in matters of architectural judgement will be a salutary discipline for the many whose opinions are at the mercy of hearsay or fashion. What he says, for instance, about the Albert Memorial—time-honoured butt of half-educated wit—is just right.

Classical Influences on English Poetry. By J. A. K. Thomson. London. George Allen & Unwin. 15s.

Learned critics have often pointed out the indebtedness of poets and dramatists to the Ancient Classics. To point out parallels has been an exercise of memory. But Professor Thomson has brought to bear on this subject a critical judgement and manner of illustration which makes the comparison of the classical originals with their English

derivatives an illuminating study of both literatures. Those English students who lack knowledge of the classics will find it beneficial to assimilate so much that is best in the parent culture.

Religion and the Decline of Capitalism. By V. A. Demant. Faber & Faber. 12s. 6d.

A thoughtful work which ought to be read by economists irrespective of their religious, or political preconceptions. Some will see reason to question the title.

Christ and Culture. By H. Richard Niebuhr. Faber & Faber. 21s.

An able study of the relation of Christianity to culture.

Butler's Moral Philosophy. By Austin Duncan Jones. Pelican Books. 2s. 6d.

A very competent and lucid introduction to the study of English ethics.

Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases. Revised from P. Roget. By D. C. Browning, M.A., B.Litt. 600 p. Dent. 12s. 6d.

This work based on the classic of Roget includes an addition of 10,000 words. Roget is indispensable. All writers and speakers use (and abuse) his unequalled classification of words and phrases.

The Life and Writings of Jeremy Taylor. By C. J. Stranks. S.P.C.K. 25s.

This book can be recommended as an introduction to Taylor's work and as a guide to the historical context.

Receive the Joyfulness of Your Glory. By Maisie Spens. 192 p. London. Hodder & Stoughton. 15s.

This gifted writer has now reached a maturity of thought and expression which will delight all those who know her earlier work. "‘Christ in you, the hope of Glory’ is now—as it always has been and always will be—the only hope of the world and of the individual." Such is the theme of this arresting book. There is a rare authenticity about anything which Miss Spens writes.

Surrey Naturalist. By Eric Parker. 33 illustrations. Robert Hale. 18s.

Those who live in Surrey are to be held fortunate in the fact that Mr. Parker has written so well and so often about this county which he knows from end to end. In this attractive book they will find the fruits of life-long inquiry and observation. And the mind of the author, wise, penetrating, and humane is reflected in every page. One chapter of singular interest contains notes on the famous Surrey Naturalists. And there is a welcome account of the foundation by Sir Jonathan Hutchinson of the Haslemere Museum.

An Introduction to Philosophy of History. By W. A. Walsh Hutchinson. 7s. 6d.

The philosophy of history is to many—outside the small circle of those who study Hegel and Groce—an unfamiliar subject, although serious followers of Marx will know it. But historians cannot

neglect such questions as occupy the larger section of this book, especially the problem of the nature of truth and objectivity in history. For the student of Christian origins their importance is plain.

The Imitation of Christ. By Thomas à Kempis. Translated by Leo Shirley-Price. Penguin Classics. 2s. 6d.

The present editor justly says that "after the Bible itself, no other work can compare" with the profound wisdom, clarity of thought, and converting power of the *Imitatio*. The writer—whose identity is discussed in the Introduction—was certainly drawing on the rich deposits of a mind steeped in the truths assimilated during a life of absolute discipleship. Pick up this work and open any page at random. It never fails us. Not a sentence but holds some pearl of spiritual insight. Never a trace of obscurity or irrelevance.

There have been many translations. The present one aims at a faithful reproduction of the Latin in the language of to-day. It is very satisfactory to find this great work reappearing in so popular a format.

Medieval Latin Lyrics. By Helen Waddell. Penguin Classics. 3s.

This scholarly little book will be of great use to those who wish to know more about the early Christian centuries.

The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption. By H. E. W. Turner. A. R. Mowbray & Co. 12s. 6d.

This is a study of the development of doctrine during the first five centuries. It will be found important by the Patristic scholar and by the general reader a very interesting study.

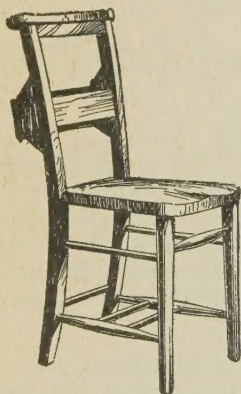
NOTES ON PERIODICALS

SCOTTISH JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY. The June number includes an article by Professor W. Manson on *The Son of Man and History*. This is an interesting consideration of the question of the New Testament philosophy of history. The writer notes as significant the fact that many who, a few years ago, were pessimists with regard to the world outlook have now formed a new outlook owing to a better understanding of the character of the Gospel. An interesting article will be found in the September number on the subject of Protestant Theology in Germany during the past 50 years. Among the reviews we have read with special interest a discussion of Robinson's *In the End, God . . .* by W. A. Whitehouse and a review of Ellul's *The Presence of the Kingdom* by J. K. S. Reid.

THE DOWNSIDE REVIEW. Volume 70, of July includes an article on Barth by Fr Edward Quinn. An article of special interest by Fr Lancelot C. Shepperd is on the subject of liturgical reform in the Roman Catholic Church. Among the books discussed are Milne's *Modern Cosmology and the Christian Idea of God* and Arthur Little's *The Platonic Heritage of Thomism*. A valuable feature of this Review is a concise survey of the most important Catholic periodicals published abroad.

THE EXPOSITORY TIMES. In the September issue the Rev. C. L. Mitton of Handsworth College, Birmingham, contributes an interesting essay on Motives for Goodness in the New Testament. Four motives are analysed of which three are of lesser account than the one which is defined as "the Natural Outworking of a New Quality of Life which has been implanted." Professor H. H. Rowley discusses the Dead Sea Scrolls in this number, which reaches a high level.

NOUVELLE REVUE THEOLOGIQUE: Juil-Aout 1952. An article of exceptional interest deals with the psychological teaching of Mons. J. Nuttin.



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